

**URBAN CENTRES IN THE STATE OF
TAMIL NADU: A CASE STUDY OF
THANJAVUR DISTRICT
C.A.D. 1750 - 1813**

A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

M.C. RAJA



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
HYDERABAD 500 046.**

DECEMBER, 1997

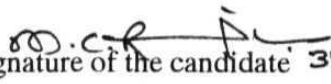
***Dedicated
to my Parents . . .***


**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
HYDERABAD - 500 046.**

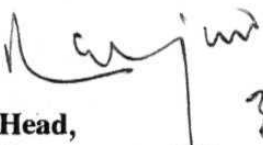
This is to certify that, I, **M.C. Raja**, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled “**URBAN CENTRES IN THE STATE OF TAMIL NADU: A CASE STUDY OF THANJAVUR DISTRICT C.A.D. 1750 - 1813**” for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.

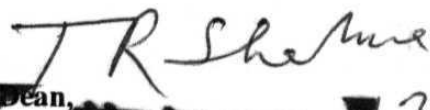
I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other university.

Place: Hyderabad
Date : 31.12.97


Signature of the candidate 31/12/97.
Name : **M.C. Raja**
Enrollment No : **PS5885**


(**Dr. Rekha Pande**)
Supervisor


31.12.97
Head,
Department of History,
School of Social Sciences,
University of Hyderabad.
अध्यक्ष / Head
इतिहास विभाग
Department of History
हैदराबाद विश्वविद्यालय
University of Hyderabad


3/1/98
Dean,
School of Social Sciences,
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD.
संकाय अध्यक्ष
DEAN
सामाजिक विज्ञान संकाय
School of Social Sciences
विश्वविद्यालय
Hyderabad
भारत, INDIA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to **Dr. Rekha Pande**, my research supervisor, for her encouragement and inspiring guidance through out my research work. I am highly indebted to her for the freedom she rendered me to perform research of my interest, during my tenure.

I wish to thank **Prof. V. Ramakrishna**, Head, Department of History, for providing inspiration and confidant throughout my stay.

I wish to acknowledge Prof. T. R. Sharma, Dean, School of Social Sciences, for providing necessary atmosphere for carrying out my research.

I am much obliged and highly thankful to Prof. I. P. Gupta, my earlier supervisor, for his encouragement and cooperation during his tenure in the department.

The invaluable advices and fruitful suggestions rendered by the faculty namely, Dr. Alok Parsher Sen, Dr. K. S. S. Seshan, Dr. R. L. Hangloo and Dr. A. Murali and other teachers in the department for their help and support throughout my research work is heartfully acknowledged.

I was immensely benefited from the discussions, I had with Dr. P. Swarnalatha, who read and commented on the earlier drafts of my thesis.

I must single out with special mention of my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Mohammed Mustafa, for his valuable suggestions and support during this course of my research work.

My sincere thanks are due to the staff in the Tamil Nadu State Archieves, Chennai; Andhra Pradesh State Archieves, Hyderabad; National Archieves, New Delhi; Connemara Library, Chennai and Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji Saraswathy Mahal Library, Thanjavur, for according me permission to consult the records in their respective repositories.

My thanks are due to the staff in the Libraries of University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad; Osmania University, Hyderabad; Bhraithiyar University, Coimbatore; Bharthithasan University, Tiruchirapalli; Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar; Tamil University, Thanjavur; Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, New Delhi; Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, for allowing me to consult the books and articles preserved in their libraries.

I am also thankful to Narendra babu and his family members for their constant help and support during my stay.

Many of my friends offered their assistance in different ways and I would not be pardoned if I do not acknowledge them promptly. I am highly indebted to Gunasekar, Ambedkar, Subramaniam, Narkunan, Saravanan, Chinnappa Rajan, Radhakrishnan, Ramesh, Arunagiri, Loganathan, Selvam, Bharathi, Ramanathan, Lakhsman, Gurappa, Muthukumaran, Giribabu and Srinivasan.

I would like to acknowledge my beloved friend Balaji and his family members for their help and cooperation throughout my stay.

My special thanks are due to Balasubramaniam, Muralidharan, Krishnamoorthy, Srinivasan, Raghunathan and Natarajan for their help and support during the period of my research.

I also take this opportunity to acknowledge all the non-teaching staff in the Department of History and School of Social Sciences as well as the other staffs of the University, especially to computer centre staffs.

I would be failing if I don't acknowledge the help extended by C. Srinivas, Venugopal, Dauvuluri, Hemanth, Jayakar and Pramod. They were patient enough to listen to my words and shared many of their ideas with me.

I also thank S. V. Srinivas, Ramesh, Tharagan and Ashok for reading the proofs and correcting the earlier drafts of my thesis.

I am highly thankful to Arul, Amanullah, Sivaprakasam, Satheesh, Senthil Kumar, and Sivakumar for the assistance they rendered in typing the manuscript.

The undertaking of this study was made possible with the fellowship provided by University Grants Commission.

Last but not least, I wish to express my gratitude to my parents and brothers - Prabhahar(Kannan), Siva Kumar (Babu), Kalaichelvam and Gandhi and his children - Vasanth and Sriniketan for their love and affection, constant encouragement and emotional support provided to me throughout my academic career.

M. C. Raja

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Certificate	i
Acknowledgements	ii-iii
Contents	iv
Abbreviations	v
Chapter - I INTRODUCTION	1-33
Chapter - II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	35-81
Chapter - III THANJAVUR DISTRICT: A POLITICAL HISTORY	83-136
Chapter - IV URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT: A BACKGROUND	138-198
Chapter - V SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, 1750 - 1813	200-266
Chapter - VI TRADE AND COMMERCE, 1750 - 1813	268-335
Chapter - VII URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR DURING 1750 - 1813	337-360
Chapter - VIII CONCLUSION	362-374
BIBLIOGRAPHY	376-404
APPENDIX	406-408
GLOSSARY	410-415
MAPS	

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.O.C.	All India Oriental Conference.
A.M.T.P.I.	Ancient and Modern Town Planning in India.
A.P.H.C.P.	Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings.
A.P.S.A.	Andhra Pradesh State Archives.
A.R.A.S.I.	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
A.R.E.	Annual Report of Epigraphy.
A.R.I.E.	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy.
A.R.S.I.E.	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
A.S.I.	Archaeological Survey of India.
I.A.T.R.	International Association of Tamil Research.
I.I.T.S.	International Institute of Tamil Studies.
M.I.D.S.	Madras Institute of Development Studies.
M.U.A.S.	Madras University Archaeological Series.
T.M.S.S.M.L.	Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library.
T.N.S.A.	Tamil Nadu State Archives
T.N.H.C.P.	Tamil Nadu History Congress Proceedings.
P.I.C.T.S.	Proceedings of the International conference of Tamil Studies.
P.I.H.C.	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
S.H.C.P.	South Indian History Congress Proceedings.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
U.H.A.I.	Urban History Association of India.
W.A.C.	World Archaeology Conference.

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTION

The present study entitled "Urban Centres in the State of Tamil Nadu: A Case Study of Thanjavur District Circa A.D. 1750-1813" attempts to look at the various conditions of urban centres in the state of Tamil Nadu, with special emphasis on Thanjavur district from A.D. 1750 to 1813. This period is especially chosen as it represents a phase of transition, during which South India turned from Late Medieval to Early Modern. The period also witnessed the ascendancy of colonial (British) rule over this region. The study investigates the colonial urban settlements and its immediate impact in this region and more precisely, colonial (India's) urban scenario over these years in the state of Tamil Nadu and in particular, the district of Thanjavur.

To start with, the study reveals the significance of the Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu providing different aspects of the district -- Whether there were conditions conducive for the process of urbanisation in the real sense of term; if so, what was the city's source of income? Where did it come from? What employment opportunity it provided and what was the specialised professional class? Whether the economy was totally agrarian and what was the impact of the non-agrarian sector on this economy? Burton Stein rightly calls it an 'Agrahara System' and in Thanjavur it was partially dominated by priestly class also.¹ Another important factor to be considered is, whether there was

¹ B.Stein, "Brahman and Peasant in South Indian History", *The Adyar Literary Bulletin*, Madras, Vol.31-32, 1968, pp.3-5.

any correlation between the growth of population and rise of the city.

A very interesting problem that arose in the study was the period of transition from late Medieval to the early Modern period. During the process of transformation, how a city like Thanjavur including its major towns like Nagapattinam, Kumbakonam etc., was being transformed from essentially a Medieval city to an emerging modern city presents interesting facets. The cultural problems that it poses, the positive side of the foci of growth and of modernisation, the intellectual development and its implications are all to be noticed.

The other basic problems in this research explored as in any cultural setting and for any chronological period, are (i) How do cities grow and how does a population, of what ever size, take up residency in the cities? (ii) What differences does it make to the individual that some activities come to be centered in the population aggregates we call "Urban"? (iii) What are the consequences for cities and for citizens of continuing urbanisation? That is, what are the feed back effects that cities have on society? What is the cumulative impact on the pace of social change as cities become more and more the characteristic human environment?

To be specific, the work encompasses the various aspects of urban centres in the state of Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur district, in particular. The study also brings in the socio-economic, Political, Religious and Cultural formations aiming to understand the process of transformation from rural to urban areas and the growth of other settlements with regard to

its growth in population, size and economic organisation. The major aspects of the topic of research are to investigate some important questions relating to the urban centres during the study period and also to analyse the impact of it in the district of Thanjavur.

II. DEFINITION OF URBAN AREAS

The difficulty in formulating a universally acceptable definition of an urban areas can be very well seen from the widely varying opinions expressed by scholars. While some of the definitions emphasise the functional basis of a town or a city others highlight the physical characteristics of an urban settlement. A balanced definition would, however, be one which emphasises both the functional basis and the physical characteristics of an urban settlement.²

The definition of a town has been attempted from a sociological point of view. According to Gideon Sjoberg, a complex stratification system and the presence of a true elite are the chief characteristics of a pre-industrial city. This again is a one-sided view of the problem of definition in as much as it ignores the physical characteristics of an urban settlement such as planned structural activity in a fixed area of settlement.³ He writes, the pre-requisites for the emergence of cities are: (i) a favourable ecological base, (ii) an advanced

² Max weber, *The City*, New York, 1958, p. 65.

³ Gideon Sjoberg, *The Pre-industrial City: Past and Present*, New York, 1960, pp. 116-117.

technology (related to the pre-urban forms), (iii) a complex social organisation and (iv) a well developed power structure.⁴

The definition of a town or a city has been approached from an archaeological point of view also. Discussing the features of urban settlement, R.S. Sharma refers to excavated remains of given town sites and seeks to build up the picture of an urban life on the basis of such findings.⁵

Amalanand Ghosh, though himself an archaeologist, does not seem to rely heavily on the archaeological evidence of urban life. His approach appears to be to emphasise in equal measure the structural as well as the functional aspects of a town.⁶

Going by the functional basis of urban life, Bruce Trigger's formulation appear to be a tolerably acceptable definition of town. According to him, "Whatever else a city may be it is a unit of settlement which performs specialised functions in relationship to a broader hinterland, while numerous inhabitants of a city may engage in food production, it is agreed that the specialised functions of city are not necessarily agricultural in nature".⁷ Town is ordinarily a word of somewhat vague application and there is some difference of opinion as to its appropriate definition. According to the Census report of India,

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁵ R.S. Sharma, "Decay of Gangetic Towns in Gupta and post-Gupta times", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Muzaffarpur, 1972, pp.3-7.

⁶ Amalanand Ghosh, *City in Early Historical India*, Shimla, 1973, pp. 18-19.

⁷ Bruce Trigger, *Determinants of Urban Growth in Pre-Industrial Society*, London, 1973, pp. 577-578.

any village over 5,000 inhabitants was termed as a town.⁸ A fairly good definition of a town is a collection of numerous dwelling near each other within a limited area having shops, which provide a continual open market for the supply of goods, especially of manufactured goods. Each town occupying on an average of 15 square miles and many containing minimum a single street, size, compactness and certain architectural, commercial or Industrial features are all considerations which go to make up a town.⁹

The definition of town, further goes, that the population should be not less than 5,000 residing in houses more or less contiguous, not in scattered collections as hamlet and the place, though containing the above population, should not be merely a large village, but should have some distinct urban character, as that of a market town, where a town is made up of several distinct portions, as municipal limits, civil stations, Sub-urbs and contonments respectively.¹⁰

The census reports of India stated that the term 'town' includes: (i) Every municipality of whatever size. (ii) All civil lines not included with in the municipal limits. (iii) Every contonment. (iv) Every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons is to be treated as urban.¹¹ In making this decision, it was instructed to

⁸ Census of India 1931, Vol.I, India Part-I. Report, Para.37, p.45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.45-46.

¹⁰ Census of India - Village and Town Directory, Department of Census Operations, Part.XIII-A, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

¹¹ Census of India 1931, Vol. I, India part-I. Report, Para. 37, pp.45-46.

take into consideration the character of population, the relative density of the dwellings, importance in trade and historic associations and to avoid treating as towns over-grown villages without urban characteristics.¹² According to the census reports of India, 'City' means, 'Every town containing not less than 100,000 inhabitants'.¹³ Towns of not less than 1,00,000 inhabitants were to be treated as cities.¹⁴

The census reports further stated that an 'Urban Agglomeration' means, a continuous urban spread constituting a town and its adjoining urban outgrowth or two or more physically contiguous (adjacent) towns together with continuous, well organised urban outgrowth, if any, of such towns.¹⁵ All urban units other than agglomeration are referred by us as 'isolated towns'. Places with a smaller population with a definite urban character (including generally all municipalities, cantonments and other places having a local administration of their own) may be treated as 'separate towns'.¹⁶

III. THEORIES OF URBANISATION

The functional aspects of a town are referred to as urbanisation. It is pertinent here to discuss some of the important theories relating to the origin and development of

¹² *Ibid.*, p.47.

¹³ Census of India 1931, Vol. I, India part-I. Report, Para 528-529, p.5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Para.528-29, p.5.

¹⁵ Census of India 1951, Vol. I, Part. II-A, Demographic Tables, p.2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.2.

urban settlement and to seek validation of these theories in the context of the present work.

Gideon Sjoberg states that unquestionably the factor of political power, much more than commerce, is the key to the rise and spread of urban centres. Although he does not deny that a commercial organisation is necessary if a political system is to be maintained but he highlights the primacy of the political factor.¹⁷

Bruce Trigger argues that the state is one of the necessities for a town but not a sufficient condition for, or concomitant of the development of urbanism.¹⁸

According to Louis Wirth, the American sociologist, the theory of urbanisation included three necessary factors. They are 'Physical structure', 'Social organisation', and 'Collective behaviour'.¹⁹ According to him, 'Physical structure' means population, technology and the ecological or geographical environment. 'Social organisation' means the institutions and the status and power groups within the community and 'Collective behaviour' means the group attitudes and ideologies that confronted one another within the community environment.²⁰

Wirth's theory of urbanisation was supported by sociologists, demographers, human ecologists and historians. They have re-arranged and expanded his scheme into what they call

¹⁷ Gideon Sjoberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.18.

¹⁸ Bruce Trigger, *Op.Cit.*, p.592.

¹⁹ Louis Wirth, *On Cities and Social Life*, London, 1969, p. 78.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.78.

the "POET" frame work. It means Population, Organisation, Environment and Technology. They have argued for a study of the process of urbanisation based upon the variables of population, social organisation, the physical environment and technology. This theoretical construction assumes that the urban structure results from a societal process that alters the balance between population and environment in ways mediated by technological innovation and changing social organisation.²¹ This process of urbanisation has a 'feed back' effect upon the larger society and also produces societal wide changes in the levels of technology and in the types of social organisation existent in both urban and rural areas.²²

The variables under the "POET" categories in the study of urban history in various levels are as follows.

Population

(i) Size of the population concentration. (ii) Rural-Urban-Rural migration pattern. (iii) Composition of population along ethnic, racial and linguistic lines. (iv) Fertility-Mortality ratios. (v) Age-Sex ratios and (vi) Rate of literacy.

Organisation

(i) Percentage of work force engaged in non-agricultural activities. (ii) Diversity of occupation structure. (iii) Open or closed nature of occupational opportunities. (iv) Methods of

²¹ Stanley, K. Schultz, "An Approach to a Theory of Urbanisation", J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History*, Amritsar, 1978, p.15.

²² *Ibid.*, p.15.

recruitment for employment, both internal and external to the community. (v) Nature and means of economic exchange. (vi) Transitions from handicrafts to mechanised industries. (vii) Patterns of communal residence in both geographical and social spaces.

Environment

(i) Kind of geographical area inhabited, (ii) Physical dimensions of geographical area and (iii) Physical spacing (distance) of communities within given geographical region.

Technology

(i) Modes of transportation, (ii) Communication facilities (informational net work) and (iii) Inventiveness.²³

These sets of variables help us to account for the uniqueness of past events and the possibility to predict our urban futures and also allow us the opportunity of classifying the process of urbanisation.

Discussing the factors which might have been conducive to the spread of urban settlements, Bruce Trigger refers to the need for a regular supply of food surpluses to urban centres. He maintains that the survival of a particular community in a pre-industrial setting would depend on its ability to provide a dependable source of food for its members. The manner in which this is done varies from one community to another.²⁴

Among some urban groups a considerable amount of food is produced by the inhabitants of the city working on either a

²³ Louis Wirth, *Op.Cit.*, p.16.

²⁴ Bruce Trigger, *Op.Cit.*, pp.580-82.

full-time or part-time basis in the surrounding countryside. An alternative is for city dwellers to purchase food from farmers in return for manufactured products and professional services. The last mentioned is a kind of reciprocal relationship between the city and the countryside which has played a significant role in the process of urban development.²⁵

Another factor which seems to have helped the spread of urban settlements is the system of transportation. Bruce Trigger holds that the extensive river systems make transportation relatively easy.²⁶ There is a tendency for bulk items such as food to be produced near the places where they are likely to be consumed. But even, if the bulk items cannot always be produced in the vicinity of a town, a well developed system of transport either by land or by river would be of great help in overcoming the problem of distance in exchange of essential commodities between widely separated groups of people.²⁷

In complex societies, Trigger argues, official and religious organisation, like those of a governmental or military nature, tend to be hierarchised, with the upper formation administering a heavy investment in property and trained personnel. While religious concepts may dictate that certain temples and other religious buildings be located in rural settings, the major institutions are usually situated in urban centres. The largest and most important temples are often in the centre of the city,

²⁵ Max Weber, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 65-67.

²⁶ Bruce Trigger, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 583-585.

²⁷ Om Prakash Prasad, *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval South India C.A.D. 600 - 1200*, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 13-14.

thus expressing the theological rationalisation of the unity of the city or state.²⁸

In turn, the various divisions of the city may have their own subsidiary cult centres, each located in its respective quarter. Altogether, such temples support a considerable number of priests and clerks and provide work for numerous urban craftsmen, who might otherwise not find employment.²⁹ All these can be observed in relation to the medieval towns in Tamil Nadu. The rise of a large number of religious sects centered round permanent temples and landed estates seem to have encouraged the growth of corporate religious activity in towns.

To this, the planned structural activity of some significance constitutes an undeniable aspect of urban living. The evidence of such activity can be collected even where archaeological excavation does not prove to be of any avail such as has been done in the present study.

From a functional point of view, medieval towns of Tamil Nadu with particular reference to Thanjavur district can be divided into three categories. Urban centres with predominantly administrative activity have been described as administrative towns. Similarly those with predominantly ritual and mercantile functions have been characterised as religious towns and commercial towns respectively. An important feature is noticed in these towns where corporate activity of administrative, religious and commercial significance was centred and apart from

²⁸ Bruce Trigger, *Op.Cit.*, p. 590.

²⁹ Om Prakash Prasad, *Op.Cit.*, p.14

this, the study also tried to bring out the role of a particular type of activity in the newly emerging town or in the expansion of the old one.

Interestingly, some of the theories identify the forces which encouraged the pace of urbanisation. since the present study takes notice of whether there was a similar development or not in a specified region, and these theories are of relevance in formulating a conceptual basis of urban history.

IV. SCOPE OF THE SUBJECT

The study was intended to be carried out for the period circa A.D. 1750-1813. It was during this period that the colonial rule was established in Tamil Nadu. As a result of this there were dramatic socio-economic changes in the coromandel coast of Thanjavur region. Moreover, 1750's marks the beginning of the English East India company's march towards conquest of territory and the end was achieved by 1800. During this period, new trade routes were opened. Trading firms, such as the British East India company were chartered by the European Governments. Larger ships were built, and flourishing cities grew up by the end of the 17th century. By 1750 large quantities of goods were being exchanged among the European and the other Asian and African nations, and there was a demand for more goods than were being produced.

Over these years, the East India Company's trading interests were declining, and the charter of 1813 virtually removed all its special trading privileges, except the China trade. British private trade flourished particularly with the removal of the

East India company's trade monopoly over Asia by the charter of 1813.

During the study period, a distinct group of British private traders emerged on the scene and this led to the formation of 'Agency Houses' around 1800. This supremacy of the English East India company was attained over the period between circa 1750 and 1813, after a chain of political, military and commercial manoeuvres. The East India Company were simply a trading body to begin with, and they found it lucrative to take part in the frequent local conflicts and by a series of clever manipulations of events, attained political sovereignty over the region by 1800.

The year 1813 is also milestone in Indian history due to the introduction of the Charter Act of 1813. The significance of the Act was that the English East India Company lost its monopolistic trading rights and also provides for an abolition of factories. This resulted in the announcement of 'Free Trade Policy' in India by Britishers. With the stabilisation of British rule, the economic exploitation of the country continued with more intensification.

The commercial monopoly of the East India Company was totally lost and it came to an end with the Charter Act of 1813. This Act permitted missionaries to spread Christianity. The other missionaries settlement areas like those of the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and French by this time were already developed in all aspects of urbanisation. Around the Thanjavur district one could deduct the slow development of educational institutions, medical facilities and growth of industries etc.

It was during this period i.e. circa A.D. 1750-1813, that a fluctuation in the development of urban centres in Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur district in particular came into force. In Tamil Nadu, urbanisation has a direct relation to modernisation and industrialisation and both these were closely inter-related. In this period, at regular intervals of time, the trade and commercial activities flourished and the exports and imports through ports steadily expanded in this study region. These aspects can be very well seen in the Thanjavur region during the study period.

The main impact of this period was a change in the movement of people and goods. Contacts between the native rulers and the British power intensified and all these led to the economic activities in this region. Movement of troops (both the Britishers and the native rulers) from place to place on military expeditions intensified the settlement of urban centres.

During this period, the trade and economic activities, transport facilities (including road and sea) and the steady progress of urban population of Thanjavur district all underwent dramatic changes in character and composition. At one level, Thanjavur district was very much a product of the British presence and the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries witnessed the hey-day of the British expansion over this region.

In a nutshell, the study period C.A.D. 1750-1813, focuses on the British colonial impact on urbanisation in Tamil Nadu and more particularly to the study area i.e., Thanjavur. The study period also witnessed the Industrial Revolution in England, and the present study attempts to analyse its impact on Tamil Nadu's

socio-economic development and more particularly about the rise of various factors and their impact on urban centres in the coromandel coast of the Thanjavur region. Thanjavur's history was thus linked with the phenomena of western imperialism, the capitalist economy and the rise of new technologies.

It is hoped that the modern urban policy makers and planners engaged in urban development would benefit from this study as there is a dearth of studies which seek to trace out the historical roots of the urbanisation in Thanjavur district.

Thus, this study seeks to provide the details of urbanisation in a transitional period i.e. from late Medieval to early modern. It also presents an over-view of the socio-economic and political changes and their impact on this region. Through these factors it gives greater insights into the strengths and drawbacks of the urban system during the period. This study also examines the changing patterns of cities from the rural settlement to the urban areas. In the light of the existing historical debates on the decline of urban centres during this period, it examines the urban settlement at Thanjavur.

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Indian sub-continent has a long history of urbanisation. The first phase of urbanisation is associated with Indus-Valley (Harappa) civilisation and then there were towns and cities associated with the two major, but closely related, cultural streams of India, namely the Aryan civilisation of the north and the Dravidian civilisation of the south. India also had a more

or less continuous history of urbanisation.

In recent years, 'Urban Studies' has emerged as a significant branch not only in the discipline of history but other social science as well. Studies in urban history of various regions have been attracting the attention of scholars considerably throughout the world in general and India in particular. It becomes more appropriate with relation to India as it had one of the earliest known and well developed urban civilizations.

In the past few decades, increasing attention has been paid by the scholars to look into the problems involving social and economic history of India and more particularly to the field of urbanisation. Efforts to study themes such as urban growth of individual cities, urban social structures, urban economics, rural-urban networks, migration, environment etc., in the context of India and particular to Tamil Nadu have also been growing. All such studies have not only brought to light new source material in various regions but have also opened up new areas of research.

In India the urban population which was only 8 million at the turn of the century rose to 217 million by 1991. India's rapidly growing urban population is higher than that of any other country except China. Growing at the rate of 3.9% annually, projections indicate that India's urban population is likely to range between 435 million and 485 million by the year 2010 and represents 41 % of the total population. The doubling of India's urban population over the next two decades will mean that urban areas must accommodate over 10 million new inhabitants every

year.³⁰

The Indian urban scene is characterised by several critical problems. One of the consequences of urbanisation is the rapid growth of slums and informal settlements, where people live without physical (or) civic amenities like water, sanitation, roads, drainage, education, health, and opportunities for socio-economic development, besides over-crowding, high density and a high growth rate. The problem is more severe in metropolitan centres than in the smaller urban areas. Traditionally, municipal agencies (local self-governments) maintained majority of these facilities to fulfill the task of urban development.³¹

There is an increasing population growth noticed in the urban areas of Tamil Nadu. Next to Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu is the most urbanised state in the country.³² The impact of industrialisation in India particularly in Tamil Nadu is fostering urbanisation.³³ The pre-industrialisation phase still remains quiet important, but it is not a dominant factor as far as urbanisation in Tamil Nadu is concerned. It is an attempt to find out what are the other factors or forces operating for the development of urbanisation and also it is expected that the extent of urbanisation may show a significant progress in Tamil

³⁰ Jacob Z. Thudipara, "Participatory Approach to Urban Development: Case study of Indore habitat improvement project", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, vol.LIIII, No.4, October 1992, pp. 620-622.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.627.

³² Housing and urban development-Urban Development in Tamil Nadu 1984-85, Government of Tamil Nadu Publications, Madras, 1984. pp.1-3.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

Nadu with special reference to Thanjavur district.

In recent years, there has been a growing realisation of the fact that the study of urban history is essential for an understanding of a given society in its social and economic perspective. The city, it has been admitted is a typical stage in the evolution of human society bringing to focus the extent of sophistication achieved by a group of humans in their style of life and also the material bases of such sophistication. Therefore this study concentrates on Urban Centres in the State of Tamil Nadu with emphasis on Thanjavur District.

The topic of research is of great importance as there are many flourishing urban centres in the Thanjavur District of Tamil Nadu. The reasons for the urban centres in the Thanjavur District were primarily due to the stable government by the various Kingdoms and their rulers such as the great Cholas, the Nayakas, the Marathas besides Muslims, and Europeans settlers like Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, Britishers and French. Other than this, development of agriculture, improved transport and communication facilities, religion, trade, industry and commerce were the other factors that facilitated urbanisation. The main focus of the present study is to throw light on major and minor urban centres of different varieties like capital cities, port towns, temple towns, agrarian, administrative, religious, military, market, cultural, industrial, and manufacturing centres. The present study also attempts to throw light on different aspects of (colonial) urbanisation like the process of urbanisation, morphology of urban centres, functions, demography, urban administration, economic growth related to industries,

trade and commerce besides social stratification.

The topic was also found to be of historical, social, cultural, religious and political importance. Urbanisation in India, particularly in Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu has a rich historical past.³⁴ When anyone attempts to represent a town or a city, he inevitably begins to interpret the images of the past.³⁵ The study region of Thanjavur is considered by the economists and geographers as the "Pearl of India", because of its luxurious vegetation and unvarying fertility.³⁶ It is a fairly, thickly populated area and the marginal absence of cultural variations is marked by the evenness of the terrain.³⁷ This condition has helped the region to produce urban centres of political, religious, commercial and other interests.³⁸ It has been estimated that about 2/5 th of entire paddy that was marketed (transported via rail or canal) in Madras Presidency in the 1930s and 1940s was from Thanjavur district.³⁹

Besides, the rate of migration into urban areas of Thanjavur district was very high during 1940s and 1950s. The surplus of agriculture production attracted migrants from neighbouring districts like Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirapalli, South Arcot etc.,

³⁴ F.R.Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, Vol.I, Madras, 1933, p.7.

³⁵ Pamela Kanwar, "The Changing Images of Shimla", *Urban History Association of India*, Occasional papers Series, No.10, 1989, p.1.

³⁶ F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7..

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.7.

³⁹ C.R. Srinivasan, *Report on Rice Production and Trading in Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1934, pp.3-5.

to the tune of 1,72,500.⁴⁰ During the 1930s there was a migration from Malaya, Burma and Sri Lanka but it did not really affect the urban growth rate.⁴¹

The process of urbanisation has essentially been a reflection of major transformation in both agriculture and industry. The radical transformation in agriculture laid the basis for sustained industrial growth and also moulded urban development. Hence, the process of urbanisation in Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur district in particular is moulded by its specific socio-economic and historical factors.

This study is essentially to unfold the meaning of the broad perspective outlined above in the specific socio-economic and historical context of Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu. Within the broad perspective, the present study concentrates on the nature of agrarian structure and the process of urbanisation or the decline of urbanisation in Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu.

The historical perspective concerning the evolution of various elements that shape a landscape was essential for sound understanding of existing pattern. The evolution of settlements was a continuous process taking place amidst all the constraints of environment.⁴² Hence, it was important to provide some historical framework to gain greater understanding about the present study. The existing pattern of urban settlements, their morphology, size, function and regional association represents

⁴⁰ B.S.Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand Book*, Madras, 1957, p.124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.124.

⁴² R.L.Singh and K.N.Singh, "Readings in Rural Settlements Geography", *National Geographical Society of India*, Varanasi, 1975, pp.111-12.

the imprint of man on the cultural landscape through the sequence of various historical periods.⁴³ Such sequential developments in relation to the physical features and other geographical factors further help to understand the period of study.

The Thanjavur district contains a number of rich national and international places that includes ancient, medieval and modern cities and towns. Among these, "Thirumullaivasal" and "Kaveripoompattinam" (Poompuhar) were port cities since the Sangam age and it continued to be so in the Chola and later periods too. Besides, it served as a "Hinterland", the district inland from the coast (Bay of Bengal) or a river (Cauvery) of the Chola country. It was also the port from which the Cholas controlled "the largest and most extensive Indian shipping of the commercial coast".⁴⁴

The term coromandel is widely held to be derived from the classical Tamil regional name Cholamandalam. The coromandel coast was the wide expanse of India's eastern coast from Point Calimere (Thanjavur district), where the coastline takes a sharp northerly drift, to near the 20° N latitude. The long coromandel coastline of the Thanjavur district is distinct and one of the major trading regions of the Indian peninsula. Its unity as a trading region stems from many factors related to its historical experience, its common pattern of ecological and climate environment and its economic and cultural homogeneity.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.113.

⁴⁴ K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, Madras, 1935, P.76.

⁴⁵ William Hickey, *Thanjavur : Maratha Principality in South India*, Madras, 1872 pp.3-5.

The aphorism of the Tamil poetess, Avvaiyar, "to seek fortune even by sea fearing" corroborates the fact that the Tamils were great sea-farers. The Tamils must be counted among the maritime peoples of old for whom the seas were as important as the land in their search for economic security. The old Tamil adage "Tirai kadal odiyum tiraviyam tedu" (seek treasure even by traversing the deep seas) remains as true today as it was in the first millennium A.D.⁴⁶

In India, the Tamils were the pioneers to cross the seas in search of a market for their products. There are concrete evidences to show that Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur in particular, from very early times, carried on trade by sea with several foreign countries. The very locals of this land, who occupied a lengthy examined coastal line with bay of bengal, nurtured the sea trade from very early days. The people of Thanjavur travelled far and wide in the seas from the China coast land in the East to Rome in the West. People from Rome, Greece and Arab countries came to this region for trading purposes.

Thanjavur was also famous for its coastal colonies for the Greek and the Roman traders.⁴⁷ Its rich streets were laden with heaps of silk, corals, pearls, gems, gold, sandal, grains, metal-wares, salt and other consumer items for sale while various artisans and artists gave special importance to this region in terms of settling here in great numbers.⁴⁸ It is a place where

⁴⁶S.Arasaratnam, *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast: 1650-1740*, Madras, p.x.

⁴⁷E.H.Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Delhi (II ed.), 1974, pp.211-212.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.212.

wealthy merchants and businessmen imposed their bourgeoisie values on an indifferent and passive native population.⁴⁹ This region is noted for a harmonious growth of agricultural production, manufacture of textiles and other goods.⁵⁰ The peasantry, the weavers, the artisans and the mercantile community were in a prosperous position.⁵¹ In addition to it, it is an industrial centre and a home for the finest products of flourishing handloom industry.⁵²

Through out the history, Thanjavur had been considered a big commercial centre and it accommodated several Non-Tamil speaking traders and businessmen from other parts of India and abroad. During the Medieval period, the city of Thanjavur and its surrounding areas flourished in the areas of town planning, district administrative divisions, a variety of land reforms, art and architecture and the progress of urbanisation added to its significance. The recent rediscovery of the Cholas port city of Poompuhar, off Kaveripoompattinam on the Thanjavur coast has revived the glory of Tamil language and culture including its urban settlements.⁵³

By the beginning of the Seventeenth century, Nagapattinam became an important port of this region. It acquired great significance as centre for international market. It is also important for business, trade, commerce, transportation and

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.213.

⁵⁰ K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, Madras, Vol.II, 1935, pp.606-7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.607-608.

⁵² K.R.Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of Cholas*, Delhi, 1980, p.11.

⁵³ Indian Express, "Express Magazine", Hyderabad, April 30, 1995, p.1

administrative activities.⁵⁴ It was one of the ancient port cities in India. Exports and imports were the common business practices of this region.⁵⁵ So this region became the focal point for trade and commerce from surrounding regions by sea as well as by land. This district covers a lengthy coastal belt of Bay of Bengal and the Cauvery basin, which serves as "Hinterland".⁵⁶ The structure of economic activity and the development of industrial and urban growth mark it as the "Central Business District" of this region during the study period. This conducive climate for trade and commercial activities was the main reason for many European trading companies to start their establishments in the ports of the region and acquire precious goods for exporting them to different international markets.

Besides all the points mentioned above, Thanjavur district is especially known for its temple and the unique traditional and cultural heritage it carries till this day. The Cauvery basin of Thanjavur district has recently attained the global significance since it heavily contains rich oil resources. Apart from this the famous Tamil University of Thanjavur is also situated in the outskirts of the Thanjavur town to add credit to it.

To conclude, Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur district in particular has been one of the most important regions of the Indian sub-continent and has played a pivotal role in its

⁵⁴M. Abdul Rahim, *"History of Nagapattinam and its surroundings : From 16th Century"*, Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Madras University, 1971, pp.119-121.

⁵⁵T. Venkatasamy, *Thanjavur District Manual*, Vol.I, Madras, 1857, pp.296-305.

⁵⁶G. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol.I, Part.II(63), pp.390-393.

historical and political developments from ancient times. The development of a typical colonial urban settlement like Thanjavur expresses a system of values, norms and also cultural and socio-economic relations. Despite the region's importance, academic interest in the Thanjavur district has been limited primarily to the study on urbanisation. In view of the above reason, it is essential to do research on urbanisation in this region during the period under study.

Lastly, some work has been made on Thanjavur but the question of the entire district and its relationship with the urban centres during the study period had not been paid any adequate attention so far. In fact, there was a renaissance in arts and urbanism in the "Ancient Thanjavur Country" in the seventeenth and the earlier decades of the eighteenth centuries,⁵⁷ the full significance of which has not been grasped by any researcher. Moreover, the Thanjavur district was one such area which had not been fully explored in view of the recent changes in Indian historiography. It was with this objective in view that the study proposes to analyse the subject of urban centres in relation to its impact on the resultant social, economic, political, religious and cultural formations of the epoch circa A.D. 1750-1813 with the aid of all the available materials. Above all, the subject is a fascinating one to a native of the Thanjavur district.

⁵⁷ William Hickey, *Op.Cit.*, pp.1-3.

VI. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The proposed research is intended to analyse the following aims and objectives:

1. To formulate a theoretical approach to the subject.
2. To study the urban centres during the period of study.
3. To critically examine the factors that contributed to the sustenance or declining of urban centres in the study area (i.e. trade, commerce transportation, administrative activities etc.).
4. To discuss the relationship between the rural and urban as well as the inter-relationship between cities, large towns, medium and small size towns.
5. To analyse the process of transformation from rural to urban areas and the conditioning of existing urban centres.
6. To identify its social stratification and its urban life i.e. socio-economic, religious, cultural and political activities.
7. To assess the living environment with the identification of natural features i.e, the city's topography, site and ecology and the land uses in its area including its geographical location.
8. A specific aim is to find out the positive and negative factors of the region and how these factors contributed for the debacle of urban centres during the study period.

VII. HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

1. Whether the early growth of the city depended on its religious significance? If so, it's impact on the inflow of population from

different parts is to be studied and tested.

2. It is also assumed that this inflow of population slowly led to the rise of many adjoining infra-structure like trade, industry and transport giving life to different trading companies and commercial centres, mainly alien. And in turn, these business organisations like the English East India Company, started hegemonising the local scenario, which resulted in the establishment of colonial rule over a period of time -- what is its relationship to the present study ?

3. Whether the urban centres had undergone any drastic changes? If so, how ? And what were the major areas of similarities and contrast do we see between Circa A.D. 1750 and 1813 in the context of our present study?

4. Another hypothesis to be tested is that, as a result of "feudalisation" of economy in the Medieval period, did trade, including long distance trade, have any impact on urban areas?

5. Growth of urban centres reflects the increase of trade and commerce and vice-versa. Was there any decline of trade and commerce due to any decay of urban centres during this period -- specially between Circa A.D 1750 and 1813, in this region.

6. The factor of social evolution has not been well recognized as basic to an understanding of the process of the study of urban History in India. How this factor related to the urban centres in the Thanjavur district?

7. A city's capacity for growth is dependent upon an elaborate political apparatus, and also the political factor is significant for the development of a town or city or urban areas - so

attention should be paid to the political apparatus also.

8. A sound economic foundation is one of the important factors for the sustenance of urban centres and the responsibility of this is to be considered wider aspects.

9. Besides political, social, economic, cultural and religious factors, geographical factor (i.e. its physical structure and the ecological process) play a vital role in the formation and growth of urban settlements in any areas. If so, how the link between these factors has to be established?

10. Colonial rule was established with the advent of foreign trading companies, particularly The English East India Company - what was the impact of these companies on urban areas during the study period i.e C.A.D 1750 - 1813 and Thanjavur District in particular.

11. And finally for a period between C.A.D 1750 and 1813, we should attempt to highlight the salient features. Was there indigeneous or any colonial impact?

VIII. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted, seeks to go beyond the traditional approach by following systemic procedure based on a scientific approach to the topic. The region offers an excellent scope for such an exercise. This is a case study of Thanjavur district in terms of the development of urban centres and settlements in this region. This work is basically a historical analysis involving the examination of various aspects such as the administrative facilities and activities, population of the district, various professions, instances of migration, communication

transportation, trade, finance, commerce and the growth of city size etc.

The study is based on different data that is collected from various published and unpublished, primary as well as secondary, sources and also from the different archival sources in the state concerned i.e. Tamil Nadu State Archives (Madras). Besides, Pondicherry State Archives, National Archives (New Delhi) and the Andhra Pradesh State Archives (Hyderabad) are also consulted. Apart from this, the sources of the study material also include: archaeological materials, epigraphy, Government correspondences and despatches, Government reports and records, State and Central Government documents, charters and various declarations and conventions from time to time. In addition, the leading newspapers, weeklies, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, annual journals and articles, autobiographies, travellers' notes, temple records, monographs, diaries, manuscripts, letters and various other types of evidences collected from different centres, Governmental and Non-Governmental offices, census reports of India, municipality and urban development records, manuals, Gazetteers, Handbooks, etc., are used to test the above set of hypothesis. The data is carefully analysed and interpreted.

IX. CHAPTERIZATION

The study is divided into seven chapters as given below:

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

First chapter begins with the work towards formulating and refining a research design. The work broadly covers the following segments: (i) Introduction, (ii) Definition of urban areas, (iii)

Theories of urbanisation, (iv) Scope of the subject, (v) Significance of the study, (vi) Aims and objectives, (vii) Hypothesis of the study, (viii) Research methodology, and it also includes a brief note on the (ix) Chapterization.

CHAPTER II - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter gives an introduction of various kinds of source material available on the subject in the light of recent historiographical trends. It includes Modi documents [i.e. (i) Modi documents translated in Tamil and preserved in the Saraswathy Mahal Library, Thayam - 11 volumes, (ii) 'Modi palakani' - 2 volumes containing copies of Tamil documents, (iii) 48 note books containing hints in Tamil pertaining to the Modi documents]. In addition to this official records, reports, gazetteers, manuals, handbooks, almanacs, diaries, epigraphs, inscriptions, archaeological materials, encyclopaedia, government proceedings, correspondences, despatches and letters are used. Besides, published books in English on the history of Tamil Nadu and urbanisation, unpublished theses, Tamil sources (both published and unpublished), journals and articles both from current and back volumes are also used.

All the above literature is dealt in six sections in this particular chapter. They are as follows: (i) Historiography of urbanisation in International context. (ii) Historiography of urbanisation in the Indian context. (iii) Historiography of urbanisation in Tamil Nadu (a) The Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library (b) Collection of Tamil Manuscripts (iv) Historiography of Tamil Nadu - The Socio-Economic conference.

CHAPTER III - THANJAVUR DISTRICT : A POLITICAL HISTORY

This chapter highlights the following aspects: (i) Thanjavur: A Profile (a) Geographical and (b) Location of Thanjavur, (ii) Etymology of the name - Thanjavur, (iii) Political history of (a) Sangam Cholas and (b) Imperial Cholas of Thanjavur, (iv) Political history of Thanjavur Nayakas, (v) A brief political history of Thanjavur Marathas, (vi) Economic portrait of Thanjavur region, (vii) Cultural background and (viii) Relationship between polity and economy to the study of urban centres.

CHAPTER IV - URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT : A BACKGROUND

This chapter focuses mainly on the study of urban centres and also concentrates on the various factors which contributed for the conditions existed during the period of study. The major factors namely (i) Port, (ii) Military, (iii) Market, (iv) Fort (v) Capital (Administrative) town and also the (vi) Art and Cultural factors such as agraharam, choultries, music, drama, temple and religion are broadly highlighted in this chapter.

CHAPTER V - SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, 1750 - 1813

The role played by the various communities on socio-economic activities in Thanjavur district are discussed in this chapter. It broadly highlights the presence of various communities such as Hindu, Muslim, Christian and others, and also their activities. Apart from this, a brief background on social system on the use of Maratha Modi documents in the study region is also highlighted. In addition to the socio-economic conditions of the different communities, this study also concentrates on their occupations and sources of income. It also highlights the

conditions of the people working in the industries, such as the weavers, traders, craftsmen, architects, sculptors, potters, artisans, merchants and others in detail in this chapter.

CHAPTER VI - TRADE AND COMMERCE, 1750 - 1813

This chapter focuses on the Maratha and the European economic activities (i.e. exports and imports) in the study region from 1750 to 1813. A few notable features of the Maratha rulers up to 1813, as gathered from the translated Modi records are also given in this chapter. This chapter also deals with the Inland and Maritime (Overseas) trade activities of these powers as well as the natives of the Thanjavur district. Besides industry and manufacture of the Thanjavur region, during the period under study, are also discussed in detail.

CHAPTER VII - URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR DURING 1750 TO 1813

The conditions in Urban centres prevailed during the period of study are highlighted in this chapter. The declining port towns, Administration and Political towns and also religious towns are discussed in detail. In this process of declining, the relationship between the Hinterland and urban centres formed one of the major points of discussion. The slump in economy, the decelerated trading activities, the degenerating social system formed a part of the discussion in this chapter.

CHAPTER VIII - CONCLUSION

This chapter tries to sum up all the previous chapters and analyse the urban centres in Thanjavur district during the period under study. It also highlights the important results arrived in relation to the work.

CHAPTER - II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews various kinds of source material available on the subject in the light of recent historiographical trends. It includes Modi documents [(i) Modi documents translated in Tamil and preserved in the Saraswathy Mahal Library, Thayam - 11 volumes, (ii) 'Modi palakani' - 2 volumes containing copies of Tamil documents, (iii) 48 note books containing hints in Tamil pertaining to the Modi documents]. In addition, official records, reports, gazetteers, manuals, handbooks, almanacs, diaries, archaeological materials, encyclopaedia, government proceedings, correspondences, despatches, letters besides unpublished thesis, published books in English on the history of Tamil Nadu and urbanisation, Tamil sources (both published and unpublished), journals and articles both from current and back volumes are also used.

All the above literature is dealt in six sections in this particular chapter. They are as follows: (i) Historiography of urbanisation in International context. (ii) Historiography of urbanisation in the Indian context. (iii) Historiography of urbanisation in Tamil Nadu: (a) The Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library. (b) Collection of Tamil Manuscripts (iv) Historiography of Tamil Nadu -- The Socio-Economic conference.

The other sources of study include epigraphy, inscriptions, numismatics and monuments on the one hand and literature and foreign accounts on the other. For the British period, the correspondences, the despatches and practically all the related

records maintained by the East India Company and its successor governments are valuable. What the archaeological sources are to the early period, the despatches, the correspondences, the records and the reports are to the latter.

The study also concentrates on variety of source materials other than archival. For instance, an attempt is made to use epigraphical sources. For the Medieval period, relatively speaking, the epigraphy is admittedly more valuable. The relative importance of epigraphy does not mean that it is an absolutely reliable source (Epigraphs are cryptic records of a donative or legal nature). Besides, the annual report of both Indian and South Indian Epigraphy and a few volumes of *Epigraphica Indica* are very useful for the present study.

The official documents of the government of Madras (i.e. Madras Government records and reports) are of considerable importance. They consist of Thanjavur District records, Collectorate records, Agency records and Military correspondence records. Other than this, revenue consultations and sundries, Military consultations, Fort St. David consultations and despatches, to and from England. Besides, the reports of the various committees appointed to inquire into the affairs of Thanjavur also gives information regarding administrative history of Thanjavur District.

The other source materials for the present study include, calendar of a volume containing notifications (1779-1824) which was issued by the Danish administration at Tranquebar in

Thanjavur District (Danish records series), selections from the records of Thanjavur collectorate, selections from the old district records of Thanjavur and the Board of Assumed Revenue relating to Thanjavur country for the year 1970 (Index to proceedings).

The Thanjavur district records vol. I & vol. II published in 1770 and the collectorate records consist of correspondences between government officials and local sub-division officials dealing with, among other things, the revenue and local administration. To mention a few of these correspondences, the reports of Charles Harris and letters to the Board of Revenue between 1800-1804 and J.Hodgeson's report on Tirunelveli and letters to the Board of Revenue (miscellaneous) in the year 1807 are very useful to know about the study period elaborately.

Regarding the back ground information about the Thanjavur district, Guide to the records from 1749-1835, vol.I is very useful. The Tamil Nadu State Archives (Madras Records Office) now holds the extant records of the Thanjavur district from 1749-1835. This large collection of volumes includes several interesting special features, such as the commission for the administration of the Danish settlement of Tranquebar 1808-1820 and 1845-1846, the Resident's correspondence with the Raja of Thanjavur 1749-1835 and a number of valuable "Miscellaneous" items each devoted to a special subject. The Guide includes a historical sketch of the Thanjavur district with special reference to the land revenue administration and also an Index of

personal names. References may also be made to an article by Lt. Col. R.B. Branfill on Thanjavur place names, which appeared in the Madras journal of literature, Arts and Sciences for 1879.

Apart from this, India Office records, Fort. St. George records, the French East India Company records, Modi manuscript records, the oriental manuscript records at Thanjavur and Madras as well as records of Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and inscriptions especially South Indian Inscriptions (SII) help us in getting a clear picture of this period and the earlier one.

The original sources for the Maratha administration in Thanjavur district covering the period (of their presence) from 1676 to 1799 were very limited in extent and scope. However, the available records and various reports supply enough and vital information about the history of Thanjavur Marathas. Regarding the secondary sources of the study of Marathas in Thanjavur district were meagre and belong to different categories.

Archaeological sources of writing about administration of the Marathas of Thanjavur are practically nil. However, Robert Sewell's Archaeological Survey of South India gives a few references to political and administrative matters. The Bhonsle-Vamsa Charita, a Marathi inscription, found on the walls of Thanjavur Temple, translated by V. Srinivasachari, a Librarian, and published in 1951, tells of the Maratha dynasty and the nature of taxation as well as administration.

Other than this, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, British and French factory records, administrative reports of the Madras

Presidency from time to time, administrative report of the Municipal commissioner for the city of Thanjavur, Municipal Directory for the state of Tamil Nadu and the history of the Municipal corporation of Thanjavur (for wider perspective of Thanjavur city's development and its adjacent towns like Nagapattinam, Kumbakonam etc.) and also the reports of Ministry of Urban Development (both Central and State Governments) are utilised.

The famous Maratha ruler Serfoji II (1798-1833) enlarged the renowned Saraswathy Mahal Library at Thanjavur. This library is considered to be a veritable store-house of knowledge. It contains more than 22,000 manuscripts, mostly in Sanskrit which represent fields such as literature, philosophy, astronomy, grammar, music, dancing, architecture and medicine. Documents of historical value are generally called the "*Thanjavur Raj Records*" and a part of them are called "*Tamil Modi Records*".

Tamil Modi Records are the Tamil documents with official notes and orders in Modi script which consists of joined characters of Marathi. However, the present study is attempted to investigate the urban centres in the state of Tamil Nadu - A case study of Thanjavur district, during the period C.A.D. 1750-1813 and hence this study does not carry any elaborate attempt to analyse the Modi scripts.

The Modi records are in the form of hand made paper and the letters are written with an ink made from gall-nut. According to the subject matter, Tamil Modi Records fall into the following

categories. a) Pledges regarding taking land for lease, mortgage of house, etc. b) Letters related to the allotment of the toddy contracts, hiring King's ships, etc., besides written letters by citizens to the King and his officials. c) Notes about temple regulation, granting of money or lands for the upkeep or renovation of temples. d) Physician's medical reports about the royalty (King's family). e) Astronomical records, reports, etc. f) Orders given by the King to the officials or by high officials to lower officials -- regarding official transactions, investigation of theft, carrying out of duties, submission of accounts, etc. g) Reports of certain incidents like theft, official duties or local events, made by the lower officials to the higher officials. h) Petitions addressed to the higher officials, non-native higher officials, mostly by citizens and other officials. The petitions are made to officials regarding gifts, renewal of charity, a favourable judgement in a court case, employment, protection from a superior or calumny or accusations of wrong doing. These also include i) Legal arguments or cross examinations in a court. j) Proclamations like auction of diamonds. k) Memos rejecting petition on legal grounds and correspondences addressed to the King, inviting him to temple festivals, etc. It can be noted that the petitions that are addressed to King by citizens are more in number than any others.

Moreover, the records of the Marathas were in the language of Marathi in Modi manuscripts. The other related records were in the regional languages of Tamil and Telugu, besides the

foreign languages of Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, English and French. Many of these are deposited in public repositories, particularly in the Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library (TMSSML) at Thanjavur and in the Tamil Nadu State Archives (TNSA) at Madras. The Oriental Historical Manuscripts by Taylor, Mackenzie's Manuscripts and the Modi Manuscripts are preserved in the TMSSML at Thanjavur as well as in the TNSA at Madras are very useful for the political, economical and cultural history of Thanjavur region.

The Modi manuscripts preserved in the Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library and Tamil Nadu State Archives throw light on the administrative details. Most of the references available in the Modi translations are useful for corroboration. However, they are not arranged chronologically and it is essential to compare these with the data that is given in the Company records.

The other sources of information are Ecclesiastical letters which deal with the church activities during the study period. The letters of the Jesuit Fathers of Madura Mission to the General of the society at Rome are the primary epistolary sources for the history as well as the administration of the Marathas in Thanjavur. These letters were written in Latin, Italian or Portuguese, and were translated into French by Father Bertrand of the Society of Jesus and published in four volumes between 1847 and 1854. Several of them or their extracts that are translated into English are found in Rev.L.Besse's *Father Beschi, His Times*

and *His Writings* and *Chandasahib and Beschi*. Apart from this, R.Sathianathaier's *History of the Nayakas of Madurai* and John Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits* and John Nieuhoff's *Voyages and Travels into Brazil and East Indies*. They deal with the religious activities of the Jesuits and throw light on the political and social history of the period.

Regarding diaries, *The Private Diaries of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, is an interesting and valuable narrative. It deals with political developments, socio-economic and religious life of the people from 1736-1761. Ananda Rangapillai was appointed as the Dubash or courtier to Joseph Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry in 1747 and worked in this position till 1756. He made it a practice to record the day to day occurrences in his diary. In 1892, the Madras government came to know of the diary and brought it under its custody. Later, it was translated into English and published in 12 volumes between 1904 and 1924. This series was edited by F.G. Price and H.Dodwell at Madras in 1904-1928. The period, which the diary covers was politically important in the history of the study region, but it supplies only scanty information.

The throne of Thanjavur was occupied by King Pratap Singh (1739-1763) known as the diplomat among the Maratha Kings. The French and the English in the meantime embarked upon a struggle for gaining control of the south. Ultimately the English won a decisive victory over the French in the battle of Wandiwash in 1760 and emerged supreme. While writing about the political

transactions, social customs and internal developments, the diarist leaves much information about the administrative system of the Carnatic including the study region of Thanjavur. Besides A.T. Pringle's, *Diary and Consultation Books of Fort. St. George* (Madras, 1895) gives a broad outline of the subject. While writing about the political transactions, social customs and internal developments, the diarist leaves much information about the administrative system of the Thanjavur Marathas.

Other than this, the important source materials for the present study (both Tamil and English) are Gazetteers, Manuals, Handbooks, Census Reports, Lexicons and Encyclopaedia etc.

Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) data archives at New Delhi, Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) documentation centre and Library at New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library at New Delhi, National Archives at New Delhi are useful. Besides papers, despatches and minuting on the subject of urban development and related matters from time to time in the state secretariat, Government of Tamil Nadu at Madras, International Institute of Tamil studies (IITS) at Madras and Tamil Nadu Institute of Urban Studies at Coimbatore gives information regarding the study of urbanisation in Tamil Nadu. These official and unofficial documents provide abundant descriptive and even quantitative information on the economic, social, geographical and political structures of the concerned regions. These constitute primary sources of information.

Urbanisation is a subject matter of different fields of

study. The complex process of urbanisation and the distinct way of life in cities stimulated scholars to make serious pursuits in urban studies. Both Indian and Foreign scholars have made significant contributions in this area.

The major trends in urban historiography both at international and national levels shall be briefly discussed here for the better understanding of urbanisation process in the study.

(i) Historiography of Urbanisation in International Context

A large number of scholars pursuing urban studies and working in different disciplines viz. Sociology, Anthropology Economics, Geography, Political Science and History, have given their own interpretations to the concept of *cities* and *urban centres*. Earliest among them were the foreign scholars, notably Louis Wirth, Gideon Sjoberg and Bruce Trigger.

A notable scholar in urban studies, Louis Wirth approached the urbanism as a way of life from interrelated perspectives as a physical structure, as a system of social organisation and as a set of attitudes.¹

A famous Urban Sociologist, Gideon Sjoberg distinguished between pre-industrial and industrial city.² He also tried to

¹ Louis Wirth, *On Cities and Social Life*, London, 1969, pp.15-16.

² Gideon Sjoberg, *The Pre-Industrial City: Past and Present*, New York, 1960, p.27.

analyse the social and ecological structure of pre-industrial and non-industrial city.³ In the same way, the scholars like Aiden Southall and Richard G.Fox made cross cultural studies of urbanisation.⁴

A celebrated urban scholar Bruce Trigger writes, that population size or population density have not won general acceptance nor can it be agreed that only communities that have a sizeable majority of their inhabitants engaged in various non-agricultural pursuits can be classified as towns or cities.⁵ He further argues out that not withstanding clear-cut and often highly technical definitions of cities in specific cultures neither anthropologists nor geographers have been able to agree on a generally acceptable cross cultural definition of urbanism.⁶ The other notable foreign scholars in field of urbanisation are Leonard Reissman⁷ and Riesenbergs⁸ who contributed significantly to this field.

Further, among the remarkable foreign scholars whose contribution to the subject of urbanisation can be worth

³ *Ibid.*, p.28.

⁴ Aiden Southall and Richard G.Fox (eds.), *Urban Anthropology*, New York, 1973, pp.3-5.

⁵ Bruce Trigger, *Determinants of Urban Growth in the Pre-Industrial Society*, London, 1973, p.577.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.577-78.

⁷ Leonard Reissman, *The Urban Process, Cities and Industrial Societies*, Illinois, 1964, pp.22-30.

⁸ Riesenbergs, *The Medieval Town*, New York, 1958, pp.17-20.

mentioning here are Park, Burgess and Meckenzie. In his works, Park provided the general framework for the ecological theory of the city. According to him, the city represents an externally organised unit produced by laws of physical extension.⁹ The other foreign scholar Mackenzie provided a systematic statement of its inner laws of its physical extension and differentiation.¹⁰

Another notable scholar Arnold Toynbee correctly said that the city is a human settlement whose inhabitants cannot produce within the city limits, all of the food that they need for keeping them alive.¹¹

A famous urban historian Lewis Mumford recognises the evidence of planned structural activity as a feature of ancient towns, but he seems to be obsessed with the role of the King in bringing about a town into existence.¹² He represents the city as the center of power and culture of a community.¹³ He writes, the most important agent in effecting the change from a decentralised village economy to a highly organised urban economy was the King or rather the institution of kingship. He divides urban development into three stages: the provincial, the commercial and

⁹ Park, Burgess and Meckenzie (eds.), *The City*, Chicago, 1970, pp.22-25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.26-29.

¹¹ Arnold Toynbee, *Cities on the Move*, London, 1970, pp.3-7.

¹² Lewis Mumford, *City in History*, London, 1970, pp.7-8.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.8.

the industrial, according to the dominant social institutions and the expression of the prevailing pattern of dominance in buildings and architectural styles in city plans.¹⁴

The French historian, Francois Belarisa implores "the urban historians to respond to as many questions thrown up by the sociologists, demographers, geographers and town planners as they can".¹⁵

There are many concepts of urbanisation, used by the urban historians. They are mostly classificatory in nature and based on different criteria and note the life, nature of origin, morphology of the city and combination of them that gave rise to personality of the city.

According to H. J. Dyos, urban history from urban historians' point of view is still at its infancy.¹⁶ He stressed the importance of the study of urban history not merely the study of individual communities fixed more or less in time and space.

Despite its inter-disciplinary nature (urban history is an inter-disciplinary subject), urban history has a distinctive way of looking at things as a part of historical research.¹⁷ In addition to this, urban history is more concerned with urban life and towns and also people and their formal and informal

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

¹⁵ Francois Belarisa, *The Study of Urban History*, Paris, 1972, pp.7-12.

¹⁶ H. J. Dyos, *Study of Urban History*, London, 1968, p.7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

interests.¹⁸ But, all these works suffer from the neglect of various aspects of urbanisation.

In recent times, urban research focusses on urban growth of individual cities, urban economics, urban social structure, urban and rural links, migration, environment, image of the city and most other important issues pertaining to the process of urbanisation. Finally, on what has been called new urban history in the West, which gives systematic scholarly attention to under classes, the poor, the workers and the masses. These are some of the ideas and views of notable foreign scholars in the field of urbanisation. The distinct way of life in cities stimulated the scholars to make serious attempts to the multi-disciplinary subject of urban studies.

(ii) Historiography of Urbanisation in the Indian Context

Urbanisation is a recent area of research. In India, urban studies started quite late, when compared to other countries. Urban studies in India started with a limited scope in the sense most of them are biographies of the cities and towns. With the passage of time, the dimension and scope of urban studies is also increasing tremendously.

Urban History Association of India (UHAI) undertakes studies on urbanisation in India. It plays an important role for the development of the study of urbanisation and it helps the urban

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.8.

research scholars to explore the various facets of urbanisation in terms of ideas and approaches. Its main thrust is advancing the understanding of urban centres, urbanisation and socio-economic changes in pre-historic, ancient, medieval and modern periods of Indian history. It was started in 1978 and aims at promoting urban studies, not only in India but also abroad through conferences, seminars, symposia and lectures.

UHAI's publications are many in number. To mention a few, Indu Banga (ed.), *The City in Indian History* (New Delhi, 1991), J.S. Grewal (ed.), *Calcutta: Foundation and Development of Colonial Metropolis* (Amritsar, 1991) and J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History* (Amritsar, 1978). The volume, *Studies in Urban History*, by J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), presents sixteen papers. The contributions span the entire historical period of our sub-continent, from the Harappan civilisation in c. 2500 B.C down to c. 1947 A.D.¹⁹ It has the merit of highlighting the complexity of the process of urbanisation as it unfolds in different periods. One is instantly struck by the fact that the course of urbanisation in the Indian peninsula was uneven.

Among these works, some of them help us in getting a clear picture about the background to the subject of urbanisation and also the book, *Studies in Urban History* extensively covers the study period (i.e., 1750-1813) in terms of trade and commerce

¹⁹J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History*, Amritsar, 1978, pp.3-8.

activities besides socio-cultural aspects in detail in the Coromandel region.

Equally important source material for the background information to the study of urbanisation appeared in the volume *Studies in Urban History* edited by J.S.Grewal and Indu Banga and the article titled "Some problems concerning the urbanisation of the Indus Valley in the Third millennium B.C." by Shereen Ratnagar clearly shows that urbanisation in the Indus valley was dependent upon its trade links with the littoral areas of the Persian Gulf. However, the second urbanisation occurs in the Ganga valley in the sixth century B.C.²⁰ Like wise the other scholars describe the complexity of the process of urbanisation till 1947.

Other than these publications, a number of occasional papers series published by the Urban History Association of India(UHAI) from time to time. S.C. Misra, in his article, "Urban History in India : Possibilities and Perspectives", writes urban history is not an independent discipline, "possibly it cannot yet claim to be an autonomous sub-discipline either".²¹ He further states that, especially in India, urban historical studies are still in their formative stage, as an area in which historians may

²⁰ Shereen Ratnagar, "Some problems concerning the urbanisation of the Indus Valley in the Third millennium B.C.", J.S.Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History*, Amritsar, 1978, pp.9-17.

²¹ S.C.Misra, "Urban History in India : Possibilities and Perspectives", *Urban History Association of India*, Occasional papers series, Amritsar, 1982, pp.1-3.

fruitfully work and in which they may seek the collaboration of other historians and social scientists in related disciplines like Sociology, Economics, Geography and Political Science.²²

S.C.Misra also points out that, there are two more lacunae in the Urban Historiography of India, i.e., lack of historicity of many studies on cities and predominance of western perspectives.²³ Finally, he hints, "The stage has been reached when urban studies can be taken in real interest".²⁴

In the same series of Urban History Association of India (UHAI) publications, Nita Kumar writes about urban culture in Modern India. He highlights the reasons for the total neglect of urban lower classes and their culture. Cultural history requires learning from the disciplines of Folkloristics, Anthropology and History of Religions, their methodology and theory.²⁵ He concludes that social change is not a subject that can be understood by limiting its boundaries to familiar areas such as kinship, caste and occupation but rather by constantly being alert to new areas.²⁶

²²*Ibid.*, pp.5-7.

²³*Ibid.*, p.8.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp.9-10.

²⁵Nita Kumar, "Urban culture in Modern India", Urban History Association of India (UHAI), Occasional Papers Series, No.7., Amritsar, 1985, pp.1-12.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp.12-17.

Apart from these publication and occasional papers series, some of the important seminars and conferences conducted by the Urban History Association of India (UHAI) are worthwhile mentioning here. The Association has held symposia on themes related to urban studies with the cooperation of the Indian History Congress during its annual sessions at different intervals of time and different regions. A seminar on "*The small Town in Indian History and Rural-Urban Network*", at Simla on April 28-May 1, 1992 and symposium on "*Urbanism in South India*", at New Delhi on 21-23, February, 1992 were all important sources for the present study. In addition to this, the research papers on urbanisation presented by various scholars in the "*Symposium on Urban History*" held during the Bodh Gaya Session of the Indian History Congress in December, 1981, were very useful.

Much work has been done on Mughal period. The research work done on urbanisation during Mughal period is relatively large. Urban historians of India are divergent and often contradictory in their views about the course of Indian urban history. What should be the approach of urban history in India? A leading urban historian by name Howard Spodek in his article, "*Urbanisation in India*", argues that the India urban perspective is yet to evolve. He points out that urban history in India has not yet evolved as a subject in its own right.²⁷

²⁷Howard Spodek, "*Urbanisation in India*", *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.6, No.3, May 1983, pp.3-21.

Howard Spodek further argues that the studies in urban history in India may have to take urbanisation in general and urban centre in particular at their matrix, i.e., city as dependent variable. Moreover, the nature of the town in the specified region, its institutions and the socio-psychological make up of urban classes are to be illuminated first. He also stresses the need for this type of urban studies to be highlighted in India²⁸. He further states that the quality and volume of urbanisation should help us to gauge the nature of economy in that specified region.²⁹

This same line of approach was supported by many Indian urban historians. To mention a few scholars like S.N. Mukherjee, *Calcutta: Myth and History* and Ashish Bose, *India's urbanisation 1901-2001* (New Delhi, 1980) and also many others. However, today it appears that the field of urbanisation (studies in urban history) is growing both in productivity and resources for the future. This statement was made by S.C. Misra, a leading urban historian in India, and was supported by many others also.³⁰

Moreover, various factors contributed in general for the development of towns and cities, but there are specific factors for each category of urban centre.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp.19-21.

³⁰S.C.Misra, "Some aspects of the Self-administering Institutions in Medieval Indian Towns", J.S.Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History*, Amritsar, 1978, pp.80-85.

On the above, a leading urban historian, Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, correctly pointed out that the industry and trade played an important role in the rise and decline of urban centres.³¹ She has worked on urbanisation during the Medieval period. Her second book highlights the rise and fall of medieval Indian town which corresponded largely to the vigour or weakness of the central political power. Her work also deals comprehensively with urbanisation during the Mughal period.³²

A view expressed by I.P. Gupta in his work, *Urban Glimpses of Mughal India: Agra the Imperial capital in 16th and 17th centuries*, states: "a city is not just determined by its buildings, palaces, population and size but by varied activities in different spheres, such as political, administrative, economic, social, religious and cultural". Therefore, the sum total of various activities that contributed to developing the personality of the cities will be an important parameter to this approach.³³ He also stresses that this approach will give the urban historian a better insight into the growth and development of personality of the city.³⁴

³¹H.K.Naqvi, "Urban Growth in the Punjab (11th to 17th Centuries)", G.S.Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History*, Amritsar, 1978, pp.61-65.

³²H.K.Naqvi, *Urbanisation under the Great Mughals*, Shimla, 1971, pp.14-15.

³³I.P.Gupta, *Urban Glimpses of Mughal India : Agra the Imperial Capital in 16th and 17th Centuries*, Delhi, 1986, pp.3-13.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp.3-13.

Equally important work by the same author titled "Urbanisation in Gujarat during the Seventeenth Century" is useful one in the study of urbanisation which provides a map and statistical information about the urban centres during the Seventeenth Century. He highlights the growth of commerce and trade besides industries and crafts played an important role in the process of urbanisation.³⁵

I.P.Gupta further argues that the administration evolved or reorganised the customs, octroi posts and mint houses for raising the revenues from the urban centres, and financial activities also increased with growth in business. The population of weavers, dyers, artisans, skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen and other labour required to perform the sundry jobs were attracted to these cities and towns. Medium and small sized towns also flourished on account of economic activities.³⁶

He concludes that the communication facilities, flourishing industries and crafts, and commercial activities connected with inland and foreign trade accelerated the process of urbanisation. Besides, during Seventeenth Century, transport and industry came into being in all the major cities. Apart from this, a close study of the small towns reveals that they remained very

³⁵I.P.Gupta, "Urbanisation in Gujrat during the Seventeenth Century", J.S.Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History*, Amritsar, 1978, p.47.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p.49.

important and played a vital role in the economy of the region.³⁷

According to S.Arasaratnam, the commercial economy of the coromandel coast during the period 1750-1800 is remarkable one. In his recent book, titled *Maritime Commerce and English power*, focusses on the textile industry in the Coromandel coastal region. This is perhaps a study to analyse the extension of British control over important sectors of the commercial economy in a chronological progression distinguishing different stages in the process.³⁸

The author divides the book into nine chapters and the study is based on the available records. The book seeks to provide information on company systems, monopoly, amany system and total control over the weaving industry and trade, how it affected merchants, entrepreneurs and intermediaries. The author has concluded English success has been achieved at a price by the Company substantially transforming into political and administrative entity from its purely commercial occupations.³⁹ This is quite useful for the study of Medieval history.

The Cambridge Economic History, Volume II edited by Dharmakumar explains various economic policies of the government. The book broadly discusses the economy in the middle of the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.59.

³⁸ S.Arasaratnam, *Maritime Commerce and English Power*, New Delhi, 1996, pp.5-8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.13-17.

eighteenth century also. According to her, the south Indian economy during the period under study was ruined by prolonged warfare. Some of the southern districts, including Thanjavur had the impact of these wars on irrigation works and trade and commerce activities, which ultimately resulted in the de-population and the impoverishment. Large parts of the work are devoted to statistical analysis of income and agricultural prices. However, she states that the absence of the data for the latter part of the Eighteenth Century economic aspects, prevents one from formulating the conclusion as growth or decline of urban centres.

In addition to the above, the author also highlights the social dynamics of the period in "*Land Ownership and Inequality in Madras Presidency*", IESHR, Vol.XII, 1975 and in *Land and Caste in South India* (London, 1965).

(iii) HISTORIOGRAPHY OF URBANISATION IN TAMIL NADU

The original sources for the Maratha administration in Thanjavur covering the period from 1676 to 1799 are limited in extent and scope. However, the available records supply much information. The secondary sources are meagre and belong to different categories. They are as follows :

The several changes (i.e. socio-economic, political, religious and cultural) in the Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu have been studied by many scholars. Among these studies some of them are worth mentioning here in the present context.

To mention a few, for political and administrative history of Thanjavur, there are a large number of books and articles available. Detailed studies of the history of the Marathas include, William Hickey, *Thanjavur: Maratha Principality in South India*. His work was one of the earliest studies on the Thanjavur region and he made an exclusive coverage of the political and administrative activities of the region during the Maratha times. In his book, he mentions that when the British entered India, at that time Thanjavur was under the Maratha dominancy. He does not pay much attention of the religious and cultural activities of the region during the period.⁴⁰

William Hickey further describes that the Thanjavur region was called as "*The Eden of the South*" and also it should be popularly called as "*The Land of the Chola*".⁴¹ His work also highlights the presence of the British and Native territories and particularly distinguishing the chief Maratha states, with an explanatory one of the province of Thanjavur.⁴²

The Marathas patronised Marathi and Sanskrit scholars and most of the works of these scholars are literary in nature. Though artistically their value can be great, but their historical value can be much limited. Yet one cannot ignore

⁴⁰William Hickey, *Thanjavur : Maratha Principality in South India*, Madras, 1872, pp.3-7.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp.12-17.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp.23-28.

"Sahendra-Vilasa", a poem on the life of King Shahji, composed by Sridhara Venkatesa alias Ayyaval, for the present study. The author has mentioned about the life of King Shaji and his virtues. "Pratapasimha-Vijaya-Prabhanda", composed by Rama Krishna Kavi Pandit, a contemporary of Pratap Singh is historical in content. The work deals with the conquests and death of Dost Ali Khan, the adopted son of Sadat-Ul-lah-Khan, the first Nevayet Nawab of the Carnatic. The early rulers of Thanjavur paid tributes to the Nawab of the Carnatic, but as Pratap Singh appeared reluctant, the Nawab invaded Thanjavur. In order to save his kingdom from the invaders Pratap Singh solicited the help of his cousin, Sahu, the King of Satara. Accordingly Sahu despatched an army of 50,000 under the command of Raghuji Bhosle and Fatteh Singh. At Damalcheruvu, a battle was fought and Dost Ali was killed. Written in Marathi, but was translated by A.Krishnaji Raje Mahadic, it throws much light on the military system of the Marathas and their methods of warfare. Though, the incident narrated is historical, the poet missed no opportunity of praising the royal patron.

There were also other works like "*Sendalangan Viralividu Thuthu*", a popular poem of love message in which the poet eulogies his patron Sendalangan, an Attavana i.e. head of the taxation department under King Shahji. "*Mudraraksasa-Nataka-Kathasara*", a short work in Marathi composed by Raja Pratap Singh of Thanjavur, enlightens the historians with some hints on his administration.

In 1928, K.R. Subramanian first published a book called, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, covering the period from 1675 to 1800. He mentions the work of William Hickey in the historical introduction of Thanjavur in his book. He highlights the cultural wealth of Thanjavur, which was omitted by the earlier authors. He wrote that, Thanjavur with her flowing rivers and fertile soil nurtured culture and also it radiated to other parts of South India for centuries.⁴³ In his book, he has composed a substantial outline of the generations of Thanjavur rule in Maratha times, giving us essential facts to help us understand better the climatic conditions in which Thyagaraja, Syamasastri and Muthuswami Dikshitar (popularly called Mummoorthi's at the holy place of Thiruvaiyaru in Thanjavur district) thrived.⁴⁴ He has deepened our knowledge of this significant period during which the British arrived and gradually became entrenched in Indian soil.

Moreover, K.R.Subramanian's bibliography is quite useful, the conclusions he reaches are thoughtful and the concerns he pursues are still pertinent today. In this book, he focusses on the economy, the administration at the village level and on charities and religious toleration,⁴⁵ which provide insightful and accurate, detailed perspectives on dynasty. These are the

⁴³K.R.Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1928, pp.1-15.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp.7-15.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp.17-19.

principal sources available to know the historical and administrative accounts of the Maratha rulers.

This was followed by many other good historical studies by different authors. To mention a few like S. Seetha's *Thanjavur as a seat of Music*, Ph.D. Thesis, Madras University, studies at length into one facet of the region of Thanjavur. In her thesis, she highlights the importance given to the music by the people of Thanjavur district and the support rendered by the Maratha Kings to the musical artists in detail. She also mentions the various socio-cultural and economic activities of the people of the Thanjavur district during the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth centuries.⁴⁶

A comprehensive and more authoritative work on the Chola period was done by K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, in his book titled, *The Cholas* (Madras, 1955) and *A History of South India* (Madras, 1976). These books provide a broad context for grasping relevant preceding developments, but, in this book, he does not make any attempts to cover the Maratha rule.

Regarding the Nayakas of Thanjavur, many secondary works are available. For example, Sri Khandavelli Balendu Sekhram's work, *The Nayakas of Thanjavur* (Hyderabad, 1975) is very useful to know about the historical background of the Nayakas of Thanjavur. The author presents some pre-Maratha background and briefly touches on Maratha supremacy over the Thanjavur region. Another work on

⁴⁶S.Seetha, *Thanjavur as a seat of Music*, Ph.D Thesis, Madras University, Madras, 1968, pp.3-8.

the same subject is that of Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayakas of Thanjavur* (Annamalai Nagar, 1942). His work mainly concentrates on the socio-economic aspects of the Maratha rule besides a brief historical background of the Nayaka rulers in and around Thanjavur district.

Regarding the European settlers, especially the British presence in the study region is highlighted by K. Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur* (Mysore, 1969) and "*History of Tamil Nadu 1565-1965*" (Mysore, 1978) by the same author provides a good background to the overall development of this period.

(a) The Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library

The Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library is one of the few medieval libraries that exist in the world. It is an un-bounded repository of culture and inexhaustible treasure-house of knowledge built up by the successive dynasties of Nayakas and Marathas of Thanjavur. It contains very rare and valuable collection of manuscripts on all aspects of art, culture and literature. The Encyclopaedia Britannica in its survey of Libraries of World mentions this as "the most remarkable library in India".

The Library has the richest collection of manuscripts which reflect the culture of South India. In addition to the main collections the Library also came in possession of the collections of several pandits and their patrons who were living in and around Thanjavur district or elsewhere. Even now, this

library is receiving manuscripts from generous people. It has more than 46,695 manuscripts in the form of palm-leaf and paper.

The manuscripts of this library represent (a) The collection of works on art, science and literature of the Tamils from time immemorial, (b) The collection of works of the Vijayanagara renaissance brought under the Nayak rulers of Thanjavur between 1535 and 1673 A.D., (c) The collection of works brought by the Maratha rulers of Thanjavur, (d) The collection of works written by scholars in the country of the Nayak and Maratha, Kings of Thanjavur between 1535 and 1855 A.D., (e) The collection made by Maharaja Serfoji from all over India and (f) The later collections from the families of great scholars.

(b) Collection of Tamil Manuscripts

There are about 3,518 Tamil manuscripts in this library. They are in palm-leaves and belong to the following categories. (a) Rare commentaries on Sangam works, (b) Unpublished portions of classics, (c) Saiva, Vaishnava and Jain works, (d) Later poetry of all descriptions and (e) Medical works of exceptional value. Some of the rare works belonging to imperial Chola period were written in manipravala style. The medical manuscripts were very unique and valuable. Many of them based on the medical records and processes made in Dhanvantari Mahal and written by famous Tamil scholars like Kottaiyur Sivakolundu Desikar.

Regarding the collection of books in the Saraswathy Mahal Library, there is a reference library which houses of old books and new books. The old books were mostly collected by the King

Serfoji during his life time which consists of 4,500 books in English, French, German, Italian, Greek and Danish languages. These book deal with many subjects.

The latter collection consists of more than 42,600 books, which are in Tamil, English, Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and a few in other Indian and Foreign languages. These books were catalogued according to the language and classified under various subjects.

The earliest catalogue available in this Library was prepared in 1801 A.D. by Sadasiva Bhatta alias Gangadhara Bhatta by the order of the King Serfoji which was only for palm-leaf manuscripts. There was a separate catalogue for paper manuscripts of this library prepared in the year 1807 A.D.

A short account of the History of Thanjavur by S. Gopala (Thanjavur, 1973) and "*Saraswathy Mahal: A short History and Guide*" (Thanjavur, 1981) by R. Jayaraman are popular introductions to the Thanjavur's Saraswathy Mahal Library. The authors describe the Saraswathy Mahal Library as one of the oldest libraries in India. They attempt to bring to light the early history of Thanjavur and their work gives elaborate information about the Maratha rulers of Thanjavur and also gives a detailed account of various literary works preserved in the library of Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal library (TMSSML) at Thanjavur, but they are not very extensive.

Those of us who know and love Thanjavur know that the great collection gathered at the saraswathy Mahal library, the old

inscriptions, manuscript material on Thanjavur's temples and remnants of forts, local charitable endowments, chattrams and memorials, indeed, all the traces of the Maratha legacy still existing there, are tremendous resources for the present study of urbanisation in Thanjavur district.

IV HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TAMIL NADU - THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The various aspects of the socio-economic and political changes during the late medieval and early modern periods have been studied by several authorities. R. Champakalakshmi, "*Peasant State and society in Medieval south India*", IESHR, vol. XVIII, Nos.3 and 4 gives some background information to the study region.

R. Champakalakshmi in her book *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation - South India 300 B.C. to A.D. 1300*, which is a collection of 10 interesting essays, has presented a well documented and ably argued analysis related to the rise of urbanisation in South India with special reference to Tamil Nadu. The volume focusses on two major periods of urbanisation - the early historical period, 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. and the early Medieval period, 600 to 1300 A.D. The former, according to her, is attributable to many factors like the Mauryan expansion, intra-regional maritime trade and external links dominating the urban centres along South India's long coastline. The second phase of urban development in the early medieval period is perceived as a process from agrarian expansion to urban growth,

centering on the Brahmadeya and temple institutions.⁴⁷

According to her, the urban settlements were "no more than trade enclaves of individual traders and merchant families and there was no guild activity". The imported materials were mostly luxury items and "not significant" as a resource potential to the rulers who were only little more than tribal chiefs. She also denies any manufacturing activities at Puhar. She underestimates the formidable archaeological and literary evidence regarding the several crafts and industries like bead-making, shell, ceramic, glass manufacturing, dyeing etc., that were flourishing in the coastal sites like Kaveripoompattinam in Thanjavur district.⁴⁸

Apart from this, R. E. Frykenberg, (ed.), *"Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History"* (New Delhi, 1977), and Burton Stein in *"Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India"* and in *The State and the Agrarian Order in South India: A Historiographical Critique* (New Delhi, 1976), and in other shorter works have made in depth studies of the Vijayanagar empire, but he has written little about Maratha times. Their findings constitute a shift in historical perception, a re-visioning of the Vijayanagara period, based on previously ignored information. What Arjun Appadurai, *Worship and conflict under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case* (New York, 1981) and others have done for the re-evaluation of the Vijayanagar world,

⁴⁷R.Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation - South India 300 B.C. to A.D. 1300*, Madras, 1997. pp.1-15.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp.16-19

might be possible for a reassessment of Thanjavur in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Kathleen Gough, *The Social Structure of a Thanjavur Village* in Mckim Marriott (ed.) *Village India* (Chicago 1955) analyses kinship in Thanjavur area in the Cauvery delta. Her analysis is valuable because she looks at a region of the country on a interdependence of castes in relation to state organisations embracing town and country, subject and ruler. She has attempted to link earlier differences in kinship and marriage to differences in the systems of production in a regional setting.

Gough suggested that the economic and ecological situation was consistent for Thanjavur is untenable. She seems to hold that the main kinship groups each village. She projects a highly corporate, 'egalitarian' view of land holding among the managerial castes which is not altogether compatible with the award of land for particular services nor with its accumulation by successful entrepreneurs.⁴⁹

Detailed work on some segments or areas in Tamil Nadu has been done by authors like A. Ramaswamy, "*Nayak Society Portrayed in Contemporary Tamil Literature*", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis , Madurai Kamaraj University (Madurai, 1986). and T. Mizushima, "*Nattars and the Socio-Economic Changes in South India in the Eighteenth Centuries*" (Tokyo, 1986). The latter author examines epigraphical, archival and literary evidence to establish the

⁴⁹Kathleen Gough, *The Social Structure of a Thanjavur Village* in Mckim Marriott (ed.) *Village India* (Chicago, 1955).

pattern of transformation of the local leaders in Tamil Nadu. Similarly, Mihir Shah's work "*Capitalist Development and Transformation of Agrarian Relations in Chenglepet District 1780-1983*", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, J.N.U. (New Delhi, 1978), deals with one part of Tamil Nadu.

Detailed review of some research work done on the economy of the region would include the contributions by A. Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency 1800-1850* (Madras, 1941), The author, rightly points out that certain historical forces were against Indian weavers. The Company which held monopoly of Indian trade till 1813, lost it for ever. The charter act of 1813 which opened the gates of India to all manufacturers of Great Britain, who vied with one another to invest their surplus capital in India. Indian markets were flooded with British goods. The foreign machine-made goods were available in plenty at half the price of Indian goods. The Indian weavers could not compete with such a monster and became a prey to them. This source material gives importance to the economic aspects of the Coromandel region in detail and is very useful for the present study. C. A. Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India* (London, 1988), A. Appadurai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India A.D. 1000-1500* (Madras, 1936) and C. Ramachandran, *East India Company and the South Indian Economy* (Madras 1980) in a precise and comprehensive manner cover both the social and economic changes in South India during the medieval times.

Detailed information on trade and commerce in the Coromandel region is available in the work of K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History From the Rise of Islam to 1750* (London, 1985). He speaks of the indifference with which Indian historians have approached the urban heritage of the Indian sub-continent. C.N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas 1793-1813* (London, 1937), Ashin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson (eds.), *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800* (New Delhi, 1987) provides factual and detailed information about the above mentioned subjects.

More recent work emphasises on trade, industry, commerce and development for the study period. This may be seen in the works of authors like S. Arasaratnam, "*Trade and Political Dominion in South India 1750-1790 : changing British, Indian Relationships*", *Modern Asian Studies* (Vol. 13, 1979) and "*Indian Merchants and their Trading methods 1700*", *IESHR* (Vol. 3, 1966) and "*Weavers, Merchants and Companies: The Handloom Industry in South Eastern India 1750-1790*", *IESHR* (Vol. 17, 1980) and C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870* (London, 1983). In the words of Bayly "Urban history can longer be seen as self contained field of study especially in Indian context".⁵⁰ The above mentioned books provide ample evidence of this development.

⁵⁰ C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars : North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, London, 1983, pp.3-17.

A more recent study of the Maritime areas has been made by S. Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the 17th Century* (New Delhi, 1994). He highlights a crucial period in history when the European powers landed on the Indian shore. In the Maritime history of the Indian sub-continent, the Seventeenth century was possibly the most dynamic and productive in terms of indigenous or native participation. The author outlines the Maritime commerce of India as it prevailed from west to east and north to south. He specifically examines the regional pattern of trans-oceanic linkages as they obtained in Malabar, Gujarat, Kanara, Bengal and Coromandel and finally devotes a section to those merchants who traded along the Indian coast.

S. Arasaratnam links the mercantile dimension with the political economy of the period. He also highlights the relationship between the local masses and the European traders on the Indian shore. The subject of Maritime India in the seventeenth century is very extensively covered by Das Gupta and Pearson, in their edited volume, *Indian Ocean 1500-1800* (New Delhi, 1967). This same line of approach is strongly marked by Subrahmanyam's, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade Settlement in Bay of Bengal 1500-1700* (Cambridge, 1990) is a useful addition to the meagre documentation on a vast subject. The later part of the maritime activity on the Indian shore is rightly highlighted by A.C. Staples, "Indian Maritime Transport in 1840", *IESHR* (Vol.7, 1970), R.K. Mukherjee, *Indian shipping and Maritime Activity* (Bombay, 1957), Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textile Weavers in*

Medieval South India (New Delhi, 1985) and S. Subramanyam, *Merchants and the State in Early Modern India* (New Delhi, 1990).

K.S. Mathew, in his article titled "*Masulipatnam on the Coromandel Coast and the Maritime Trade of India during the 17 century A.D.*" highlights the trade and commerce activities in the Coromandel Coast in detail. He argues that a significant change in the commodity composition of the export from India since the first decade of the seventeenth century A.D. and it was in this context that the Coromandel Coast became the target of the contending European powers. Of all the port towns in the Coromandel region Masulipatnam attracted the European traders and it began to play an important role in the maritime trade of India.⁵¹

The author further argues that the intra-Asian trade atleast as far as the Dutch were concerned was devised to support the Euro-Asian trade by enhancing the investment they managed to bring from Holland. So, they calculated that the textiles from the coast of Coromandel could be exchanged against spices, Chinese wares and Chinese gold.⁵² He mentions in his article that the Dutch occupied Pulicat at first and stayed there till 1689 and later made Nagapattinam on the Coromandel Coast of the Thanjavur District as the head quarters of the Dutch factories

⁵¹K.S. Mathew, "Masulipatnam on the Coromandel Coast and the Maritime trade of India during the 17th century A.D.", *Tamil Civilization*, Vol.5, No.4, December, 1987, p.45.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p.47.

till 1783.⁵³

Through the detailed presentation of urban forms and development of Kumbakonam and Thanjavur, the author contrasts imperial centres and the temple towns as well as "urbanism from above".⁵⁴ Through this work the author has made a special study of the urban process and had evolved a framework for the process of urbanisation in South India particularly in Coromandel Coastal region of Thanjavur district.

Some more studies in the above subject deal at some length with the early period and to some extent the study period also. To mention a few, S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1650-1740* (Delhi, 1986), S. Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce in Southern India 1500-1650* (New Delhi, 1990), J.J. Brenning, "Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves seventeenth century Coromandel", *Modern, Asian Studies* (Vol. 11, 1977) and a detailed study covering the North Coromandel in particular has been made by A.V. Ramana Rao, *Economy Development of Andhra Pradesh 1766-1957* (Bombay, 1957).

V. R. Varadanarayana Iyengar's, book *The Semponn-sei Koil's Sthala Puranam* (History of Semponn-sei temple) has been a highly valuable contribution in the field of urban history. This temple is located near Sirkazhi in Thanjavur District. In this book the author argues that these temples required a detailed 'Sthala Puranam' that would enlighten not only the devotees, but also the

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.46.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp

numerous pilgrims visiting Tamil Nadu from all over the country and abroad⁵⁵ and the author has amply justified this sense of anticipation.

The temple can be called the '*Golden temple of the South*'. According to the Padma Purana, this temple, was renovated by Lord Rama on His way to Ayodhya, after rescuing Sita. The story goes that he used the gold given to him by Vibheeshna to beautify the temple, and hence the name '*Semponn-sei Koil*'. It is believed that Lord Rama also performed '*Ashwamedha Yagna*' and '*Goprasavam*' (donating a golden image of cow to a Brahmin) there.⁵⁶ Through this neat compendious and highly informative work, the author was successful in blending the '*historical*' and '*mythological*' facts about the temple.

Dr. N. Subramaniam's, book *The Tamils - Their History, Culture and Civilization* points out the broad overview of the achievements of the Tamils in thought, expression and action during the past 25 centuries. In the introductory chapter, the author places the documentation of the Tamil history to the pioneering efforts of the Western scholars and missionaries like Bishop R. Caldwell in the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ There are sections on the ancient boundaries of Tamil Nadu, the political

⁵⁵V.R. Varadanarayana Iyengar, "*Thirunangoor - Semponn-sei Koil Sthala Maghimai*" (Tamil), (History of Semponn-sei temple - in English), Madras, 1996. pp.1-13.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp.14-15.

⁵⁷Dr.N. Subramanian, *The Tamils - Their History, Culture and Civilization*, Madras. 1996, pp.1-7.

geography and the mixed ethnicity of the Tamils, the distinguishing features of Tamil language which is described as the oldest representative of the Dravidian group of languages in India.

In the Second chapter, the author gives a rapid survey of political history of Tamil Nadu up to 1956, mentioning all important landmarks. In the next chapter he discusses the social and economic history besides Tamil polity⁵⁸. Though monarchy was the fulcrum of the state, wise men met in *ambalams*⁵⁹ and conducted local affairs. The functioning of the village assemblies (Sabhas) with their numerous committees (Variams) was a special feature of Chola administration.

The section on the different castes and communities, social groups and dissensions, superstitions, marriage customs, slavery, food habits, contact with Islam and the English, and their impact are discussed in depth.

The fourth chapter deals with the achievements of the Tamils in the fields of religion and philosophy, language and literature, astronomy and medicine, art and architecture, music, dance and drama.⁶⁰

Through this book the author presents highly informative and valuable survey of the cultural heritage of Tamils which enables

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp.35-45.

⁵⁹Ambalam - It's a Tamil word gives a meaning Village Assembly.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp.122-30.

us to clearly understand Tamil social and cultural ethos.

Temple plays a vital role for the development of towns and cities. A town some times grew round a temple and as soon as the fame of the temple increases, it would attract people and become place of pilgrimage. Thus, a gradual transformation takes place. Land grants by the rulers and individuals also contributed for the rise of temple towns.

The above mentioned aspect is rightly highlighted by many authors. To mention a few like P.V. Jagadish Ayyar, *South Indian Shrines* (Madras, 1920), Arjun Appadurai, "Kings, sects and Temples in South India", *IESHR*, 14(1), 1977, Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge, "The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution", *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, 1976, pp, 187-211.

Narayani Gupta in her paper, "Towers, Tanks and Temples: Some Aspects of urbanism in South India during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries", elaborately discusses the factors for urbanism in South India during 18th century. she highlights four fixed points, Viz. (i) the geography, (ii) the inhabitants, (iii) the pattern of trade, and (iv) patterns of pilgrimage.⁶¹ The author argues that the most permanent of the urban sites in South India were the pilgrim sites. Urban places with major temples became pilgrim sites, or halting points on pilgrim routes.⁶² The

⁶¹Narayani Gupta, "Towers, Tanks and Temples: Some aspects of urbanism in South India during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries", *UHAI*, (Occasional papers series), No.5, 1983, p.3.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p.7.

author further states that there was a rule that no building should exceed the height of the temple gopuram. In addition to this, temples earned a variety of incomes - in the form of maniams, rents, donations and taxes. During festivals, the Government sold to tradesmen the right to erect shops outside the temple. The broad streets were made for the temples, the drainage and water supply were worked out to a fine art.⁶³

Narayani Gupta further argues that there was a significant modifications in the geography, the inhabitants, and the pilgrim pattern - all remained fixed points, so also political control. The context and pattern of trade became a variable during the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

Burton Stein in "*The Economic Functions of a Medieval South Indian Temple*", *Journal of Asian Studies* (1960) and "*Temples in Tamil Country A.D. 1300-1750*", *IESHR* (Vol. XIV, 1977) and Venkataramanayya in *The Origin of South Indian Temple*, Madras University (Madras, 1930) and C. Sivaramamurti in *The Chola Temple* (Madras, 1935) describe the religious activities and give interesting glimpses of the political, social and economic condition of the period under study.

The role of foreign trade occupies an important position for the development of urban centres in India especially in the Coromandel Coastal regions of Tamil Nadu and Thanjavur district

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp.30-31.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p.3.

in particular. The establishment of European factories at different places in the study region of Thanjavur district contributed for the increasing importance of some places. For example: Tranquebar, a little known port earlier started receiving importance with the establishment of Danish factory, likewise Nagore and Nagapattinam gained significance with the establishment of Portuguese, Dutch and British factories; Similarly Karaikkal gained importance with the establishment of French factories. These aspects are elaborately studied by various scholars. They made an exclusive coverage of the European arrivals and their trade and commerce activities on the Indian shore. They are as follows.

THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were the first among the European trading companies to come to India and they lost their grip on Indian trade by the Eighteenth century. The Portuguese presence in the Coromandel region has been covered by S. Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and settlement in Bay of Bengal 1500-1700* (New Delhi, 1990) and "*Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese: Travails of Masulipatnam shipping in western Indian Ocean 1590-1665*", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, 1988. and F.C. Dannvers, *The Portuguese in India* [(2 Vols), (Delhi, 1894)] and *Report on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies* (Delhi, 1892).

THE DUTCH

After Portuguese, The united East India Company of the Netherlands (Dutch) came to India. They established factories in the Coromandel coastal region of Thanjavur district, especially at Nagapattinam. These Dutch activities in the Coromandel region have been highlighted by Om Prakash in *The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623* [(A Collection of Dutch East India Company Documents Pertaining to India), (New Delhi, 1984)], K. Glanman, *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740* (The Hague, 1958) and S. Arasaratnam, "Dutch Commercial Policy in Ceylon and its effect in Indo-Ceylon Trade 1690-1750", *IESHR* (Vol.4, 1967).

THE DANES

The third European trading company in the Indian Sea Coast was owned by the Danes. The Danes' presence in the Coromandel region has been focussed by authors like J.F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (ASI's collection, Madras) O.Feldback, *Indian Trade Under the Danish Flag 1773-1808*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian studies (Copenhagen, 1969) and R. Nagaswamy, *Tarangampadi*, (Madras, 1987) in Tamil language. The Danes were occupied and established fortresses and trade activities in the Tranquebar region of Thanjavur sea coast.

THE ENGLISH

Followed by the Danes, the British came to India and established their trade activities and built factories at

different places in the entire coastal region of the Indian sub-continent. Early English activities in the Indian peninsula have been studied by I. Bruce Watson in *Foundations for Empire, English Private Trade in India 1659-1760* (New Delhi, 1980), C.J. Hamilton, *The Trade Relations between England and India 1600-1896* (New Delhi, 1975). K. Rajayyan's book, *A History of the British Diplomacy in Thanjavur* is an attempt to bring to light the relationship between Thanjavur Maratha Kingdom and the British. Besides, these works the Fifth Report by Firminger, *Affairs of the East India Company* (3 Vols, Reprint of the 1917 edition, New Delhi, 1984) is the most comprehensive coverage of the East India company during the study period. The critique of the above subject has been made by Surindranath Gupta in *British the Magnificent Exploiters of India* (New Delhi, 1979) which gives adequate coverage to the study.

THE FRENCH

The last European Trading Company to have landed and occupied the Indian sea coast were the French. Pondicherry and Karaikkal (earlier it was a part of Thanjavur district) are the important places for the French settlements in the Coromandel coast. The French presence in this region has been covered by S.P. Sen, *The French in India 1763-1816* (New Delhi, 1971), G.B. Malleson, *History of the French in India* (New Delhi, 1893) and R. O. Cambridge, *Account of the war in India between the English and French on the Coast of Coromandel 1750-1760* (Madras, 1761).

Besides, the French Records preserved in the Archives coloniales at Pondicherry are very useful for the present study.

Regarding the Port and Hinterland activities specific to sub-region in the Indian peninsula, a number of authors have written on the subject. To mention a few like, K. Dilip Basu, (ed.), *The Rise and Growth of the colonial port cities in Asia* (Berkely, 1983), Indu Banga, *Ports and their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950* (New Delhi, 1992), S. Arunachalam, *The History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast* (Annamalai Nagar, 1952) and J.Susan Lewandowski, "Changes Form and Function in the Ceremonial and Colonial port city in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras", *Modern Asian Studies* (Vol.II, April, 1977).

These studies highlight the coastal towns which developed in relation to the commercial potential of the hinterland and their location; transportation and communication lines between centres of trade and commerce.

Finally, while trying to develop an independent urban history, the urban historians of India ought to fruitfully interact with other social scientists i.e., Economists, Sociologists, Town Planners, Political Scientist, Anthropologists and Geographers etc., because urban history is interdisciplinary by nature and what is needed is collaborative effort at multi-disciplinary level.

The discussion about the various literary sources, as done in the above pages, gives us clues to investigate the subject of the present study in all aspects. The literary sources provide

systematic instructions as to how the subject of urban centres has to be dealt with. The organisation of all these material is very important, otherwise, there is a danger of falling into the trap of the views of the foreigners account of the history of the region. Hence the source material is analysed carefully and used for the present study with utmost care. As the problem of dealing with the source material is over, the other important areas of the subject of study remain to be taken up. All the aspects of urban centres are discussed in the successive chapters in detail. To begin with, the historical background of the Thanjavur District is highlighted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER - III

**THANJAVUR DISTRICT :
A POLITICAL HISTORY**

This chapter highlights on the following aspects: (i) Thanjavur: A Profile (a) Geographical factors and (b) Location of Thanjavur, (ii) Etymology of the name - Thanjavur, (iii) Political History of (a) Sangam Cholas and (b) Imperial Cholas of Thanjavur, (iv) Political History of Thanjavur Nayakas, (v) A brief Political History of Thanjavur Marathas, (vi) Economic Portrait of Thanjavur region, (vii) Cultural Background and (viii) Relationship between Polity and Economy to the study of Urban Centres.

I. THANJAVUR: A PROFILE

a) Geographical Factors

Thanjavur district has been one of the most important regions of the Indian sub-continent and has played a pivotal role in socio-economic developments in terms of urbanisation. The Thanjavur plain has settled since pre-historic times. This part has been one of the oldest settled part in India and it has been one of those regions where early civilisation has developed and flourished well.¹

The Thanjavur district owes its riches in no small measure to its natural characteristics. Geography and natural environment played a dominant role in moulding Thanjavur's culture and civilisation and it was stated that " nature shapes a man was no

¹ F.R.Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, Government Press, Madras, 1906, pp.3-5.

where displayed more truly than in Thanjavur".² Besides, the whole district was uniformly flat and gently sloping to the Bay of Bengal helping the river Cauvery to stretch her hands through an innumerable canals and this delta region has for centuries produced food crops in abundance and fixed in it the seat of culture and civilisation.³

Thanjavur was more than ordinarily favoured by nature with regard to immunity from calamities like floods and droughts. As an agricultural region, it has to submit to the vagaries of the monsoon and the fury of the floods in the Cauvery. The great natural advantages of irrigation which Thanjavur possesses had been more or less improved upon many centuries, before the district became a British territory.⁴ So this condition has helped the study region to produce urban centres of political, cultural, social, commercial and other interests.

Moreover, the area of Thanjavur is statistically described to be by far the richest and most fertile in Southern India. Most of the people have heard or read of the delta of the Nile, and of the delta of the Ganges, but very few of them know

² T.Venkatasamy, *A Manual of the District of Thanjavur in the Madras Presidency*, Government Press, Madras, Vol.I, Part.I, 1883, pp.1-2.

³ C. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol.II, Part.II(63), Madras, 1885, pp.390-92.

⁴ F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, pp.3-7.

anything of the delta of the Cauvery,⁵ and thus there is a necessity to give the details of the area. Since the delta region has abundance of water resources, it was cultivated with rice crops and groves of coconut trees.

The river Cauvery presents flourishing features all over its course at Thanjavur town. The South-West of the town of Thanjavur is somewhat more elevated at Vallam, and there is nothing that can be called as a hill in the whole district.⁶ Along the coastal belt there are huge sand drifts and low jungle areas which protect the lands from the sea. From Point Calimere to Adhirampattinam, there is a salt swamp of several square miles. No rock is found in Thanjavur district. Laterite soil which is abundant in the high grounds near the western frontiers is again found in the extreme south.⁷

The river which rises in the Coorg mountains bifurcates about nine miles west of Tiruchirapalli into two branches. The northern one takes the name of Coleroon and the Southern retains the name of Cauvery. About seventeen miles below this point, the two streams very nearly unite forming between them the island of Srirangam, but thereafter the Coleroon takes a north-easterly direction skirting the district along its entire length on the north and enters the sea at Devikottai near Portonova and its volume of water practically undiminished. The Cauvery spread

⁵William Hickey, *Thanjavur : Maratha Principality in South India*, Reprint, Madras, 1872, p.6.

⁶*Ibid.*, p.7.

⁷*Ibid.*, p.7

over the whole alluvial delta and render it a scene of unmatched fertility.⁸ The Cauvery itself now reduced to an insignificant channel debouches into the sea at Kaveripoompattinam about eight miles north of Tranquebar.⁹

Cauvery is the main source which supplies water to the entire district of Thanjavur and besides irrigational utility its waters are sweet and delicious. It is indeed the centre and sole existence of its province. It has a cultural significance to the people as the river is deified and goes by the name of 'Cauvery Ammah', a feminine term of endowment.¹⁰

Another remarkable feature of the study region was the area under paddy cultivation. Thanjavur was the only district where more than a million acres were under cultivation, by far the largest extent of land in the entire Presidency. Such a district was also free from natural famine in the whole Presidency. Again, it was the only district in the Presidency where no hill or rock or mountain could be seen. According to William Hickey, the ancient Tamil kingdom of Thanjavur - "*The land of the Chola*" - was popularly called as "*the eden of the south*".¹¹

During the study period, the city of Thanjavur and its neighbourhood was styled as the "*Rice-Bowl of the South*".¹² In

⁸T.Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, p.8.

⁹*Ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁰William Hickey, *Op.Cit.*, pp.9-10.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p.1.

¹²*Ibid.*, Appendices, p.127.

the whole of the Presidency of Madras, Thanjavur was the only district (excluding Madras) densely populated.¹³ A taluk in the district, Kumbakonam, was by far the most densely populated. More than 1000 people per square mile were living there. Nowhere else in this (Madras) Presidency the population was even half of this to the square mile.¹⁴ According to Hodgeson, "In no province, except Thanjavur, was the population equal to the occupancy of the whole arable land".¹⁵

Cauvery, which waters more than a million acres was the main source of irrigation. It waters probably a greater area than any river in India.¹⁶ Rice was the staple crop of the district and was grown chiefly in the delta of the Cauvery.¹⁷ Therefore, the agricultural prosperity of Thanjavur region was well flourished. No wonder the ancient and medieval rulers of Thanjavur had their capitals at places sanctified by the life-giving and holy waters of Cauvery.¹⁸ After the occupation of the British, the city of Thanjavur was made a district headquarters.

The soil of the Cauvery delta region of Thanjavur was entirely alluvial but varies greatly in quality. This land forms

¹³ F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.54.

¹⁵ J. Hodgeson's Report on Tirunrlveli, 1807, p.3.

¹⁶ G.D.Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, Part -II (63), P.390.

¹⁷ G.D.Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Appendices, P.127.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.127.

a striking contrast to the rich lands near "Thiruvaiyaru" which forms what was called "the breast of Thanjavur" and which was famous even beyond the limits of the district.¹⁹

Like other cultural processes, urbanisation also follows from definite sequential stages i.e., origin, dispersion condensation and saturation. These processes can be visualised in any part of the world.²⁰ In order to comprehend the study period, a critical examination of political and socio-economic changes and sequential stages during the past seems to be unavoidable. Keeping this in view an attempt has been made in this chapter to trace out the historical background of Thanjavur district i.e., urban centres in the study region, and also to analyse the conditions that led to the process of their formation and their gradual refinement.

Thanjavur and its geography, society, art, architecture, culture, religion and also its economic, geopolitical and political aspects give a strong background to the study of urbanisation in this region. The district of Thanjavur played an important role in the history of south India from the later half of the 9th century A.D., down to the 18th century A.D.

¹⁹F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit*, p.7.

²⁰ V.P. Shahi, "*Urbanisation in Gujarat: A Geographical Analysis*", Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Gorakpur, 1981, p. 33.

b) Location of Thanjavur

Thanjavur district bounded on the north by South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli districts of which the latter surrounds the western border also. To its south lies the Pudukottai district and on the east was the Bay Of Bengal.²¹ Thanjavur district comprised of 16 taluks in 1981.²² Thanjavur district consists of two clearly marked natural divisions made up respectively of the natural delta of the river Cauvery- "the old delta" and of the upland tracts-"the new delta". The old delta region has been irrigated for centuries where as the history of the canal irrigation in the new delta since 1934 fairly recent.²³ The distinction between these two regions also becomes important in explaining certain features of urban centres in Thanjavur district.

The Tanjore (vernacular Thanjavur) district, lies on the east coast in the State of Tamil Nadu between $9^{\circ} 50'$ and $11^{\circ}25'$ of the northern latitude and between $78^{\circ}45'$ and $70^{\circ}50'$ of the eastern longitude. Thanjavur district bounded on the north by the river Coleroon which separates it from the Tiruchirapalli and South Arcot districts, on the west by Pudukottai state and Tiruchirapalli, on the south by the Zamindari of Ramnad (Ramanathapuram) and the Palk Strait and on the east by Bay of

²¹ Census of India, 1961: *Demography and vital statistics (tables)*, Vol. IX. Part-1.B (ii), Madras.

²² Census of India, 1981 (b): *General Population Tables*, series 20, Part-II.A, Tamil Nadu.

²³ *Ibid.*

Bengal.²⁴

The sea board was consequently made up of two sections, one extending 72 miles from the mouth of Coleroon to Point Calimere in the South and the other bordering the Palk Strait for 68 miles from Point Calimere to the Ramanathapuram district.²⁵ The whole district was triangular in shape. About the middle of the former of these sections is situated a small bit of foreign territory, the French settlement of Karaikkal. Karaikkal became part of the Indian Union (1954) and later it came under the union territory of Pondicherry.

II. ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME - THANJAVUR

The Thanjavur district gets its name from its head quarter town, but the etymology of the word is obscure. The original edition of Thanjavur district gazetteer gives a probable derivation - that it could have come from "Thanjan" - "refuge". It would make the name means "city of refuge".²⁶

According to a legend, Thanjavur derives its name from a Giant or Rakshasan named "Thanjan", who once made his home and haunted the neighbourhood of the study region.²⁷ As per the district gazetteer, he was killed by Anandavalli Amman and Vishnu

²⁴F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.1

²⁵B.S.Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand book*, Chapter.I, Madras, 1957, p.1.

²⁶F.R. Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, pp.6-7.

²⁷A.Panchanathan (ed.), *The Journal of The Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library*, Vol.XXXIV, No.1,2 &3, Thanjavur, 1984, p.1.

Sri Nila Perumal. Before his death, Thanjan's request was that the city might be named after him and this was granted.²⁸ Thus, Thanjavur town was continued to be the headquarters in the same name under all the rulers.

In point of view of antiquity, Greece is the only European country that can be compared with Thanjavur.²⁹ Just as Egypt was called the "Gift of the Nile" so also the Chola's culture and art can be called the gift of river Cauvery - "a glorious heritage"³⁰ to the people of Thanjavur study region.

III) a) POLITICAL HISTORY OF SANGAM CHOLAS

(From Third Century B. C. to Third Century A.D.)

The Thanjavur region was for more than a thousand years the home of the Cholas. From the Sangam age, the Cholas made it the seat of their dominions, the heart of all their activities, alike in war and in peace. They carried their arms in the hey-day of their glory, from Cape Comarin in the South to the Ganges in the North. And also, under their patronage they cultivated fine arts, erected temples, constructed anicuts and built ports and cities that were the envy of both the East and the West.³¹

²⁸F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.2.

²⁹A.Panchanathan, *Guide Book to Saraswathy Mahal (with Illustrations)*, Thanjavur Saraswathy Mahal series, No.201, 1993, Thanjavur, p.28.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p.28.

³¹F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.154.

THE NAME - CHOLA

The name Chola is wrapped in obscurity. Some were inclined to make it, like Pandya and Chera, the name of a ruling family. Others attempt to connect the word with the Sanskrit Kala (black) and with Kola, which meant the black coloured pre-Aryan population of South India. Others again derive the word from the Tamil word "Cholam" (millet). Whatever the origin, it was very clear that the name Chola was from the earliest times used to denote the people as well as the area subject to the sway of the Chola dynasty of Kings.³² The kingdom which is the subject of study is the Chola Mandalam and hence the title of Coromandel was given to the Eastern Coast of Southern India.³³ This Chola kingdom comprised the modern districts of Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli.

The earliest references to the Chola kings were found in the Asokan inscriptions of 260 B.C.³⁴ The Mahavamsa of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) records clearly points out that the conquest of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in the middle of the second century B.C., by a Chola named Elara who ruled it for nearly half a century.³⁵ The Chola kingdom was known to the Greek geographers and was mentioned in the periplus Maris Erythraci (about 70 A.D.) and by Ptolemy

³²K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, p .24.

³³William Hickey, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3

³⁴K. A. Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, pp.26-27.

³⁵K.N.Sivaraja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Madras, 1932, pp.162-163.

(about 140 A.D.)³⁶ who states that the capital was then at Uraiyur, which is now a suburb of Tiruchirapalli.³⁷ The early Tamil literature (i.e. Sangam literature) which belongs to the first few centuries of the Christian era, gives a very clear picture of the early history of the Cholas than any other source.

KARIKAL CHOLAN (50 - 95 A.D.)

The first Chola king recorded in history was Karikal Cholan, who ruled Thanjavur from 50 to 95 A.D. The great dam at Kallanai, across the river Cauvery near Thanjavur was built by Karikalan. He built Kaveripoompattinam, the present Poompuhar, the then port of the later Cholas with their capital at Uraiyur.³⁸ The literary work "*Pattinapalai*" and "*Chilapadikaram*" of Ilangovaligal, the Tamil literary masterpieces gave clear description of the famous king.³⁹ Karikala was the greatest among the Cholas of the sangam period. He seems to have derived the name "*the man with charred leg*" from a fire accident during his teenage days. He was well known as the possessor of numerous beautiful war chariots. He defeated the combined forces of the Pandyas and the Chera kings in the battle of Koilvenny which lies fifteen miles east of Thanjavur town. Besides, he seized Ceylon

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.163.

³⁷ K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, pp.29-32.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.24-26.

³⁹ K.N. Sivaraja Pillai, *Op. Cit.*, pp.162-163.

(Sri Lanka) and Kanchipuram too.⁴⁰

Such was the political history of Thanjavur during the Sangam age under the early Cholas. From the close of third century A.D. up to the middle of the ninth century, a sudden darkness sets over Thanjavur, which it was impossible to light up, except fitfully, with the aid of literature or epigraphy.⁴¹

The Chola kingdom seems to have been overrun by the Kalabhras and the Pallavas from the north and by the Pandyas from the south. The Chola rulers seem to have been consigned to a position of complete subjection. The Kalabhras seem to have been the first to gain control over Thanjavur and their chieftain Achyuta, a Buddhist, was reported to have kept in confinement all the three Tamil kings- the Chola, the Pandya and the Chera, but his glory was short-lived.⁴²

The Pallavas soon came and conquered the Chola Kingdom (Mahendravarman 600-630 A.D and Narasimhavarman 630-660 A.D.) till the Cholas of Vijayalaya line appeared on the scene in the ninth century. Meanwhile, Pandya kings wrested Thanjavur from the Pallavas. Then came the swift downfall of the Pandyas as well as the Pallavas. For more than five centuries i.e., from 300 A.D., the Kalabhras, the Pandyas and the Pallavas ruled the

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p.163.

⁴¹K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, PP.118-119.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp.118-119.

Thanjavur territory, and then a new star was raising in the firmament of South India.⁴³

(b) POLITICAL HISTORY OF IMPERIAL CHOLAS (850-1279 A.D.)

VIJAYALAYA (850-871 A.D.)

The Cholas were once more becoming a mighty race of rulers and the revival of medieval Cholas started in the days of Vijayalaya, the founder of the new Chola dynasty who drove away all foreign rulers from Thanjavur, including the Pandyas, the Rastrakutas and the Pallavas.

Vijayalaya ruled from Palaiyari (neighbourhood of Uraiyur) and wrested Thanjavur from the Mutharaiyar, who held the town. He built many temples and chaturvedimangalam besides Vijayalaya Choleeswaram. He was reputed as a captor of Thanjavur.⁴⁴

ADITYA CHOLAN (871-907 A.D.)

Aditya Cholan was the son of Vijayalaya, the first of the Imperial line of Cholas. He distinguished himself in the battle at 'Thiruppurambiam' ('Sripurambiam') near Kumbakonam in Thanjavur district, in which the Pandyas got a signal defeat. After a successful campaign in the war Aditya Chola re-established the lost-glory of the Cholas. He continued the family tradition of patronage of Saivism.⁴⁵

⁴³K. A. Nilakantha Sastry, *History of South India*, Madras, 1955, pp.238-239.

⁴⁴K. A. Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, pp.108-127.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp.128-134.

PARANTAKA-I (907 - 955 A.D.)

Parantaka-I was the son of Aditya, who was one of the greatest conquerors among the Medieval Cholas. He defeated the Pandya king and burnt his capital Madurai, by which achievement he received the title 'Madurantaga' and was also called as 'Maduraikonda Parakesari'. He vanquished the Banas and raided the Vaidumbas and extended the empire up to Nellore. He was a powerful ruler under whose leadership the Cholas acquired dominion. In recognition of his war victory, he was entitled as 'Vira Chola'.⁴⁶

Parantaka was a staunch devotee of Nataraja of Chidambaram. He constructed the roof of the Nataraja temple with gold and acquired the title of 'Ponveinda Perumal' (one who covered god with gold). During his period, arts of peace received much attention as deeds of war; in particular the old brick temples were re-built of stone and enriched with a new one in stone.

RAJARAJA THE GREAT (985-1014 A.D)

Rajaraja has been considered to be the most illustrious and also the greatest among the Chola rulers i.e., what Karikalan was to the sangam Cholas, he considered to be for the imperial Cholas.

On the death of Uttama in 985 A.D., Arunmoli - the second son of Sundara Chola Parantaka ascended the throne with the royal title 'Rajaraja'. He was a 'Rajakesari', and his predecessor

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp.136-149.

Uttama was a 'parakesari'.

After Rajaraja's accession, Thanjavur region entered upon a century of grandeur and glory for the dynasty of the Cholas. With the rise of Rajaraja I, the sky begins to clear and the day dawns on a new and brilliant chapter in the history of Cholas. He was a great soldier and Generals like Alexander and Julius Caesar were compared to him.⁴⁷ He was a great conqueror and was also a great statesman and administrator. He endeavoured his best to establish his empire on a firm footing. He created a standing army and built a navy.

Rajaraja invaded Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and established his sway over parts of that island. He sent many naval expeditions; conquered many islands including Lakshadweep and formed the Federation of Malaya states, Indo-China and Burma (Myanmar).⁴⁸

Rajaraja was a great king and had many titles. Besides 'Rajaraja', he was also called as 'Mummudi Chola', 'Jayankondan' and 'Arunmoli'. The other titles were 'Cholendra Sinha', 'Sivapadasekara', 'Jaganada', 'Nigrila Chola', 'Chola Martanda', 'Rajakesari', 'Rajamartnada', 'Nityavinoba', 'Pandya kulasani', 'Keralandaga', 'Singalentaka' and so on.

With a colossal effort, paralleled only by the ancient Egyptian kings, he built the most magnificent temples of Rajarajeswara at Thanjavur, the finest specimen of Tamil architecture. He encouraged his officials to built temples, not

⁴⁷A. Panchanathan, Op. Cit., p.3.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.3.

only to Siva but also to Vishnu and the Buddha and liberally endowed them with grants of land and money. There was a popular saying about the Chola king, the great Rajaraja of Thanjavur was that 'here was not only a man, but supreme leader of men'.⁴⁹

RAJENDRA CHOLA -I (1014 - 1044 A.D.)

Rajaraja was succeeded by his son Rajendra I, who was equally great as his father and was also among the greatest of Cholas. His period was considered to be the great naval strength of the Cholas. His period also witnessed the Chola empire becoming vast and wide.⁵⁰

Rajendra was associated with his father in the administration of the ever extending kingdom of Thanjavur. Rajaraja I and Rajendra I jointly ruled the Chola kingdom for more than three years from 1012 A.D. Rajendra improved his inheritance by waging extensively and fierce wars all along the borders of his kingdom and even beyond the seas. He strengthened his hold on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) fully with the help of an efficient navy. He ruled over a bigger empire than his father. Alike in war and peace, Rajaraja and his son Rajendra showed themselves as outstanding personalities of their time. His territory extended up to North India and hence he was called as 'Gangai Konda Cholan'. He formed a new capital called Gangai

⁴⁹F. R. Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, pp.22-25.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp 26-31.

Konda Cholapuram, outside the eastern borders of the Thanjavur district.⁵¹

Rajendra invaded Sumatra, Orissa and Bengal. To signify his victories in Malaya (Malaysia), called as Kadaram, he named several villages as Kadaram Kondan in various parts of Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur district.⁵²

According to K. M. Panikar, the history of the Cholas of Thanjavur was considered as a history of hundred years of overseas expansion and naval warfare.⁵³ He further states that "Even the Imperial Traditions of North India at its 'hey day' has no parallel to this".⁵⁴ One was astonished at the Bay of Bengal becoming a "Chola lake", for some decades and great rulers like Rajaraja and Rajendra holding sway all over South East Asia.⁵⁵

Rajendra bore many titles like 'Mudikonda Chola', 'Panditha Chola', 'Virarajendra', 'GangaiKonda Chola' etc.⁵⁶ The temple he built was an imitation of the Brahadeeswara temple of Thanjavur at Gangaikonda Cholapuram and it was second only in beauty and artistic excellence to that of the original.⁵⁷

⁵¹K. T. Tatachari, *Gangaikonda cholapuram: An Ancient captial*, Madras, 1912, pp.12-26.

⁵²*Ibid.* p.6.

⁵³K. M. Panikar, *Geographical Factors in Indian History*, Bombay, 1955, p.27.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 29

⁵⁶K. T. Tatachari, *Op.Cit*, pp.26-34.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp.36-42.

RAJENDRA SONS (1018-1070 A.D.)

Rajendra was succeeded by his warrior sons, Rajadhi Rajan, Rajendra Devan and Veera Rajendra and others whose reigns witnessed glorious naval victories and the consolidations of Chola power in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Burma (Myanmar) and Malaya (Malaysia) and other places.⁵⁸

KULOTHUNGA - I (1070 - 1120)

The Chola throne passed to a new line i.e., the eastern Chalukyan line, which put a new life in to the whole empire. Rajendra Kulothunga (1070-1120) or Kulothunga-I who ascended the throne was a remarkable personality. His rule begins the last phase of the imperial Cholas. Kulothunga ruled over an extensive empire and sent embassies to places like China, Kadaram (Malaysia) and Sumatra.⁵⁹

Kulothunga was more a statesman than a warrior. During his long reign, he shunned all needless wars and showed no ambition to extend his empire. The wisdom of Kulothunga's policy of looping off all turbulent Non-Tamilian parts of his empire ensured peace for another half a century. Peace reigned everywhere and the country enjoyed prosperity.

From 1120 to 1163, three Chola kings succeeded him. Vikrama Chola (1120 - 1135), Kulothunga-II (1136 - 1150) and Rajaraja-II

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.44-49.

⁵⁹ K. A. Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, pp.128-146.

(1151-1163) and under all these rulers no wars or invasions distracted the Thanjavur kingdom. Later Rajadhiraja-II (1163-1178) and Kulothunga-III (1179 - 1216) ruled over the Chola Territory.⁶⁰

During the reigns of Rajaraja-III (1126 - 1246) and Rajendra-III (1247 - 1279), the Pandyas in the south and the Hoysalas in the north monopolised all the power. These were the last great legacies of a vanishing empire. Later Pandyas drove the Hoysalas from Thanjavur. This marks the end of the Chola rule and the beginning of the Pandyan supremacy.⁶¹

From 1279 onwards, there was hardly anything to be mentioned about Rajendra-III or about his successors. Later, Thanjavur and the whole Chola kingdom was absorbed by the Pandyan empire. A few of the Chola chieftains continued and it seems to be appeared during the later parts of thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and even up to the middle of the sixteenth century.⁶²

To sum up this section, between ninth century and twelfth century A.D. covering the reigns of various kings from Vijayalaya (850 A.D) to Rajendra-III (1279 A.D.) the Cholas built up a unique system of government and administration.

The army and the navy built up the grand edifice of the Chola empire and spread its fame far and wide, even beyond the

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp.138-149.

⁶¹M. S. Govindaswamy, *The Role of Feudatories in Chola History*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

⁶²*Ibid.*,

seas. The navy consisted of ships, great and small, which could command the respect of all the powers in the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal. It was more evident that the ships which in war time assailed Ceylon (Sri Lanka), captured the Maldives and the Nicobar islands and launched an expedition to Kadaram (Malaya) were also the ships which in peace time carried on commerce with the various parts from Arabia to Indo-China.

The Chola age characterised the most creative epoch of South Indian History. The Chola period classed the best specimen of Tamil literature in the Indian History.

To conclude, the Cholas were one of the greatest and most gifted dynasty which ruled over India. They held sway for the continuous period of about 430 years. In comparison with the Mauryas, who ruled for 137 years and the Guptas for 227 years and Vijayanagara empire which lasted for about 340 years, the Cholas as a political force played a significant role in the Tamil region for more than four and a quarter century. They were famous as conquering heroes, as upholders and promoters of Tamil culture especially the Tamil literature; besides their rule was noted for progress in art and temple architecture.

(IV) POLITICAL HISTORY OF THANJAVUR NAYAKS (1532-1675 A.D)

After the decline of the Cholas, the fortune of Thanjavur took a different turn. Various chieftains calling themselves 'Cholas' ruled in the south until about the end of the fourteenth century, when the Vijayanagar emperors, annexed a province called as 'Chola Mandalam of Thanjavur' to their kingdom. They ruled

Thanjavur through Viceroys. One of the Viceroys appointed in 1532 A.D by the Vijayanagar emperor Achyuta Raya (1530-1542 A.D) was Sevappa Nayak and he founded the dynasty of Thanjavur Nayak Kings.⁶³

SEVAPPA NAYAK (1532-1560 A.D)

Sevappa Nayak, son of Thimmappa Nayak (1521-1532 A.D) was a personal attendant of emperor Achyuta Raya. He married Murtjamba, the sister of the queen Varadambika, wife of Achyuta Raya, who became brother-in-law of the king and his loyalty with the emperor, was rightly rewarded with the Nayakship of Thanjavur. When Sevappa Nayak accepted the Government of Thanjavur, he was independent of the erstwhile over lordship of Madurai.⁶⁴

Sevappa Nayak started by ruling over the Chola Mandalam and Southern parts of Thondaimandalam. He ruled peacefully and his period of reign was not conspicuous for any important events expect for the transfer of Tiruchirapalli to the Nayaks of Madurai in exchange for Vallam. He made many charitable endowments among which a gift of land for the upkeep of a choultry attached to the temple in Muvalur in Thanjavur district. He was responsible for the repair works to the sivaganga tank in

⁶³Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayakas of Thanjavur*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1942, pp.3-7.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp.8-15.

Thanjavur, which thereafter was designated Sevappa Nayakeneri.⁶⁵

ACHYUTAPPA NAYAK (1560-1600 A.D)

Achyutappa Nayak was the son of Sevappa Nayak. He was a powerful ruler endowed with a keen intellect and facility for quick decision. He fought with the Muslims and the Portuguese. He interfered in the quarrels between the king of Jaffna and the Portuguese who were ruling over Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and gave shelter in his court to the Jaffna king, when he was driven out by the Portuguese. When Achyuta died in 1600 A.D, three hundred and seventy women of his harem (occupants) committed ritual suicide.

RAGHUNATHA NAYAK (1600-1634 A.D).

Achyutappa Nayak was succeeded by his son Raghunatha Nayak, the most talented and distinguished among Nayak kings. Raghunatha Nayak was the greatest king who ruled the southern part of Tamil Nadu. He was having similar activities of Krishna Devaraya who belonged to the early decades of sixteenth century, in all aspects. Raghunatha Nayak was a great warrior. He distinguished himself as an able general and sagacious ruler. He destroyed the Madurai and Gingee rulers in the 'battle of Toppur'. He crossed over the Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and drove the Portuguese out of Jaffna and restored the throne to the refugee king in his court. He served as "Yuvaraja", during the reign of

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.16-19.

his father Achyutappa Nayak and gained experience both as soldier and as administrator. Directed by his father, he led the forces for the defence of Penukonda, which was then besieged by Deccan forces and saved the city of Vijayanagar. In return for this signal service, emperor Venkata-I complied with his request for the release of Krishnappa Nayak-II from prison. He also led an expedition against Solaga of the coastal area (Solaga was the ruler of a territory situated north of the river Kollidam (Coleroon)).

During Raghunatha Nayak's rule, Thanjavur became a great centre of learning, art and culture and also the home of Carnatic music. Sanskrit and Telugu received encouragement, but Tamil was totally neglected.⁶⁶ He made large gifts to the Brahmans at the expense of the defeated Tamils.⁶⁷

VIJAYARAGHAVA NAYAK (1634-1673)

Vijayaraghava Nayak, the son of illustrious Raghunatha Nayak succeeded his father and ruled Thanjavur from 1634-1673 A.D. During his period, Thanjavur was repeatedly attacked by the Madurai king on the one side and the Sultan of Bijapur on the other. From 1653 to 1659 Thanjavur remained in subjection to Bijapur. Vijayaraghava had to flee from his palace. But, two unexpected forces came to his rescue. First, a serious famine

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.36.

⁶⁷ A. Ramaswamy, *Nayak Society Portrayed in Contemporary Tamil Literature (Tamil)*, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, 1986.

broke out in 1659 and forced the Muslim to run away from Thanjavur. Secondly, various armies of Kallars, operating from vallam, routed them and dislodged them from Thanjavur. But, the fate of the Nayaks were sealed when Chockanatha Nayak, King of Madurai, attacked Thanjavur by sending his ablest general Venkata Krishnappa Nayak. A fierce battle took place and resulting in a decisive victory for Chockanatha. Thanjavur was besieged and the Nayak of Madurai took possession of the kingdom of the Thanjavur.

(a) Alagiri Nayak (1673-1674 A.D)

Chockanatha Nayak of Madurai appointed his foster-brother Alagiri Nayak as his Viceroy in Thanjavur. Alagiri Nayak ruled over Thanjavur for just over a year i.e during 1674.

(b) Chengamaladas (1674-1675 A.D)

The Bijapur Sultan Sent an army to Thanjavur under the leadership of Venkoji alias Ekoji. He became a founder of the Maratha dynasty in Thanjavur. Ekoji thoroughly defeated chockanatha Nayak in the 'battle of Ayyampet' and placed chengamaladas on the throne on the year 1674.

To sum up, the Thanjavur Nayakship was founded, when Sevappa Nayak (1532 A.D) obtained Thanjavur as dowry, which his wife brought with her. During the rule of Achyutappa Nayak, the famous "Talikota Battle" (1565 A.D) was fought. Even the disastrous defeat experienced by Vijayanagar at the hands of the Muslim confederacy at Talikota did not diminish the Thanjavur Nayak's loyalty. So, the Thanjavur Nayaks had a reputation for being steadily loyal to the Vijayanagar rulers but opposed the

Nayaks of Madurai. This put them into constant conflict with the Nayaks of Madurai and led to the loss of Kingdom.

The Nayak rule which came to Thanjavur with Sevappa Nayaka continued for one hundred and forty three years. Vijayaraghava Nayak was the last of the Nayak kings of Thanjavur and the kingdom afterwards passed to the Marathas of Thanjavur.

V) A BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF THANJAVUR

MARATHAS (1676-1799 A.D.)

The rise and growth of the Maratha power was one of the wonderful chapter in the long history of India. Founded by Sivaji the great (1627-1680 A.D.), son of Shahji Bhonsle, the Maratha state was a sharp thorn for the Deccan Sultans and the Great Mughal. The history of Maratha rule in the Carnatic begins with the occupation of Thanjavur.

In A.D.1676 Thanjavur passed into the possession of the Marathas. At the orders of Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur, Ekoji, the Maratha general and the half-brother of Sivaji led an expedition in defence of Chengamaladas, the representative of the dethroned Nayaks. He defeated Alagiri Nayak, the ruler of Thanjavur, in a battle fought at Ayyampettai near Thanjavur and enthroned Chengamaladas on behalf of the sultan. This led to the establishment of Maratha influence in the kingdom.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ K.R.Subramaniam, *Maratha Rulers of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1928, pp.1-5.

The political change that Ekoji effected in Thanjavur represented an extension of the influence of Bijapur to the Cauvery delta. However, in 1676 the Sultan passed away and Ekoji found it possible to assert his own authority. They deposed Chengamaladas and took over the possession of the State.⁶⁹ This was of great significance, for the Marathas not only extended their influence to the Tamil Country but also secured possession of a fertile territory (i.e. Thanjavur) in the deep south.

Ekoji not only gained possession of the kingdom, but also consolidated his rule. He brought public servants from the Deccan and carried out the reorganisation of the administrative system.⁷⁰ Though he promoted cultivation, he lost no opportunity in exacting as much as he could from the peasants. Father Britto, an eye witness to the developments, has stated: "Ekoji takes away four fifth of all produce. As if this were not enough, he enforces payment in cash and as he was careful to fix the price himself much above what the owner can realise, it happens that the sale of the whole harvest was never sufficient to pay the tax. Accordingly the cultivators were burdened with a crushing debt and often they were obliged to prove their inability to pay. However, they were made to pay by submitting

⁶⁹W.Hickey, *Op.Cit.*, pp.81-83.

⁷⁰G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Poona, 1946, pp.241-242.

to barbarous tortures".⁷¹ This observation reflected upon the nature of Maratha administration that the inhabitants had to endure from the very beginning.

Influenced perhaps by Ekoji's success in Thanjavur and encouraged by the support extended by Golconda, Sivaji decided on a similar venture. He led an expedition to the Carnatic in 1677 and occupied Gingee and Vellore.⁷² In view of the rivalry between the two half-brothers, Sivaji's presence on the northern bank of river Coleroon presented a serious threat to Thanjavur. However, the death of Sivaji in 1680 removed the threat. Nevertheless, Ekoji sold his 'Jagir' of Bangalore for three lakhs of rupees to Chikkadeva Raya the ruler of Mysore and with that amount strengthened his army and improved the defences.

TERRITORY EXPANSIONS

The existence of Gingee in the north and Madurai in the west offered no scope for the expansion of the Marathas of Thanjavur in these directions. However, the kingdoms of Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai appeared so weak that Thanjavur felt it possible to annex them.⁷³ As a result, the successors of Ekoji, namely Shahji (1684-1712), Serfoji (1712-1728) and Tukkoji (1728-1736) made repeated attempts at expansion. The interventions that they

⁷¹L.Bessie, *Father Beschi: His Times and Writings*, Tiruchirapalli, 1918, pp.121-126.

⁷²G.S.Sardesai, *Op.Cit.*, pp.240-242.

⁷³*Ibid.*, pp.242-243.

made in the affairs of other states, the expeditions that they sent frequently and invasions that they had to encounter from the Carnatic had their natural impact upon the administration. For forces were to be recruited, provisions were to be collected and taxes had to be increased. These developments imposed new burdens upon the inhabitants and strains to the administration.

In a bid to extend their sway, the Marathas interfered in palace intrigues and internal disorders, supported one side or the other and frequently changed sides, depending upon the exigencies.⁷⁴ Taking advantage of the conflict between Ramnad and Madurai, King Shahji supported the former. Reinforced by the troops of Thanjavur, the Setupati of Ramnad invaded Madurai in 1698, but suffered reverses. Thereupon Shahji won the alliance of the Setupati and occupied a few villages from the Nayaks of Madurai.⁷⁵ After the death of Shahji, his son Serfoji.I interfered in a civil war in Ramnad. While Thanjavur took the side of Bhavani Sankaran, Madurai took the side of Tanda Tevar. The successful Bhavani Sankaran ceded the northern area of Ramnad to Thanjavur in recognition of the assistance that he received.⁷⁶

However, when Katta Tevar appeared as a rival to Bhavani Sankaran, Serfoji supported the former in defeating the latter

⁷⁴L.Bessie, *Op.Cit.*, pp.127-128.

⁷⁵K.Rajayyan, *History of Madurai*, Madurai, 1974, p.68.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p.68.

and acquired possession of more territory.⁷⁷ Tukkoji, the successor of Serfoji, took up the cause of Bhavani Sankaran and sent an expedition against Katta Tevar but suffered defeat.⁷⁸ As a result Ramnad regained possession of the territories which it ceded on earlier occasions.⁷⁹ Because of the questionable tactics played by the Marathas, they became undependable to all the local powers.

A real challenge to the security of Thanjavur was the rise of Arcot. Emperor Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur and Golconda and created a new province in the South, with Arcot as Capital.⁸⁰ The Marathas of Thanjavur incurred his displeasure because of their support to their fellow Marathas under Rajaram for the period was marked by a bitter struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas. In 1691 Zulfikar Khan, the Mughal Governor of Arcot, marched upon Thanjavur and levied a contribution of four lakhs of rupees.⁸¹ Henceforth Thanjavur was considered a tributary to Arcot. Sadat-ul-lah Khan (1713-1722) and Dost Ali (1722-1740) the Nawabs of Arcot sent frequent expeditions and collected tribute from

⁷⁷ K.Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur*, Mysore, 1969, p.15.

⁷⁸ Military Consultations, Vol.41, dated 3 April, 1971, pp.107-109.

⁷⁹ K.Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur*, p.15.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁸¹ Fort.St.George, Diary and Consultation Book, 26 August 1791, p.41.

Thanjavur.⁸² As a result, the Marathas were deprived of the needed resources either to support a large army or to maintain their administrative system in order⁸³.

CIVIL WAR

In addition to foreign invasions, internal disorders seriously affected the Maratha administration. King Tukkoji had five sons - Bava Sahib, Sahahuji, Anna Sahib, Nana Sahib and Pratap Singh. Among them Anna Sahib and Nana Sahib died during the life time of their father. On the death of Tukkoji in 1736 Bava Sahib succeeded to the throne with the name Tukkoji II. However, he passed away in a few months after succession. There upon Sujana Bai, the widow of Bava Sahib, gained the support of Seid Khan, the Commander of the forces and succeeded to the throne.⁸⁴ This marked the beginning of internal disorders.

After two years, Sahuji deposed Sujana Bai and captured power. A pretender by name Sidhoji, who won the support of Seid Khan and occupied the throne.⁸⁵ Driven to exile, Sahuji requested the French to extend their support in return for an offer to cede

⁸²L.Bessie, *Op.Cit.*, pp.121-135.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pp.136-138.

⁸⁴T.Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, Vol.II, Madras, 1915, p.775.

⁸⁵K.Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur*, p.24.

Karaikkal and Kirkangarhi.⁸⁶ Bennoit Dumas (1735-1741), the Governor General of Pondicherry, accordingly entered into an agreement with the prince. He sent two war ships with troops and artillery. However, before the French landed on the shore of Thanjavur, Sahuji won over Seid Khan and drove Sidhoji out of power. As a result the French endeavour to gain a foot hold in the kingdom failed.⁸⁷ The disappointed Dumas sought the aid of Chanda Sahib, the general of Nawab Dost Ali. Accordingly Chanda Sahib occupied the two places and forced Sahuji to cede them to the French.⁸⁸ As the price of the two places, the Maratha prince received 50,000 pagodas.⁸⁹ Thus the internal disorders invited Nawab's intervention and loss of a part of the territory.

Since then more of troubles followed. Safdar Ali, son of Nawab Dost Ali, led an expedition to Thanjavur in 1739 and replaced Sahuji by Pratap Singh. As the situation appeared critical, Sahuji appealed to King Sahu of Poona. In response to this appeal and determined to assert their influence, the Marathas descended upon the Carnatic in strength.⁹⁰ They defeated and killed the Nawab in the battle at Damalcheruvu in 1740. Taking advantage of this invasion Sahuji purchased his freedom

⁸⁶Mallesan, *History of the French in India*, Edinburgh, 1909, pp.71-73.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pp.74-78.

⁸⁸H Dodwell, *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol.9, Madras, 1922, pp.376-377.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p.378.

⁹⁰G.S.Sardesai, *Op.Cit.*, p.244.

and returned to power.

However, Sahuji did not prove himself an able ruler. In 1742 the nobles deposed him and elevated Pratap Singh to power. Deprived of the throne, the prince made entreaties to different powers for aid.⁹¹ Ultimately he succeeded with the British. Charles Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, agreed to extend support, in return for the cession of Devikottai, a place of considerable commercial potential.⁹² In 1749 Captain Cope led an expedition, but it failed. A second expedition too ended in retreat. Thereupon Major Lawrence took only the command and occupied Devikottai from Thanjavur. By a settlement with Pratap Singh, the Company retained possession of Devikottai, but withdrew their support to Sahuji.⁹³ This marked the beginning of British influence in the Kingdom.

POLITICAL DISTURBANCES AND RULE OF INSTABILITY IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT DURING THE STUDY PERIOD

In 1762, the Nawab sent an expedition and forced Rajah Pratap Singh to accept his sovereignty and to pay an annual tribute of four lakhs rupees. A year later Pratap Singh passed away and his son Tulzaji came to power. As the new ruler engaged himself in a campaign against Ramnad and Sivaganga, the Nawab entered Thanjavur with the assistance of British in 1771 and

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p.27.

⁹²Fort St.David Consultations, Vol.17, 1749, p.105.

⁹³*Ibid.*, Vol.17, 1749, p.188.

exacted a war indemnity of eight lakhs of rupees and also annexed Vallam, Arni, Deivanur, Koilady and Elangad. After this victory, the Nawab coveted the possession of the rest of the kingdom too. In 1773, the Nawab forces, supported by the British, stormed the fort of Thanjavur, imprisoned the royal family and annexed the Thanjavur kingdom with the Carnatic. With the Marathas out of power, the Nawab brought his own servants and re-organised the administration with a view to improve the revenue collections.

However, the Nawab rule over Thanjavur did not last long. In 1776, the court directors of the English East India company (EIC) decided in favour of restoration of the Thanjavur kingdom to the Marathas and Tulzaji reinstated as the Rajah of Thanjavur. In protest, the Nawab removed the revenue records, causing dis-location in the administrative system. However, the Rajah was required to pay twelve lakhs of rupees every year for meeting the expenses of British forces which were stationed at Thanjavur. Besides, the British took possession of Nagore together with 277 villages. Though the British interfered and restored the kingdom to Marathas, the subsequent developments proved that it was with a view to establish their authority.

During the initial period, the Maratha Kingdom included Arni Jahir, Bangalore district and some other parts of Mysore.⁹⁴ A place called Arni continued to be a nominal dependency of

⁹⁴M.S.Mascasenas, Note on the Tanjore Raj Pensioners, Madras, 1909, p.1.

Thanjavur till 1771. In 1773, the Kingdom was conquered by the English and made over to the Nawab of the Carnatic. But the Court of Directors did not sanction this and ordered the restitution of the Rajah's Kingdom. The restoration took place in 1776, when a settlement was made, under which the East India Company agreed to protect the whole country on condition that the Raja paid an annual subsidy of four lakhs of rupees. Fresh treaties were entered into in 1786, 1793 and 1799. Under the last one (i.e. 1799), the British assumed the administration of all the Raja's territories except the Fort of Thanjavur, and the Kingdom became a British Province, an allowance of one lakh of pagodas and one-fifth of the net revenues being settled upon Raja Serfoji. He was succeeded in 1824 by his son Sivaji, and upon the latter's death on 29th October, 1855, the title and dignity of the Raj was declared to be extinct.

THE MARATHA'S ADMINISTRATION

The Marathas inherited from the Nayakas an established system of administration. The king was the head of the state. The power and authority of the ruler invariably depended on his personality; but very often the Maratha rulers were content to leave the administration of the land in the hands of their ministers, devoting their personal attention to the pursuit of learning and the promotion of literature. Moreover the influence which the Brahmans exercised over the king greatly circumscribed his activities and confined him to the palace.

There was a council to assist the king and it was composed of the heads of the chief departments, the chief justice and royal purohit (Brahman priest). The most important member of the council was prime minister, also called chief adviser or sirkle or chamberlain of the royal household at different periods. The office of the minister, later on, came to be coupled with that of the Dalaway or Commander-in-chief who was the commander of the army. The Killedar was another important official, who controlled the fort. There were arikars or spies to supply the king with all news.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The whole kingdom was divided into five subhas viz. Pattukkottai, Mannargudi, Kumbakonam, Mayavaram and Tiruvadi, each of which was under a subedar. The subedar was the most powerful man, for he was not only the controller of the administrative machinery of the subha but was also in-charge of the military department. For his assistance, Amins were appointed for the collection of revenue who had power even to imprison a ryot for non-payment of revenue.

VI. ECONOMIC PORTRAIT OF THANJAVUR REGION

Merchants and Markets

There were a number of merchants, having overseas trade, exporting a number of articles. Too many references to the corporate activities of "merchant guilds" in the Sangam literature shows that there was flourishing trade during the time

and continued during the Chola times through the Pallava Period.

The overseas trade and vigorous colonisation movement resulted in a large number of persons including Brahman and Buddhist scholars moving out from the Tamil country to places in South and South East Asian countries. The foreign trade of the Sangam age which was with the west especially Rome, during the Chola age, shifted its direction to the East - towards cathay (China), Burma (Myanmar), Malaysia and Indonesia.

Merchants earned a lot of wealth from these far eastern countries and the money was spent in many places in Tamil Nadu especially Nagapattinam in Thanjavur district. These merchants made rich endowments to Buddhist vihars and Hindu temples in and around Thanjavur district.

The merchants of Medieval Tamil Nadu organised themselves into guilds and were affiliated to similar associations in other parts of India. Among the trade guilds, the "Nanadesis" were the leading and prominent guild organisation during the medieval "Nanadesis" group were widely spread throughout the Tamil country. The trade guilds maintained their own police forces to defend their caravans. They gifted part of their wealth to temples.⁹⁵ They even controlled some temples and market towns.⁹⁶

Market in ancient and medieval Thanjavur territory was a centre of commercial activity, where agrarian and commercial

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp.27-28.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p.28.

goods were exchanged between traders and consumers. In the Sangam period a portion of the trade was regulated through markets situated in different parts of the Thanjavur region. The Sangam and the Chola periods, also show the proliferation of markets in different parts of the study region. Medieval Thanjavur witnessed about the details of the goods manufactured and marketed and also the functioning of the trade guilds.⁹⁷

During the Chola period, market centres increased in number and many commodities were brought in these markets for sale. Some of those markets were established under the patronage of the Kings. The functioning of these markets were the main reason for the development of local crafts and trade.⁹⁸

Trade and Commerce (Chola period)

During the late Pallava and Chola period (i.e., between ninth and twelfth centuries), as far as international trades were concerned, coromandel coast was very significant emporia.⁹⁹ South Indian kingship and urban development in the early centuries of Christian era was stimulated by international maritime trade.¹⁰⁰

The stability of the local bodies like ur, nadu, nagaram and brahmadeya played an important role in the medieval South Indian

⁹⁷P. Shanmugam, "Markets in Medieval Tamil Country", Eighth International Conference - Seminar of Tamil Studies, Thanjavur, dated 1-5, January, 1995, pp.150-151.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.151.

⁹⁹Clarance Maloney, "The Beginning of civilization in South India", *Journal of Asian Studies*, No.29, 3, 1970, p.604.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p.604.

political system. The "Nagarams" were well established centres of trade and commerce during the Chola period and each nadu had atleast a nagaram. This may be intended to contain the commercial penetration of foreign merchants within the regions designated market.¹⁰¹

Rajaraja-I, by conquering the Chera and Pandya kingdoms had a firm control over the important commercial centres of these regions. One of his expeditions was directed against Kollam, one of the most important international ports of the Cheras,¹⁰² to have trade contacts with the Arabs. The occupation of Elam (northern part of Sri Lanka) by Rajaraja in 981 A.D., enabled him to have further control over international commerce. It became a province of the Chola empire under the name of Mummudi Chola Mandalam.¹⁰³ The last of his conquests mentioned was Maldives. It was popularly called, "the old islands of the sea, numbering around 12,000 islands".¹⁰⁴

Thus, the military exploits of Rajarajan and his son Rajendra enabled them to have a firm control over the internal and external trade and commerce from Tungabadra in the North to Kandy in the South. The Chudamani Vihara in the eastern part of the coromandel coast near Nagapattinam was used by the South East

¹⁰¹Burton Stein, "Brahman and Peasant in Early South Indian History, *Adyar Literary Bulletin*, No.31-32, 1967-68, pp229-230.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p.231.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p.232.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p.233.

Asian merchants. The Chudamani Vihara was built by Sailendra King during the Rajaraja's period.¹⁰⁵ To the maximum extent, the Cholas attracted the international trade to their ports. The duties collected from these ports filled the Chola coffers.¹⁰⁶

The Commodities of Trade

During the Chola period, the major exports were the flora, fauna and mineral wealth, which constituted the chief commodities of trade. The main imports were pepper, ginger, cardomam, cinnamom, saffron, pearls, turmeric, sandalwood and certain animals and birds.¹⁰⁷

During the Chola times, the chief articles that entered into the long distance trade were necessarily goods that carried great value for small bulk.

The itinerant trades mainly concentrated on the following commodities viz., black pepper, arecanut aghil (waterceder) from Kerala and sandalwood from Mysore. Rice being a consumer good was rarely exported. Sugarcane, which was introduced to Tamil Nadu during the Sangam period, was one of the chief articles of trade during the Chola period.

Cotton cloth was distributed by the itinerant merchants both internally and also to the foreign countries. Thanjavur,

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.234.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.234.

¹⁰⁷ K.R.Hall, Op. Cit., p.11.

Kumbakonam, Papanasam, Thiruvaiyaru and other places in the study region were the leading weaving centres and also the cotton cloth industry seems to have flourished well during the Chola period.¹⁰⁸ From Chola coast, cotton cloth was exported to Rome during the days of Nero.¹⁰⁹

Silk was imported into India from China, and the same was exported to the West in the first century A.D. Warmington further says that silk yarn by the silk merchants frequented Kaveripoompattinam during the Medieval period. The silk trade by the silk merchants made huge profits. During the Chola period mulberry trees were grown in the Chola domain and coloured silk thread were woven in the cotton cloth and then it was exported to foreign countries.¹¹⁰

Pearl and pepper which were among the most important articles of trade between Tamil Nadu and the West since Sangam age continued to be so in the Chola period too.¹¹¹ Kaveripoompattinam was an important port which imported pepper from India in 10th century A.D.¹¹²

Horses were imported to the Tamil country through the sea route during the Sangam age. The Arab trade should have risen to prominence in the ninth century and especially during the Chola

¹⁰⁸E.H.Warmington, *Op.Cit.*, p.211.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p.212.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.213.

¹¹¹K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, Vol.II, Madras, pp.606-607.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p.608.

period. The Chola records contain frequent references to the "Kudirai chettis" (dealers in horses) who were from Malainadu (the chera country).¹¹³

Currency and Coins

During the Chola period the commercial transactions were partly controlled by a currency system made up of gold, silver and copper. Due to Rajaraja's conquest over a vast territory, his coins were in circulation throughout the Tamil country and was popularly called as "Kalayus" and "Kasus". Rajaraja's records mention the prices of the commodities in "Kasu". The metallic currency entered only in transactions of foreign commerce.¹¹⁴ Besides Kasu, Paddy also served as a medium of exchange during the reign of Rajaraja.¹¹⁵ Rajaraja issued copper coins,¹¹⁶ which were found widely throughout his Kingdom. He also issued silver coins.¹¹⁷ Itinerant merchants quoted all market prices in gold "kasu".¹¹⁸ Probably the local exchange was transacted through paddy and itinerant trade was conducted through "gold coins".¹¹⁹

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.609-610.

¹¹⁴ K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, Vol.I, Madras, pp.88-89.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.89.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.89.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.90.

¹¹⁸ K.R.Hall, *Op. Cit.*, p.12.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.12.

Itinerant Traders Guilds

In the Chola period new ports developed which were dominated by itinerant merchants. The position of these itinerant merchants within the Chola coastal ports was very powerful unlike in the Pallava period. During the Chola period, itinerant trade became institutionalised and the nagaram merchants became members of a powerful supra-regional commercial organisation, which was involved in the administration of commercial activities in the ports. It also assumed the administrative control over major trade emporia of the hinterland designated as "*eri vira pattinam*" (place where the heroes of the roads conduct trade). These nagarams and erivira pattinams organised the efficient flow of indigenous commercial products into the ports.¹²⁰ The suffix "*pattinam*" was attached in South India to towns where international commerce were conducted¹²¹, for eg. Nagapattinam and Adhirampattinam in the Thanjavur district. It may be a port in the coast or an emporia in the hinterland. Itinerant merchants also had a distinctive title, "*Eri Vira Pattinam*" was suffixed to the name of their emporium.¹²²

The itinerant merchants enjoyed a very special status. In the hinterland, their position was more dependent on forming alliance with local institution. From the Chola times it was

¹²⁰K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, p.131.

¹²¹K.R.Hall, *Op. Cit.*, p.141.

¹²²Eri denotes "the road", Vira - "heroes" and Pattinam ' "a trading place". Together they mean " a place where the heroes of the road conduct trade".

clear that the "nagaram" provided the arena for contact between local and itinerant merchants.¹²³ According to K.R.Hall, the level of itinerant activity, which are to be formed are as follows: (i) The Pattinam, (ii) The Coastal Ports and (iii) The Periodical Markets.¹²⁴

There were three stages of evolution in the itinerant merchant organisation. (i) Initially, there were many small groups of expeditionary merchants, who served the less wealthy or isolated communities of the Hinterland, (ii) later, they found it profitable to join together for their mutual profession and (iii) finally, they carried arms for their protection and often employed mercenary armed guards like Velaikkarar¹²⁵ (Mercenary troops). Their troops were also rich enough to make many endowments to the temples. There are innumerable instances about their organisation of work and the one from Thiruvudaimarudur in Thanjavur district is worth mentioning here. Part of a Mandapa at Thiruvudaimarudur was contributed by the local mercenaries of the itinerant merchants.¹²⁶

Thus, during the Chola period, different types of commercial organisation were firmly established. There was an expansion and co-ordination in their activities through a net work of trading

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp.142-143.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.143.

¹²⁵ M.K.Wijetunga, "South Indian Corporate Commercial Organisation in South and South East Asia", *First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, p.504.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.504.

centres. The Chola emperors since Rajaraja seem to have keen interest in the internal and external trade and commerce, which mutually benefitted the King and the traders.

Transport of commodities was a problem in those days. Roads within urban limits were maintained by local authorities like "ur" or "sabha". Trunk roads were not officially the concern of anybody, but were maintained by their users especially the traders. Toll gates were there and accountants maintained the accounts of the tolls. The travelling merchants had guards with arms.¹²⁷

VII. CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Claims are often made for high and distinctive early civilisation in South India in general, and Tamil nadu in particular. These claims are made based on literary evidences. The archaeological evidences and the recent researches show that Dravidian languages most likely spread through much of the South only with the iron age, roughly 500 B.C.¹²⁸ Since 300 B.C. the Dravidian languages were imposed, either by a more efficient

¹²⁷K.R.Hall, *Op.Cit.*, pp.13-15.

¹²⁸Clarence Maloney, "Archaeology in South India : Accomplishments and Perspects", in *Essays on South India*, (ed.), Burton Stein, New Delhi, 1976, p.7.

cultural system, or a political-military system or both.¹²⁹ Literary scholars claim that the Sangam period and the succeeding period represents civilisation in Tamil Nadu.

Civilisation can be defined as a grade reached by the well-known "primary civilisations" in other parts of the world. It was generally characterised by a) urbanisation usually supported by a fully developed present economy, b) monumental buildings, c) diversified economy, d) elaborately structured society, e) formalised religion, f) the state and g) writing.

Thanjavur is renowned for her great art, culture and literature for over ten centuries. The district rose to glory during the medieval (imperial) Chola reign between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries and it became a centre of learning and a seat of culture and civilization. Successive generations of the Nayaks and the Marathas have enriched its cultural heritage. The attractions of this district are its temple monuments which have been the special creations of the Chola kings. The Cholas contributed their magnificent temples, sculptures and paintings to enrich the culture of the Tamil.

The Sangam literature mentioned that "bulk of the population lived in typical iron age villages". Greek sources stated that there were over a 100 named towns and many of them were trade centres.¹³⁰ The permanent buildings like forts, palaces and

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p.8.

¹³⁰N.Subramanian, *Sangam Polity*, Bombay, 1966, p.9.

temples of the Sangam period were built of burnt bricks covered with a reddish clay. Moreover, wood was used extensively to construct these permanent buildings.¹³¹

External Trade (Economy)

The Roman had trade contact with the Tamils as revealed by the Sangam literature. Similarly goods were imported from South East Asia. These traders were also responsible for the development of culture and civilisation in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.¹³²

Division of Labour (Society)

The various Sangam works mention diverse occupations - kings, chieftains, scholars, priests, poets, warriors, shippers, foreign merchants, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, salt makers, pearl divers, fishers, dancers, shepherds, hunters, weavers, leather workers and also robbers.

According to Maloney, other archaeological sources and the Brahmi inscriptions, people were having the following occupations like lapidary, charioteers, gold merchants, cloth merchant, copra merchant, iron merchant, salt seller and toddy seller. In addition to this there were a few Jaina and Buddhist monks.¹³³

¹³¹*Ibid.*, p.14.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p.265.

¹³³C.Maloney, *Op.Cit.*, p.15.

The State

The Chola kings fought numerous battles on the sea and incorporated all the territories. This was described in the "pattupattu". Most of the states had their inland capitals as well as subsidiary coastal capitals. Thus Cholas had "Uraiyur" and "Kaveripoompattinam" as their capitals.¹³⁴ (Likewise, the pandyas had "Madurai" and "Korkai" and the Cheras had "Karur" and "Thondi").

Writing

There were a number of Tamil Brahmi inscriptions, which go back to the history from two to three centuries prior to the Sangam period. The language of the Tamil script alone belong to the 3rd century B.C.¹³⁵ Thus, the Tamil region was well populated even before the Sangam period.

Sri Lanka was said to be "the source of inspiration of much that was incorporated into the early civilisation of Tamil Nadu". According to Maloney, the Brahmi script spread from Sri Lanka to Southern Tamil Nadu and the North West.¹³⁶

The period of Imperial Cholas (850-1279 A.D.) has every right to be called the "Golden" or "Augustan Age" of Tamil Literature, in the matters of the abundance of literary output as well as literary excellence. This Chola period does not lag

¹³⁴N.Subramaniam, *Op.Cit.*, pp.266-267.

¹³⁵C.Maloney, *Op.Cit.*, pp.21-22.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p.23.

behind the Sangam period. The history of Thanjavur Cholas should be described as "politically great and must be naturally, intellectually and culturally great also". Economic prosperity and social welfare facilitated the production of literature in abundance both in quality and quantity.¹³⁷

The Nayakas, who succeeded them fostered and developed the study of literature, drama, music and its arts. The Marathas and their successors followed suite, conserved and improved the legacies of their predecessors.

VIII. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITY AND ECONOMY TO THE STUDY OF URBAN CENTRES

There is a close relationship between polity and economy and in the study of urban centres in any period of history. Polity signifies dynastic change, size of the state, its politico-administrative structure as well as administrative measures and policies. Economy encompasses the hinterland and its produce, trade and manufacturers as well as markets and the commercial and financial capital.

The size of an urban centre depends upon the diversification of its trades and skills which in turn are determined by its vertical and horizontal linkages. Vertically, it is linked up with its hinterland consisting of both rural areas and urban

¹³⁷ From the paper published after the Fifth World Tamil Conference at Madurai, "The Age of Chola as the Golden age of Tamil Literature", published in the journal of *Tamil Arasu*, January, 1995, Madras, p.33.

areas, ranging from villages to the large city. The city is the apex of the vertical linkage in the region and is horizontally linked up with other such cities outside the region.¹³⁸ The effect of polity and economy on the changing pattern of urbanisation, or the growth and decline of urban centres, is a sensitive index of socio-economic change, particularly in the case of average towns.¹³⁹

To conclude this chapter, **Thanjavur District: A Political History**, the following points can be put in a nutshell.

(a) Thanjavur from Third Century B.C. to Twelfth century A.D.

The Tamil Chola Kingdom has arisen in Thanjavur's delta by the third century B.C. from about 100 to 250 A.D., the famous Sangam age and it became a centre of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain civilisation and literature. During this period, the basic structure of royal Government, the systems of irrigation and land tax, the multi caste settlement patterns of towns and villages, the religious supremacy of the Brahmans and the presence of certain other castes such as the Pallars, Parayars were established much as in later centuries.

The socio-cultural background of the people in the region possessed many special features that they were well familiarised in and around Thanjavur district before and during the study period. Among them are the vedic ceremonies of the Brahmans and

¹³⁸Indu Banga, *Studies in Urban History*, Gurunanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1978, p.192.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, p.192.

the worship of Lord Siva as the bisexual "Ardanariswara", of his son Murugan or Subramania and of Lord Vishnu as Rama and Krishna. The kingship system of the prominent castes was already patrilineal. As in later centuries, aristocratic widows lit themselves on the husband's funeral pyre. Reincarnation and the effects of 'Karma' in successive births were established beliefs.¹⁴⁰

During the peak time of the Cholas, the people's lifestyle was characterised by a sort of luxury, pleasure and merry-making. This high life style was much evident in the dietary habits of almost all caste people such as eating meat, fish and other marine products like prawns, crabs, etc. People also used to consume alcohol and other varieties of liquor. The robust optimism of the period declined with end of the Sangam age, probably with the ascendance of Buddhism. Thanjavur's literature and culture thereafter acquired its emphasis on the sin and sorrow of desire, the virtues of non-violent submission and the need to escape the chain of rebirths through repression of the will to live. Although Buddhism declined in the eighth century with the rise of the Advaita Philosophy of the Hindu Sankaracharya and the dominance of Saivism. Lastly, Thanjavur's Bramanical Hinduism itself became permeated with the Buddhist themes of non-violence and elimination of desire.

In order to summarise the political background of the Thanjavur district, the following notable points are highlighted

¹⁴⁰K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, pp.124-140.

here. The early Chola emperor of the Sangam age, Karikala, lost his legendary grandeur. So, the first Chola kingdom fell into a dark age in the late third century A.D. In sixth century A.D. it re-emerged as a tributary province of the Tamil Pallavas of Kanchipuram. It was several centuries later that Vijayalaya established a small kingdom around Thanjavur, which developed into a gigantic empire under his successors. So, the Chola regained their independence about 850 A.D., and reached the height of their expansion in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For about two centuries they commanded tribute from all the kingdoms south of the Tungabhadra and at times extended their sway north to the Ganges and south of the Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to Burma (Myanmar) and Indo-china, and to the Sri Vijaya empire of Malaya (Malaysia) and Indonesia. Thanjavur's Brahman and Vellalar bureaucracy, many of its great temples and most of its towns and villages were established in this period.

(b) Thanjavur from Thirteenth Century to Sixteenth Century A.D.

The imperial Chola empire declined in the twelfth century and Thanjavur was conquered by the Pandya kingdom of Madurai in 1290 A.D. Later, Thanjavur became a tributary to the rising Tamil Pandya kingdom of in the early thirteenth century. In the early fourteenth century, Thanjavur was briefly attacked by the Muslim rulers from the Delhi Sultanate. After various ups and downs of fortune (vicissitudes), Thanjavur was invaded by the Vijayanagar empire in about 1340 A.D. In the year 1365, Thanjavur became feudatory to the Telugu empire of Vijayanagar.

By 1534, the Chola dynasty had disappeared. The vast and the mighty Chola kingdom reduced to the limits of the present district, came under the rule of Nayakas in 1620s and also Telugu Viceroys (governors) were appointed by the Vijayanagar rulers. The Nayakas declared their independence of Vijayanagar in 1642.

When the Nayaka empire declined, the Thanjavur was again conquered, this time by Maratha armies from Bijapur in 1674, and a Maratha ruler was installed. In 1680, the Maratha king declared his independence of Bijapur. Thanjavur was invaded by Mughal armies in 1691 and its Maratha king became a tributary of the Mughal empire, except for brief invasions by Muslims from South Arcot (the south western most extension of the Mughal empire) in the 1690s and 1770s and from Mysore in 1781. The Maratha dynasty held Thanjavur until its annexation by the British East India Company. The kingdom was, however, feudatory to the Nawab of Arcot from the 1690s and indirectly to the East India Company till its annexation. Thanjavur was thus a small, dependent kingdom surrendering booty and tribute to larger powers for most of this period.

(c) Thanjavur from Seventeenth century to Eighteenth Century A.D.

By 1749, some institutions resembling feudal vassalage (one who holds lands from superior and homage to him) and others influenced by capitalist markets and concepts of private ownership of the means of production had begun to penetrate the theocratic irrigation region of Thanjavur district.

In the year 1749, Thanjavur was occupied by the Britishers. It was the first interference of the British in Thanjavur and was

reduced by the British East India Company in 1771. The ruler of Maratha dynasty of Thanjavur, King Serfoji.II (1799-1832), handed over the Thanjavur territory to the British. After Thanjavur's annexation in 1799, the British pensioned the Maratha royal family. (The Genealogical Table of the Maratha rulers in the study region is given at the end of this thesis as appendix). So, the transfer of power (administration) from the great Marathas to the British took place in the year 1799.¹⁴¹ The Maratha ceded Thanjavur to the British, received the fort as their residence and an estate for their support. Thanjavur was later annexed to the British empire under the "Doctrine of Lapse" (The last Maharaja of the Maratha kingdom left a heiress but no heir and there was a dispute surrounding the abolition of the kingship)¹⁴² in the year 1855 by Lord Dalhousie. This was declared very arbitrarily by the British and the Marathas extinct took place in the same year (i.e. 1855) at Thanjavur.

Later, Thanjavur became a revenue district of the Madras Presidency of the British India. With India's independence in 1947 it remained part of the same multi-lingual region, named as the Madras Province, until the separation of the smaller, Tamil speaking Madras State in 1956. During the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's (D.M.K.) regime, in 1965, the then Chief Minister and the founder of the D.M.K. Party Chief, Dr. Annadurai named the Madras State as "Tamil Nadu".

¹⁴¹William Hickey, Op. Cit., p.127.

¹⁴²Ibid., p.128.

Besides all the points mentioned above, Thanjavur district was especially known for its religious (temple) importance and the unique traditional and cultural heritage it carries till date. Thus this chapter highlights the historical importance of Thanjavur district in different aspects. The next chapter discusses about the socio-economic conditions in Thanjavur district.

CHAPTER - IV

URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT : A BACKGROUND

This chapter focuses mainly on urban centres and concentrates on the various factors operated in urban centres in the area of study. The major factors namely (i) port, (ii) military, (iii) market, (iv) fort, (v) administration (capital), (vi) trade routes, (vii) manufacture and industry, besides the geographical and cultural factors such as agraharam, temple and Christian missionary activities (i.e., religious) are broadly highlighted in this chapter.

URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT

Historically urban centres play a crucial role on account of the economic, political, cultural and military activities in them. The cities situated in strategic spots have natural linkages with the near and far off hinterland from where they draw human and material resources. They offer natural facilities for the growth of defence, commerce and civilisation. Thanjavur is one of such urban centres of Tamil Nadu.

Urban history in Tamil Nadu has a rich past. Most of the research on Medieval Tamil Nadu and in particular on Thanjavur district has concerned itself with agrarian structures, peasant settlements and the general pattern of socio-economic changes. Problems of interpretation of records and the inadequacy of statistical data have deterred scholars from reconstructing the history of urban centres, despite their interest in trade patterns, merchant and craft organisations and state

participation in such activities.¹ However with the dependable framework of agrarian development now provided by recent studies, it is possible and necessary to venture into urban history.²

As far as urban process in Medieval Tamil Nadu, is concerned we can see certain distinct phases. The first, during the Sangam period, the second with the period of the Cholas from the ninth to thirteenth centuries and the third from fourteenth to nineteenth centuries. This third phase also includes the Muslims, Nayakas, Marathas and the European settlements, providing a fairly large scale agrarian expansion, trade and commercial activities, industrial developments, craft and institutional organisations to serve as the basis for the growth of urban centres in the study area of Thanjavur district.³

It would be useful to survey, however briefly, the nature of urban development in the first period in order to highlight the underlying differences in the process of urban growth in the second and third periods. The most crucial factor in the process of urbanisation of the early period was that Maritime trade was very extensively used by the great Cholas in their coastal territories of Thanjavur region. Emerging from the main rice

¹ R. Champakalakshmi, "Urban Process in early Medieval Tamil Nadu" *Urban History Association of India, Occasional Papers Series 3*, 1982, p.3.

² R. Champakalakshmi, "Growth of urban centres in South India", *Studies in History*, Vol. 1, No.1, Jan-June, 1979, pp.12-13.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.13-15.

producing region of the Cauvery delta, the Cholas controlled vast tracts of agricultural land in this river valley. Evidence of irrigation works and the maritime trade activities in this area is provided by Tamil literature and inscriptions.⁴

Sangam period seems to represent the emergence of Tamil civilisation, which may be attributed to urbanisation stimulated by Maritime trade. Socio-political dominance of this early Tamil society was shared by the three "Crowned Kings" - Vendar of the Chola, Chera and Pandya lines and the minor chieftains called "Velirs".⁵

Literary references to ports, towns and cities are numerous, the Greek sources alone giving the names of about a hundred including emporia of trade on the coast, metropolis, marts, cities and inland towns as political and trade centres. The literary descriptions of fortified cities and coastal towns with several quarters for merchants and other social groups would suggest a sophistication in urban development far beyond the meagre archaeological remains unearthed so far at places like Kaveripoompattinam in Thanjavur district and Uraiyur in Tiruchirappalli district.⁶

Medieval Tamil Nadu, Thanjavur district in particular, would provide a conspicuous or very noticeable example of a rural-urban

⁴ N.Subramaniam, *Sangam Polity*, Bombay, 1966, PP. 262-267.

⁵ R.Champakalakshmi, *Op.Cit.*, Vol 1, No.1 January-June, 1979, pp.15-17

⁶ M.M. Abraham "*Religion and Trade*": some aspects of the relationship between India, Burma, Sri Lanka C.A.D 1070-1300", unpublished research paper.

continuum without a clear cut demarcation of the rural-urban boundaries.⁷ In this context, it would be relevant to raise certain crucial questions relating to pre-Industrial societies. What were the links between agricultural production and urban growth? Are agricultural growth and availability of surplus a necessary pre-condition to urban development? Does the increase in commerce and overseas trade and the consequent emergence of centres of commodity exchange markets stimulate agricultural production? To what extent did towns develop as centres of commodity production or as distribution centres in response to internal factors as opposed to growth of towns in response to demands of overseas trade?⁸

In order to find answers to the above questions in the south Indian context, particularly to Thanjavur district, reference should be made to the progress of existing rural settlements. These centres were the "brahmadeyas" or "Brahman" settlements originating from land grants to Brahmins as learned men in charge of education and as temple priests.⁹ Clusters of such settlements emerge in the study (core) areas or delta regions (Cauvery) in the river valleys forming the nuclei of Medieval Kingdoms. They were pluralistic settlements with several temples as centres of

⁷R. Champakalakshmi, "Symposium on urban History", *Indian History Congress*, Bodhgaya, December, 1981, P.5-6.

⁸*Ibid.*, P. 7

⁹B.Stein, "Brahmin and Peasant in south Indian history", *The Adyar literary bulletin*, Madras, Vol. 31-32, 1968, P. 3-4.

different socio-religious groups pursuing various economic activities centering round the temple.¹⁰

FACTORS

Many factors can be attributed to Medieval urban centres in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. They are (i) the holding of fairs, (ii) the emergence of religious centres, (iii) commercial activities centered around inland ports, (iv) urban status on rural settlements and (v) initiatives taken by kings and ministers in the creation of urban centres and so on.¹¹ There were some other factors also responsible for urban centres in Thanjavur district. They were (a) the geographical location, making it a point of convergence of all major routes which passed through the core region, (b) trade, which however to begin with, was incidental in the process of urbanization, (c) importance as a centre of political and administrative activities and (d) religious importance indicated by the presence of a large number of temple shrines.¹²

Geographical Factors

The geographical peculiarities of a region play an important role in determining the role and conditions of its subsistence. More over, the study of urban centres cannot be explained by a

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, P.5.

¹¹ T. Venkateswara Rao, *Local Bodies in Pre-Vijayanagara*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Karnataka University, 1975, p.125-160.

¹² R. Champakalakshmi, 'Growth of Urban Centres in South India - Kudamukku and Palaiyarai the Twin City of the Cholas', in *Studies in History*, Vol.I, No.1, 1979, p.26.

single factor, for example, trade. The most dominant and crucial factor for urban centre had been the geographical system of an area. This can be better understood, in terms of the rainfall of the area, its fertility, availability of agricultural land, scope for natural irrigation as well as natural fortification. So, the geographical system of an area plays a crucial role in the emergence of urban centres. During the Medieval times, when transportation system was not either efficient or easy, the towns depended for their survival on the neighbouring hinterland. This might explain, how the fertility and other characteristics of a region become decisive in the context of urban settlements.

The significance of geographical location can also be appreciated from yet another angle. In Tamil Nadu in general, and Thanjavur district in particular, there were two important categories of towns. They were economic towns and coastal towns. There were obvious reasons for the formation of such towns in Thanjavur district, for either they were trade centres or they grew as a result of their location on important routes in the region. Thus, it could be suggested that there were urban centres, though mainly economic in nature, whose *raison-d'etre* was basically their geographical location and ecology.

It should however be emphasised that in Medieval times hardly any town performed a single function. There were simultaneously performing the activities of administration, religion, market and a centre of culture. In Thanjavur district, urban areas can be classified under various categories on the basis of the present study. They are as follows: (i) port towns

(ii) trade routes (iii) fort towns (iv) administrative towns (v) military towns (vi) market centres (vii) religions and cultural centres. The main factors influencing the formation of urban settlements during the Medieval times in Thanjavur district were: (a) Activities of the kings (b) Trade (c) Places of worship (d) Village assemblies (e) Agriculture.

The possible supplementary factors that shapes the conditions in urban centres were, food supply, craft specialisation, social stratification, administration, warfare and defence, and the population. All towns, irrespective of their size and population depend on certain external forces, like a non-urban population supplying food and materials and in turn consuming the goods and services offered by the town. This implies that denser the population within the limits of effective agricultural population zones, more would be the support to the urban centres. As the town grows, the population also increases. The increase in population was obviously due to the process of migration initiated by the emergence of towns. The obvious reason for this migration must have been economic.

TRADE ROUTES

The main factor was the convergence of routes. Thanjavur district was very famous for its route systems. Burton Stein discussed about route character of Medieval Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. The urban centres in Medieval Thanjavur were dotted on routes. Puthupattinam, Tranquebar, Poraiyur, Karaikkal and Nagore were located on the route from Thirumullaivasal to

Nagapattinam. Vailankanni, Thopputhurai, Point Calimere and Muthupettai were existed on the route from Nagapattinam to Adhirampattinam; Ammapettai, Needamangalam, Koradacherry and Tiruvarur were located on the route from Thanjavur to Nagapattinam; Karanthai, Palliagrahanam, Kandiyur, Thiruvaiyaru and Papanasam, Pandaravadai and Kuthalam were located on famous Thanjavur to Kumbakonam road and Mayavaram, Sirkali, Poompuhar (Kaveripoompattinam), Akkur, Thirukkadaiyur, Thirunallar were located on the route from Kumbakonam to Nagapattinam which was considered as one of the important trade (silk) routes and were also in use from ancient period.

Most of the urban centres were located on the convergence of trade routes in Thanjavur district. Vallam was located on the convergence of Tiruchirapalli-Thanjavur road and Vaduvor, Mannarkudi and Thiruthuraipoondi were located on the convergence of Thanjavur-Vedaranniyam road. Tiruvarur was located on the convergence of Thanjavur-Nagapattinam and Kumbakonam-Thiruthuraipoondi road. Vallam and Boodalur were located on strategic points in western Thanjavur. Since all the urban centres were located on trade routes and convergence of trade routes, it could be summarised that a major factor for the emergence of urban centres in Thanjavur district was trade routes.

MARKET TOWNS

Market play a crucial role in the development of urban centres in Medieval Tamil Nadu, and especially in Thanjavur

district, market played an important role in the crystallisation of towns. In a sense, it can be suggested that urban economy was sustained by trade. This was indicated by the power and prestige of the mercantile community for example, Chettiyars, Marakkayars, Mudaliyars and so on in the urban areas in Thanjavur district.

Market was another major factor in the emergence of urban centres in Thanjavur district but it was incidental in the process of urbanisation.¹³ The agricultural developments and proliferation of new urban settlements were the causes for market networks.¹⁴ Most of the micro region administrative divisions had one or two trade centres. For example, Nagapattinam had Paravai and Velipalayam as marketing centres. In Thanjavur district, Kumbakonam, Nachiarkovil, Nagore, Nagapattinam, Karaikkal, Pattukottai, Mannarkudi and Tiruvarur were the marketing centres. These centres had acted as nodal points for exchange of commodities within the administrative divisions (micro regions). The range of spatial interaction for those centres remained limited to their immediate rural context, not because the epigraphs do not mention any item of exchange, which could be of different origin, but also because the centres derived their resources inter-alia from its immediate rural hinterland.¹⁵

¹³ R. Champakalakshmi, 'Growth of Urban Centres in South India - Kudamukku and Palaiyarai the Twin City of the Cholas', in *Studies in History*, Vol.I, No.1, 1979, p.26.

¹⁴ R. Champakalakshmi, 'Growth of Urban Centres in South India - Kudamukku and Palaiyarai the Twin City of the Cholas', in *Studies in History*, Vol.I, No.1, 1979, p.26.

¹⁵ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op.Cit.*, p.23-24.

Commodities that exchanged in urban centres, i.e. from the various market towns in Thanjavur district, were agricultural products. Cereals, rice, coconut, arecanut, sesamum horsegram, ragi, millets, etc. were the chief commodities. Also natural products were unearthed from Thanjavur district. They had found market in local trade centres. And iron and steel were smelted in Nagapattinam and Thanjavur towns. They also served as commodities in Medieval urban centres of the district. All these products and produces were rural as well as urban oriented. Hence the market centres in Thanjavur district had witnessed the overlapping or intermingling of rural and urban characters. The 'grass surplus' which was considered the subsistence base of these urban centres covered a noticeably wide range of commercial and industrial items including commercial crops.¹⁶ The production and variety of these appear, from the surveys available for this period, were fluctuating throughout the period of study. The exchange modes presuppose a productive rural hinterland and that this essential link has not gone entirely unnoticed, was evident from the relationship which had sometimes been suggested between some urban centres and their local rural centres.

PORT TOWNS

Ports play an important role in the economy of a country. From time immemorial, Thanjavur district has enjoyed special privileges that resulted naturally to a coastal district with its

¹⁶ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *op.cit.*, p.28.

long coastline on the east; it had many important ports since sangam period. Coastal shipping constituted the most convenient mode of transporting bulky articles of daily use, in the pre-rail, road era in Thanjavur district. When ships were the only means of bulk transport, Thanjavur district ports were centres of brisk trade. Foreign merchants were allowed in the port towns in connection with their trade. The early factory records and references in literature give an idea of the port activity of those days.¹⁷

Ports undoubtedly represented potential centres of urban growth. During Medieval times, coastal trade was mainly in food grains, fire wood, cattle transportation and such other bulk commodities from the coastal areas. During the chola times "Pattinam" meant a port on sea coast and "eri vira pattinam" meant an interior emporium.¹⁸ The latter was a centre for the exchange of local products and occasionally involved in the exchange of imported commodities. At the same time, "pattinam" was clearly a centre for the exchange of foreign merchandise.

The coast of the Thanjavur district was consisted of not less than eleven ports (Thanjavur District Manual mentions even sixteen ports).¹⁹ Out of them only a few were open to foreign trade. They were from north to south Thirumullaivasal,

¹⁷M.M.Abraham, "Religion and Trade : Some aspects of the relationship between India, Burma and Sri lanka C.A.D. 1070-1300", Unpublished research paper, New Delhi, 1978, pp.3-5.

¹⁸K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, pp.27-58.

¹⁹T.Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, p.9.

Tranquebar, Nagore, Nagapattinam, Velanganni, Topputturai, Point Calimere, Muttupet, Adhirampattinam, Kodiyampalaiyam and Kattumavadi. The anchorage was good at all these places. It was even more sheltered at the ports South and West of Point Calimere, but then the shoals made it necessary here for big ships to anchor at a great distance (from two to four miles) from the shore, whereas at the ports north of Point Calimere they could come as close as from three quarters of a mile to one and a half miles. No boats, small or large, could anchor closer than this, as there was heavy ground swell.²⁰

Goods were brought from the ships to the shore on cargo boats of various sizes upto ten tons . Facilities for landing varied at different ports. At Topputturai the mouth of the harbour was so good that crafts of 30 tons burden could enter it for six months in a year and easily land the goods, whereas at Tranquebar, Point Calimere and Adhirampattinam there being no harbours, the cargo boats had to be beached on the shore.²¹

At Nagapattinam there were adequate wharfs, but the entrance was so blocked by shoals that it was often difficult and dangerous for boats. At Thirumullaivasal the harbour was

²⁰F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.4.

²¹B.S.Baliga, *Op.Cit.*, pp.4-5.

excellent when the river was in flood, but in the dry weather it was full of shoals and could be used only at high water. The ports West of Point Calimere were even much worse, shoals of mud blocked up the reaches of the rivers and the cargo was often to be landed outside and taken to the port on carts.²²

The sea on the Thanjavur coast, encroached gradually on the land and buried completely several feet underground the famous port of Kaveripoompattinam which was flourishing in the days of the Chola Kings.²³ In more recent times, it was known that the sea encroached on Tranquebar and eroded some four or five hundred feet of land until it was stopped by expensive groins. Indeed, there seems to be a constant strife going on here between the sea and the land in which the land was giving way, in which the alluvium of the delta was gradually yielding to the denuding action of the waves.²⁴

The coromandel coastal line of Thanjavur district was long and unbroken; hence natural harbours were rare. The sea was

²²F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, pp.4-5.

²³T.Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, pp.10-28.

²⁴F.R.Hemingway, *Op.Cit.*, p.7.

noted for its fisheries and pearl business activities.²⁵ The Palk Bay being shallow, big ships were prevented from anchoring at its shore. Therefore trade was carried on with small boats. Paddy, dry fruits, brass and copper vessels, silk and carpets formed the chief items of imports. Tranquebar (a Danish settlement situated on the Coromandel Coast) was brought by the Danes from Raghunatha Nayaka in 1612 and later on they purchased fifteen more villages from the Maratha Kings. This settlement was the first Protestant Missionary station in the South. Nagapattinam (one of the principal urban settlement of the Dutch) and Devikottai along with Tranquebar and Nagore have retained their importance as sea ports to the present day.

The proximity of the Thanjavur territory to the coromandel coast made the activities of the people oriented towards the sea (Bay of Bengal). Maritime trade with countries beyond the seas appears to have brought untold wealth to the coffers of the empire.²⁶

²⁵W.Hickey, *The Thanjavur Maratha Principality in Southern India*, Madras, 1874, pp.4-28.

²⁶F.R.Hemingway, *The Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, 1933, Madras, pp.7-9.

Along the coromandel coastal line, the port towns of Thanjavur district, developed into export points of commercial goods to the rest of the world.²⁷ They were in general, oil seeds, paddy, hides and skins, metals, tobacco and cotton fabrics (textiles).

The port that were more visible in our period were Thirumullaivasal, Tranquebar (Danish settlement area), Karaikkal (French settlement area), Nagore and Nagapattinam (Portuguese, Dutch and British settlement areas). By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Nagapattinam became an important port of this region. It acquired great significance as centre for international market. It was also important for business, trade, commerce, transportation and administrative activities. It was one of the ancient port cities in India. Exports and imports were the common business practices of this region. Its rich streets were laden with heaps of silk, corals, pearls, gems, gold, sandal, grains, metal-wares, rice, textiles, salt, and other consumer items for sale, while the living quarters for various artisans and artists gave special importance to this region. So, this region became the focal point for trade and commerce from surrounding regions by sea as well as by land. These ports witnessed the presence of Portuguese, Dutch, British, Danes and French settlers. Apart from the ports, the small ports

²⁷ D.A.Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency 1870-1920*, New Delhi, 1976, pp.71-72.

were Vailankanni, Topputurai, Point Calimere, Muttupet, Adhirampattinam and Kattumavadi.

Important Sea ports in Thanjavur District

The Thanjavur sea coast began about five miles south of Porto-Novo and the ports that fed the trade of this vast kingdom during the study period. Here was the delta area of the two rivers estuaries the Coleroon and the Cauvery, with their innumerable branches and streams flowing in to the sea, tidal for miles inland, providing access lay river boats to the interior villages and towns of Thanjavur district. The Ports in Thanjavur District from North to South are as follows.

1. Kodiapaleam

The northern most part of Thanjavur was Kodiapaleam situated at the mouth of Coleroon river.²⁸ Within the entrance of the Coleroon river, on an island formed by the river was a small fort which gives a greater importance to this period. It does not feature any importance, a port having developed a few miles to the south called Puthupattinam.²⁹

Kaveripoompattinam, was a port city since the Sangam age and it was continued to be the same in the Chola and later period too. During the Medieval period, there were immense quantities of articles of various description brought from distant lands and exchanged for gold and the products of the Chola hinterland.

²⁸ B. S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand Book*, Madras, 1957, p.3.

²⁹ S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast: 1650-1740*. Delhi, 1986, p.26.

This port continued to have the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers also. Moreover there was a mention about the King Virupaksha I which also shows that this port was in use during the fifteenth century.³⁰

2. Puthupattinam

The study period witnessed that a port having developed a few miles to the South called Puthupattinam did not feature in any importance during the study period.

3. Thirumullaivasal

The port that was more visible during the study period was Thirumullaivasal and it was situated at the mouth of the river of the same name. It had direct access to the island district town of Sirkali (Sirkazhi) and other towns in Thanjavur district. Rice and textiles were the main products of this region and these products were transported through this port. The Dutch had a factory in this port and the rulers of Thanjavur jealously guarded its free trade against the Dutch encroachment.³¹

4. Tranquebar

On the Coromandel coastline of the port Thirumullaivasal approximately about fourteen miles to the South, was the port of Tranquebar. It was situated on latitude $11^{\circ}1$ N., long. $79.51'$ E. It was positioned on the left bank of a small river, which was not familiar during the period under study. The Tranquebar port, which was of some significance in the coastal and Bay of Bengal

³⁰*Ibid.*, p.27.

³¹*Ibid.*, p.28.

trade was ceded to the Danes by the ruler of Thanjavur in 1618. They constructed a fort at Tranquebar and it was popularly called as "Dansburg" fort. But as the Danish East India Company's trade was never substantial, the Danes did not dominate the shipping at Tranquebar as happened in other European Settled Ports. Tranquebar continued as a port of Indian shipping, making use of the facilities and protection afforded by the Danes. During the study period, Tranquebar was an important port of Indo-Danish Shipping, with a heavy bias towards the trade to island South East Asia and the Malay Peninsula. It grew into a township of some size, with facilities and services appropriate to a port-town.³²

5. Karaikkal

About seven miles South of Tranquebar was Karaikkal, an ancient Port of the Tamil Country, now considerably reduced in importance. It was situated at the mouth of a river and nearby ran several branches of the Cauvery, linked up by ancient irrigation channels. Karaikkal town was on the north bank of Arasalar, about a mile inland. The karaikkal port was an open roadstead. The rivers were barred at the months and were navigable only at high water in small flat-bottomed country vessels, but at that time the river on which the port was located was navigable by vessels of 200 tons burthen. Karaikkal was under the administration of the rulers of Thanjavur till 1738 when it was ceded to the French. At that time the port-town had

³²*Ibid.*, p.27.

over 5,000 inhabitants and 638 houses. The Dutch had a factory there for some time. It was noted as a port for the export of paddy and rice of the Cauvery delta which was shipped along the coast to Malabar and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). It also exported textiles and sea produce. Karaikkal's traditional shipping and trade patterns continued unchanged into the twentieth century.³³

6. Nagore

About eight miles South of Karaikkal was Nagore, a port whose intrinsic importance did not come through in contemporary accounts because of the absence of much foreign trade. It was situated at the mouth of the Kadavaiyar a branch of the Vettar river. There were five temples along the coast, white washed and gleaming in the sun which formed an excellent landmark for pilots heading towards this port. The bar of the river had eight feet of water at high tide. The port was the home of a large Indian merchant fleet (both Hindus and Muslims) ranging from small one-masted boats to ships of 300 tons. Its chief exports were rice, textiles, chanks and other sea produce, and its imports spices, metals, arecanuts and a variety of consumables. The trade was varied in character and small vessels sailed south-wards, hugging the coast to southern Thanjavur, Madurai and Tirunelveli ports.

A large part of the coromandel-Malabar trade was carried on from Nagore and it was perhaps the most important port for South Indian trade to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The bigger vessels sailed

³³*Ibid.*, p.27.

across the Bay of Bengal to mainland and islands of South East Asia with which Nagore merchants had close, prolonged associations. Nagore must have existed for long as a satellite port of Nagapattinam, but the European conquest and domination of this port brought about a shift of trade from there to Nagore.

7. Nagapattinam

Another important port that was more visible in the study period was Nagapattinam. It was situated on latitude $10^{\circ}46'N.$, long. $79^{\circ}50' E$ was about three miles South of Nagore. It was for centuries a prominent port of south India, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century it became an important and significant port of this region, its major strength being the trade across the Bay of Bengal to South East Asia and beyond.

Nagapattinam port acquired great significance as a centre for international market. It was also important for business, trade commerce, transportation and administrative activities. It was one of the ancient port cities in India. Exports and imports were the common business practices of this region. Its rich streets were laden with heaps of silk, corals, pearls, gems, gold, Sandal, grains, metal-wares, rice, textiles, salt and other consumer items for sale, while the living quarters for various artisans and artists gave special importance to this region.³⁴

The port of Nagapattinam was an open roadstead. The surf was high and broke on the bar formed by the Kadavaiyar river, which flowed into the sea at this point and had a constantly

³⁴*Ibid.*, p.27.

shifting bar. Large ships anchored well out in to the sea and loading and unloading was by small boats. At the height of the north-east monsoon, it was hazardous for ships to be anchored here. The river was too small to admit any shipping. The town was to the north of the fort at the mouth of another small river which could take in small boats. An ancient temple built of black stone about a mile and a half north of the port was a good landmark for vessels entering the port. Thus, this study region became the focal point for trade and commerce from surrounding regions by sea as well as by land.

The possibility of establishing a factory at Nagapattinam was suggested by Johnson as early as 1617 during the period of Raghunatha Nayak (1600-1634 A.D.) of Thanjavur.³⁵ Josiah Child was the first man to promote this proposal very seriously i.e., of establishing fortified settlements along the coromandel coast and particularly of taking the settlements of Nagapattinam from the Dutch.

Nagapattinam is presently the district headquarters³⁶ and carved out of the erstwhile Thanjavur district and also a minor port town of the Thanjavur district. Along with other towns of Nagapattinam and Thanjavur district, Nagapattinam shares certain general characteristics viz. high concentration in land ownership, a high proportion of the work force in agriculture,

³⁵V.Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Thanjavur*, Annamalai Nagar, 1942, pp.24-34.

³⁶ Nagapattinam has been elevated from a taluk headquarters to a district headquarters in the year 1994 and then it is called Nagapattinam district.

within it a very high proportion of agricultural labourers, and among them a very high proportion of Harijans.³⁷ Agriculture was predominantly paddy cultivation. Nagapattinam is situated at the tail end of the cauvery delta, and the tract faces problems of both irrigation and drainage. The extent of double cropping was limited.

In Nagapattinam (popularly called as East Thanjavur), institutional land holdings by temples were prominent and concentration of land ownership was very extreme. The people here were considered to be the best educated in the district and this characteristic and the general importance of the tract were due to Nagapattinam town which was a large manufacturing centre and sea port. Besides, most of the trade and industries of the taluk centred around in Nagapattinam town. It became one of the earliest settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast and was called by them "the city of coromandel".³⁸ It was naturally one of the first centres of the Portuguese mission. An interesting glimpse of their relations with the court at Thanjavur in the sixteenth century was given by the Venetian merchant, Caesar Fredsick, who visited the place and relates that the Portuguese and other christians were well out-related by the Nayaks. Later,

³⁷42. S. Guhan, 'Palakurichi -- A Resurvey', W.P. No.42., "Madras Institute of Development studies (MIDS), Madras, 1983, p.4.

³⁸44. *Ibid.*, p.411.

the Nagapattinam town was captured by the Dutch in 1660 and remained in their hands till 1781.³⁹

Some interesting relics of the Dutch (modern Holland or Netherlands) occupation of the Nagapattinam town are still alive. The old Dutch church near the railway station contains a curious antique pulpit and sounding board besides the pews and the gallery which are also old. A stone in the building records its foundation in 1774.⁴⁰ There was some evidence to show that this church was built in order to replace an earlier one on the shore which was washed away by the sea. At the end of the eighteenth century, it was handed over to Guersicke, a missionary of the S.P.C.K. (The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in London) and was taken over on his death by a clergyman of the Danish mission. It was recovered by the S.P.G. who succeeded to the work and institutions of the S.P.C.K. after some dispute in the late sixteenth century.⁴¹ It was again handed back to the government, as the mission could not afford to replace its roof which had been blown off by a hurricane.

The old Dutch cemetery at Nagapattinam town is interesting on account of the antique tombs and massive stone slabs with inscriptions cut in large letters in high relief. They were stated to have been carved in and brought from Holland.⁴²

³⁹45. *Ibid.*, p.411.

⁴⁰46. *Ibid.*, p.412.

⁴¹47. *Ibid.*, p.412.

⁴²48. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

8. Point Calimere

South of Nagapattinam for about twenty miles, when the coast bends almost at right angles west wards at point Calimere, there were no ports of outlet. The country was sparsely populated and inhospitable, marked by sand dunes and swamps (vedaranniyam) and Point Calimere itself was formed of ridges of sand built up by the two monsoons to which the area was exposed. The drift of winds and currents along this part of the coast, between Nagapattinam and point Calimere, was such that sailing ships would find it difficult to steer towards land and be carried northwards.

9. Adhirampattinam

South of Nagapattinam and Point Calimere, the nearest port of any significance was Adhirampattinam, about twenty eight miles west of point Calimere. It was a port of the kingdom of Thanjavur. It was important in the trade of the palk-straits and the Bay of Madura and most of the sailings were to Malabar, Tirunelveli and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The trade was the small, light craft, suitable for the sheltered waters of the Indo-Ceylon (Sri Lanka) straits. In the hinterland of Adhirampattinam the swamplands of the east gave way to densely populated villages producing rice and handloom textiles.

These above mentioned port towns witnessed the presence of European settlers. Apart from these ports, the small ports in the study region were Vailankanni, Thopputhurai, Muthupettai and Kattumavadi. Thus it was around the port towns that first urban centres came into existence in Thanjavur district.

A number of ports in the Thanjavur region were the centres of trade. These were old ports under the control of Indian rulers as well as newly risen European settlements that were seen in the seventeenth century. Nagore and Nagapattinam were the home of a sizeable shipping fleet that engaged in long-distance and coastal trade. Nagapattinam had been taken first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch and was the centre of the trade of these powers to Europe as well as of a limited Asian trade carried on by them. It was also the centre of a thriving Indian trade carried out under the protection of these European powers.

The Dutch East India Company's trade fluctuated somewhat in this period. On average, exports in textiles of the Dutch were only slightly lower than that of the English. They had a stronger import trade into the country than the English. The Dutch derived their textiles from Thanjavur. They imported spices, copper and other minerals. All the ports in Thanjavur district and their activities are given in the following table:

TABLE : IV - 1
 MAJOR PORTS IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT AND THEIR
 TRADING ACTIVITIES, C. A .D. 1750 - 1813
 (FROM NORTH TO SOUTH DIRECTION)

Name of the Port &	Major activity at the port	Connection with Trading companies prior to 1813	Remarks
1) THIRUMUL- LAIVASAL Location : Cauvery Delta	A free port of the Thanjavur Kingdom with rice and other traditional trade	Open to all Europeans	Mainly an Indian trading port
2) TRANQUEBAR Location : Cauvery Delta	Danish Port. There was no exports to Europe after 1777	Centre of Danish-Europe trade	Trade from here was backed by clandestine funds of British civil servants
3) KARAIKKAL Location : Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice and other commodities like Cotton, Salt, etc. to Ceylon and the Malay archipelago	French enclave	Textile collection centre for French
4) THIRUMALAI- ROYANPATTI- NAM Location: Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice and other goods like cotton, chillies, groundnuts, salt, etc.	Indian port	Typically Indian port
5) NAGAPATTI- NAM Location : Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice, and other goods to ceylon, Malabar and Malay archipelago	Important, first as a Portuguese port and then Dutch. English contract from 1783	Centre for the European private traders as the Indian merchant community

Table continued...

6)NAGORE Location: Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice,Textiles and other goods to Ceylon, Malabar Malay archipelago	First as a portuguese port and . then Dutch, English contract from 1783	Centre for the European private trader as well as the Indian Merchant Community
7)MUTHUPETTAI Location: Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice	Indian Port	Small volume of Indian trade
8)ADHIRAM- PATTINAM Location : Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice and other goods	Indian port	Small volume of Indian as well as foreign trade
9) SALUVA- NACKEN- PETTAI Location: Cauvery Delta	Mainly rice and other goods	Indian port	Small volume of Indian trade

Therefore the total ports in the district of Thanjavur during the period under study were only nine, but the Thanjavur district manual mentioned 16 ports during the early part of the Medieval period. And it also quotes more or less more than 11 ports during the later part of the Medieval period.

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN URBAN CENTRE

Devotional or bhakti worship was one of the most significant cultural development of the period as the locus worship and the urban temple centre often as the pinnacle of a system of rural shrines.

Many cities or towns have grown round temples in Thanjavur district during the study period. People congregate for worship in pilgrim centres in this region. There has been a mutual attraction of temples to natural surroundings and of cities to temples. Spirituality and morality, cleanliness and religion interact in the social well-being of the people.⁴³

The great shrines in the Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu were almost always associated with some unique manifestation of nature. Poet Nakirrar bears testimony to this effect when he says. "God is pleased to reside in forests, in groves, in islands created by the confluence of rivers, on river banks, tank bunds, in all places of public worship, in squares in the heart of towns".⁴⁴

Burton Stein suggested that, there were several factors which resulted in urban growth in the Thanjavur study region. They were as follows (i) the emergence of religious centres; (ii) the holding of fairs; (iii) commercial activities centres around ports; (iv) the bestowal of urban status on rural settlements; (v) initiatives taken by kings and ministers in the creation of urban centres and so on.⁴⁵

The fact that temple shrines in the Thanjavur region were the most dominant monuments of the urban landscape and that the

⁴³T.R.Venkata Subramanian, *Environment and urbanisation in early Tamilagam*, Thanjavur, 1988, P.39.

⁴⁴Ibid. P 39

⁴⁵B.Stein, "Temples in Tamil Country, A.D 1300-1750", *IESHR*, Vol., XIV, No. 1, 1977, P. 1-3.

available records mostly relate to them have considerably coloured the perspective regarding the growth of urban centres.⁴⁶ This was evident from the statements given by R.R.Hall regarding the urban complex of Tiruvidaimaruthur. Tiruvidaimaruthur, now in the Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu, was a famous religious (Hindu) centre during the periods of Cholas, Nayaks and Marathas. Even today, this centre is considered to be one of the major religious towns of the Thanjavur region. To contradict Burton Stein's argument that the religious importance of such a centre (Tiruvidaimaruthur) comes first in the urban centres, Hall states,⁴⁷ "Tiruvidaimaruthur, was strategically located at an important intersection of the river cauvery. Communication network had natural advantages which encouraged its development as a centre of exchange" and further "Tiruvidaimaruthur nagaram fulfilled the area's commercial needs, specialising as the centre of a community of exchange. This urban centre was the locus for local economic interaction with higher order networks of exchange". And yet the temple remains the final contributory factor for the growth of urban centres in the Thanjavur region.⁴⁸

Tiruvidaimaruthur provides an example of an urban centre which as a major religious hub was a participant in the pilgrimage networks of that era, but also and possibly as a consequence of this influx of religious pilgrims, developed as a

⁴⁶Ibid., P.3.

⁴⁷Ibid., P. 397.

⁴⁸Ibid., P. 398.

supra-local centre of consumption as well, requiring goods (commercial items) supplied not only by area residents, but also goods acquired from distant places. For example: condiments in temple (religious) rituals as well as provisions for the consumption (it includes "prasadam") of visitors to the temple compound.⁴⁹

THE TEMPLE TOWNS IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT

A number of temples, mutts, pallis and viharas were scattered throughout the Thanjavur kingdom.

A Modi document gives a list of 64 temples under the direct control and management of the Maratha rulers. Some of these temples were ancient dating back to the Chola period and some were Vaishnavite ones consecrated by the Prabandham of the Alvars. Many temples were newly constructed by the Maratha rulers in Thanjavur district.

Thanjavur temple was regarded as the biggest of all temples, the Rajarajeswara temple, the wonder of the age and the monumental work of Rajaraja, The Great. The city seems to have grown in size in course of time. The historians learnt that in the reign of Rajaraja, there were two parts of it, the inner (ullalai) and the outer (purambadi). The other attraction of Thanjavur were the "Jayabhima" temple and a hospital attached to a Vishnu temple called after Rajaraja's father, Sundara Chola

⁴⁹Ibid., P.398.

Vinnagar Atula-Salai and endowed by his sister, Kundavai.⁵⁰ The whole Thanjavur city was surrounded by a Fort wall and a deep Moat. The Chandramouleeswara Swami shrine within the Thanjavur Maratha Palace premises was purely a private shrine of the Maratha rulers.

The Thanjavur Prahatheeswara temple, popularly called as "Big Temple", got full patronage of all the rulers from Cholas to Marathas in the study region. The Maratha ruler Serfoji-II installed 108 Siva Lingams in the Big Temple during his reign (i.e., from 1798 - 1832). He brought all those Lingams from various temples under his position as a ruler. He also endowed a sum of Rs. 5000/-, the interest of which was to be utilised for the daily worship of those Lingams.

The Vellaippillaiyar Temple in the East Gate in Thanjavur was renovated during the Maratha ruler Serfoji-II's time.

The nineteen wealthiest temples were those of Sirkali, Vaideeswarankovil, Tivengad, Mayavaram, Tirukkadaiyur, Pandanallur, two at Tiruppanandal, Tiruvudaimaruthur, Tirubhuvanam, Tiruppugalur, Tiruchendattankudi, Punnainallur, Tiruvaiyaru, Tiruvarur, Mannarkudi, Sikkal, Nagapattinam and Vedaranyam.⁵¹

Many temples in Thanjavur district including Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam, Vedaranniyam, Tiruvarur, Vaideeswaran Kovil, Darasuram, Papanasam, Thiruvaiyaru and Sikkal, including

⁵⁰ A. Panchanathan, Op. Cit., pp. 7-8.

⁵¹ *Census of India*, 196, Vol.9, Part II.D

Thanjavur got munificent gifts from the Marathas. Though Marathas were staunch Saivites, they also worshipped Vishnu. They were very tolerant towards other religions.

Temples as the institutional base for socio-economic and political integration assume great significance from the time of the Bhakti movement in south India especially in Tamil Nadu from seventh century. Some of these Bhakti centres like Tiruvavaturai matha, Tarumapuram Matha, Thirupannanthal Matha became leading political centres, religious and pilgrimage centres and evolved into huge urban complexes either around a single large temple or with multiple temples together forming parts of an urban complex. Such temples were built by the major ruling dynasties either to legitimise their sovereignty, or as Bhakti centres. The growth in the activities of such temples led to urban development.⁵²

Temple plays a vital role for the development of towns and cities. A town or a city some times grew round a temple and as soon as the fame of the temple increased, it would attract people and became places of pilgrimage.⁵³ Land grants by the rulers and individuals also contributed for the maintenance of temple towns and thus, its gradual transformation led to the settlement of urban centres in Thanjavur district.

Thanjavur kings (Cholas, Nayakas and Marathas) resorted to plundering expeditions to enrich their coffers. The commercial

⁵²R.Champakalakshmi, "The Bhakti ideology and Socio-Political integration in Tamil Nadu", *Urban History Association of India, Occasional Paper Series, No.3, 1982, PP.5-8.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.8.

intercourse paved the way for cultural contacts as well. Part of the wealth was endowed to the temples and enshrined as trust property meant for the socio-economic upliftment of the people.

The few important cultural and religious (temple) towns in this district were Nagapattinam, Kumbakonam, Nagore (Muslim darga), Vailankanni (Christian church), Sikkal (Lord Muruga temple), Tiruvarur, Mannarkudi, Vedaranniyum, Thiruvaiyaru and Thanjavur includes with in its boundaries the earlier French settlement "Karaikkal" (It was also a temple and port town) which lies on the coastal side of Bay Bengal about half way between the mouth of Coleroon and point Calimere (before French occupation, it was part of Thanjavur district. Since 1954, Karaikkal has become part of the Indian union and then it has been transferred to form part of union territory of Pondicherry. For the purpose of this study Karaikkal was considered to be part of Thanjavur district).

Going by the evidence used in the present work it would appear that during the greater part of the Medieval period, the towns were either political centres or places of religious importance, where corporate activity was generally centered round fiscal, administrative, ritual and structural activities such as the construction of temples, monasteries, tanks roads etc. Tasks which were generally associated with commerce and artisanal production in towns seem to have been of a purely local character. It was also noticed that during this period there was an increase in the numerical distribution of administrative towns owing to the decentralisation of political and fiscal power.

The last two centuries preceding the study period, however, marked the beginning of a new phase in the urban history of Tamil Nadu, possibly, also of the entire sub-continent. The period witnessed a commercial revival, which seem to have been supported by greater use of metallic money and also the resettlement of old towns and construction of new ones.⁵⁴

The role of communication in the expansion of urban settlements can also be seen from the fact that the ancient and medieval trading cities were situated near the profitable trade routes. In Medieval Tamil Country also, there was a large concentration of urban settlements in areas which commanded a widespread communication network in north-western parts of the state.⁵⁵

In the above pages, it has been discussed that trade and commerce were also responsible for the settlement of urban centres in Thanjavur district and this was particularly so in the case of town situated on the banks of river and seashore. This discussion gave us the key to the proper understanding of the factors underlying the study of urban centres during the study period of Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.

⁵⁴Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency systems in South India C.A.D. 225-1300*, New Delhi, 1977, PP. 163-165.

⁵⁵Om Prakash Prasad, *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval South India C.A.D. 600-1200*, New Delhi, 1989, P.13.

This study would thus suggest that in Thanjavur, although political and administrative necessity plays an important role in the urban centres, the degree of urbanity largely depended upon economic condition also.

Darga

The Maratha's rule in Thanjavur district witnessed the Muslims being awarded endowments of lands by the kings. The Muslim festivals were also celebrated with great gaiety and fervour in the region. It may be noted here that the Bade Hussain Durga at Thanjavur is still under the management of the Thanjavur Palace Devasthanam.

Of the sacred Darga's (Tombs) of the Thanjavur district, the most important was that of Miran Sahib at Nagore. Its reputation has spread far and wide in this state and it attracts a large number of pilgrims from all over India and abroad.⁵⁶

The Mutts and the Ascetics

Though there were big Mutts in Dharmapuram and Thiruvavaduthurai in Thanjavur district, the references are available only to the Kasi Mutt (Tirupanandal) and Kanchi Kamakoti petam (Kumbakonam) and also the Ahobila Mutt in the region.⁵⁷

⁵⁶B. S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand book*, Madras, 1957, pp.152-154.

⁵⁷K. Nambi Arooran, *The Origin of Three Saiva Mathas in Thanjavur district*, Institute of Correspondence Course Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai pp 12-81

Kasi Mutt (Tirupanandal)

The oldest reference to Kasi Mutt is in a record of 1737, and Kasi Tambiran was favoured with an endowment of a village near Tirupanandal fetching an annual income of 100 chakrams to conduct feeding at Banaras. The Pontiff referred to here could have been none other than Tillai Nayaka Swamigal who founded the Mutt at Tirupanandal in 1720. He was referred to as the disciple of the Dharmapuram Atheenam in Thanjavur district. It seems that during the time of Kumaragurupara Swamigal II (1756-1770), a sum of 2000 chakrams was given to him to conduct some charities at Rameswaram. The charities were conducted till 1828 and the capital was returned to the Rajah because it remained unproductive.⁵⁸

About eight villages in Tiruloki Maganam and a few more were earmarked for feeding at Banaras. An yield of 82,000 kalams was estimated in 1772. But as the actual yield in the previous years were 22,000 and 21,000 kalams less than the estimated income, it was ordered that 72,000 kalams should be given at any rate for the conduct of the charity. This belongs to the period of Kasivasi Kumara gurupara Swamigal II.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 12-83.

⁵⁹ T. A. Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai, *Tiruvavatuturai atina varalaru (Tamil)*, Madurai pp 3-17.

Tirupanandal Kasi Mutt also served as a counting house for the Maratha Rajahs. A discount of about 10% was allowed for sending money from Thanjavur to Banaras.⁶⁰

Kanchi Kamakoti Mutt at Kumbakonam

Adi Sankara founded Mutts in five places, one of which was Kamakoti Peetha at Kanchipuram. During the reign of Pratapa Simha (1739-1763), the head of Kanchi Kama Koti Peetha while he was camping at Udayarpalayam was induced to go to Thanjavur. The Pontiff, who wanted to reside at some place on the banks of the river Cauvery, preferred to reside at Kumbakonam. Thereupon the Rajah built a Mutt for him at the Dabir Agraharam, gifted him with inam lands, utensils of silver and gold, jewels, horses and elephants.⁶¹

From the time of founding the Mutt at Kumbakonam, Sankarachari was paid annually large sums of money for the conduct of worship of Chandramouleeswar and of the Vysapuja in the solar month Ashada. This grant continued upto 1798. During the period of Serfoji II a new temple was constructed and consecration conducted in the Mutt at Kumbakonam.⁶²

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-17.

⁶¹ K.Nambi Arooran, *Op.Cit*, pp. 12-85.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-76.

Ref: (i) A life span of 200 years used to be said for Sridhar Sivaprakasara of Tiruvavaduthurai, making Namasivayamurati a contemporary of Gurujnasambandar. (ii) The Suriyanar Koil matha was established at that place about three miles north east of Aduthurai in the days of Sevappa Nayak of Thanjavur (1532-1580). (iii) Tiruvavaduthurai and Dharmapuram are Mathas presided over

Ahobila Mutt

This is a Vaishnavite Mutt founded in Andhra Pradesh by one Sadagopa of Alwar Tirunagari. There was a branch of this Mutt at Narasimhapuram near Kumbakonam. The Maratha Rajahs extended their patronage to the Heads of Ahobila Mutt also. In 1811 the Jiyar of Ahobila Mutt paid a visit to the place and Kanakabhishekam and Pada puja (worshipping the feet) were performed.

There is a Veera Saiva Mutt in Kumbakonam and it is one of the oldest Mutts at Kumbakonam. The other important Mutts in Thanjavur district are Meru Swamigal Mutt at Mannarkudi, Sivapuja Mutt at East Alangam in Thanjavur, Goswami Mutt, Uttaradi Mutt and Vyasaraaya Mutt.

There were also Tambirans (Siva Ascetics) belonging to the Dharmapuram and Tiruvavaduturai Athinams, attached to some of the temples under their control in the Maratha principality. At Tirubhuvanam and Vaitheeswaran Koil, there were Tambirans of Dharmapuram Athinam. At Tiruvidaimarudur and Tirupperunthurai, there were Tambirans belonging to Tiruvavaduthurai Athinam.⁶³

by Acharyas, spirititual heads, while that at Tirupanandal is presided over only by a disciple of Dharmapuram and has no Acharya. (iv) The institution at Tiruppanandal is even today known as 'Sri Kasi Matha'. It is incorrect to say that the headquarters was transferred from Banares at any time. At best it may be said that Tiruppanandal is the winter headquarters of the head of the Kasi Matha like the Rastrapathi Nivas in Secunderabad.

⁶³T.A.Menakshi Sundaram Pillai, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 3-17.

Kumbakonam

Kumbakonam town a historical and ancient place, was at one time the capital of the Cholas. It has a number of temples and contains the famous "Mahatma Tank". The town was known as "Tirukkudamukku" in ancient times and it was called "Tirukkudanthai" by orthodox vaishnavites. Kumbakonam attained the name because of too many temples in and around the town.

The two rivers, Cauvery and Arasalar pass through the town and the town is surrounded by rich and fertile paddy fields and is lying in the midst of the several irrigation channels of the Cauvery delta. The town has an altitude of only two metres from the sea level and a latitude of 11.58°N and longitude of 79.23°E .

During the early part of the study period, the Kumbakonam town was well formed, and most of the wholesale trade centres, the Bazaar and shops were located in the centre of the city, particularly on the road to the North from Ramaswamy Temple and the road to East from Kumbeswarar Temple.

From the point of view of the study of urban centres, Kumbakonam cannot be said to have made any rapid strides during the later part of the study period. It may be observed from the schematic map of the city that old residential houses were almost in the entire area. The lack of space for building new colonies in the town was perhaps one reason for the sluggish growth of the town. New residential colonies were seen mostly in the eastern part along the Needamangalam road to a smaller extent in the eastern portion just near the Cauvery river in the north.

Thiruvaiyaru

In greatness, Thiruvaiyaru is 'marginally ahead of Kashi'. According to an adage -"fractionally" 1/16 to be precise ---. it is Thiruvaiyaru, a small town just a "big village when compared with its counterpart Banaras in North India".⁶⁴

Thiruvaiyaru is situated on the northern bank of the sacred river Cauvery at a distance about 13 kilometres to the north of Thanjavur town. The place Thiruvaiyaru is one of the important spots in the "musical map" of India, approximately on the intersection of $79^{\circ}-15^{\circ}$ and $10^{\circ}-15^{\circ}$ -E. L.

As far as the antiquity of Thiruvaiyaru is concerned, the historical evidences are many, besides references in the legendary chronicle. It had received the Royal patronage from the kings of the Chola Dynasty (850 A D to 1279 A.D), being very near Thanjavur, their capital city. Thereafter, the region came under the sway of the Pandyas, the emperors of Vijayanagar and the Nayakas for a period of about 400 years. It was during the rule of the Maratha kings from 1675 A.D that the town regained its status. Thiruvaiyaru was declared one of the five administrative divisions, a grade it continued to enjoy even in the initial phase of the British sovereignty, in the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ S. A. Alagarsamy, *Indu Tourism News - An International Tourism Magazine*, Vol.5, Madras, November, 1991, p.6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.6

The Thiruvaiyaru is very fertile as it is encompassed by five rivers. They are (i) the Kollidam (Coleroon), (ii) the Kudamuruthi, (iii) the Vadavaru, (iv) the Vennaru (Vinnaru), and the (v) Cauvery. The interpretations for the term "Iyaru" and the prefix "Tiru" are mentioned in the following paragraph.

The Siva temple is dedicated to Panchanadeeshwara, the Lord of the five rivers (pancha-five, Nadi-river) his consort being Dharmasanivardani. The saiva saint Appar who lived in the seventh century A.D. was blessed with the "Darshan" of the Almighty, here, a glimpse of his form as in Kailash, His holy abode! ... It was on a new moon day in the Tamil month of Aadi (August). On account of this, the place is also referred to as the "SouthKailash". The southern entrance is of significance. One of the 'dwarapalas' (door-keepers of Shiva) guarding it is known as 'Aathondai'.⁶⁶

The 'saptha sthana' festival on the full moon day in the Tamil month of Chithrai (April-May) is one of the grandest among the festivals at Thiruvaiyaru. The 'palanquin' festival culminates at the sacred place, Thiruvaiyaru, hence the name 'saptha sthana' festival (saptha seven, sthana - holy place).

Among the temple towns in Thanjavur, Kandiyoor is unique; in that small village it has temples in honour of the trinity - Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.7.

Thiruvaiyaru, in the later years came to be associated with the life history of Saint Tyagaraja (04-05-1767 to 06-01-1847). In fact, the period between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century could easily be described as the 'golden period' for music the world over. Famous composers like Beethoven of Germany, Mozart of Austria, the 'Musical Trinity' -- Tyagaraja, Muthuswamy Dikshitar, Shyama Shastri -- of India lived in that period, to mention a few. Tyagaraja, the saint-composer who lived in Thiruvaiyaru, sang nearly seven hundred 'keerthanas' in ecstasy. He attained 'siddhi' on 06-01-1847.⁶⁷ The spot on the banks of Cauvery, at which his mortal remains were interred is a revered shrine. Thiruvaiyaru is thronged with musicians, musicologists and music lovers from all over the globe during the congregation in the Tamil month of 'Thai' (January) every year. All pay homage to the versatile composer to describe which one has to discover one's own metaphor. According to traditions the saint had the 'darshan' of Lord Rama thrice in his life time (as had Saint Appar that of Lord Shiva more than 1,300 years ago!) The house in which he lived in Tirumanjana veethi and the 'samadhi' (mansoleum) are well preserved as monuments. The 'Velmeethi mandapa', erected close to the 'samadhi' contains blocks of marbles on which are inscribed his immortal compositions.⁶⁸

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p.7.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p.8.

Thus the religious centres occupied an important place in Thanjavur district. It was the place where all people, young and old, came to worship God. It was the place where all entertainments and the festivals, religious as well as secular, and dancing as well as music were held and also kings, queens and nobles loved to display their munificence. It was indeed the most magnificent place, where riches, beauty, sanctity, worship, learning, fine arts and even mundane things combined to attract all sections of the people in the study region. No wonder that the culture and civilization during the study period grew under the protecting shade of the temple.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT

As Thanjavur has been from early times a scene of missionary labour, some account of the number and state of the several missionary establishments witnessing the existence of urban centres in the study region is important. The christian missions from various European countries landed in the Thanjavur region at different intervals of time and they contributed a lot for the betterment of towns and cities in this region. Thanjavur district witnessed the earliest Christian missions in India.⁶⁹

The Protestant Mission in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar was extended to Thanjavur in the year 1778 A.D. by the

⁶⁹J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, *The Great Temple at Thanjavur*, Thanjavur University Publication No. 192, Thanjavur, 1994, p.100.

Rev. C.F. Schwartz of the Leipzig Lutheran Mission who had transferred his services to the mission in Thanjavur.

The Roman Catholic missions in Thanjavur also date from the first half of the eighteenth century, long before the Protestant missionaries in the city of Thanjavur. Thanjavur was considered to be one of their principal seats in the study region. There were two large and substantially built protestant churches within the urban limit of Thanjavur. The first one was the Schwartz church, originally called the Christ church in the north-east of the smaller fort.⁷⁰ The second one was the Saint Peter's church in Mahar-nombu chavadi⁷¹ in the south-east of Thanjavur. The former was at the beginning a mud wall church created by Major Stevens, in which Rev. Schwartz officiated to the English garrison and other Christians, both Indian and European. The English service was held here till June 1798 A.D. when, on the restoration of Serfoji to the throne, the British troops evacuated the adjacent small fort and the temple. Tamil service was thereafter conducted and the same was permitted by the Rajah

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.433.

⁷¹ Thanjavur comprises primarily two main divisions, the smaller fort of Sevvappa and the larger fort of Vijayaraghava of the great rulers of the Thanjavur Nayaks. Besides, it has three sub-urbs: they were Mahar-nombu chavady in the south-east (Mahar nombu in Tamil denotes a great festival; it was the Dasara festival in which the Maratha Rajahs used at the Vijaya Mandapam in Sri Thyagarajaswami Temple at this place, to go through the ceremony of shooting arrows at an asura, signifying the foe of the Gods). Karuntitaikkudi and Paliagraharam in the north, and the modern township extensions of New (George) town and Daniel Thomas Nagar in the south.

of Thanjavur. Service was performed here annually once in the morning of the New Year's day.⁷²

The Schwartz church "a striking and gratifying memorial of Christian excellence and of Hindu gratitude and affection" was the gift of Rajah Serfoji's in token of his affection and esteem for Rev. Schwartz and was constructed by him in 1779 A.D. Its interior, contains the marble tablet by Flaxman representing in basso-relievo, the death-bed scene of Schwartz.⁷³ The Schwartz church a garden which was formerly the pleasure resort of the Maratha Rajahs of Thanjavur.⁷⁴ (the columns of whose buildings alone remain), is now maintained as a public garden, and a number of buildings which were utilized as public offices. The old walls and the moat are still a fine sight.⁷⁵

The Schwartz church in Thanjavur was a plain building and contains a few graves and inscriptions. A sculpture of king Serfoji's visit to Schwartz in November 1797 (during his illness, a few months before his death) standing by the side of the bed was Guesicke who had been Serfoji's guardian and tutor at Madras and was Schwartz when he died.⁷⁶

Besides the Schwartz church and the St.Peter's church mentioned above there were the S.P.G. church, a Roman Catholic

⁷²J. M. Somasundaram Pillai., op.cit., p.101.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p.101.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p.89

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p.90.

⁷⁶*A Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency. Vol II., p.126.*

Church and a church built by the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission.⁷⁷

The arrival of Schwartz in 1770 in Thanjavur town spurt the activities of the Christianity.⁷⁸ This same year he founded a mission in Thanjavur, which received land grants from the Maratha ruler, Tulzaji. At that time, the number of Christians were accounting to 1,000. Schwartz's mission became very famous and very soon started offering educational facilities for both boys and girls. English and Tamil both were taught in these schools which was attended by more than 300 children.

Apart from the Schwartz's mission, there were two more missionaries established in Thanjavur town. One of them was located in the small fort at one side of the "big temple". The other one was situated opposite to the tank near the Maratha's palace. Many educational institutions managed by the Christians were the recipients of periodical money grants from the Maratha rulers.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.126.

⁷⁸ William Hickey., *The Maratha Principality in Southern India: the Land of the Chola, the Eden of the South.*, Madras, 1988, Appendix-B, p.ii. Schwartz (1726-1798) a German missionary was closely connected to the development of missionary activities in Thanjavur district. He was supposed to be the close confident of Maratha rulers and made them to donate land and money to the church activities liberally. He was once sent as an ambassador by the British government to Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore for the services rendered to the government, the British has erected his statue at St.George fort in Madras. Schwartz has a habit of writing diaries, which is very useful to the student of history in many ways. See: K.R.Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajahs of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1988, pp.86-87.

Church and the Missionary Activities

Higher education was well prevalent and a big collection of manuscript literature on a variety of topics were also seen during this period. Tamil was given more importance. The progress of education in the Thanjavur district was highly developed in this respect. F. R. Hemingway's Thanjavur District Gazetteer highlights that Thanjavur was considered to be the most educated and populated district than almost any other district in the Madras Presidency.⁷⁹

Thanjavur district was generally rich and well educated and litigious and therefore provided unusual openings to the professional classes.

Vailanganni

It is situated south of Nagapattinam and was well known for its Roman Catholic Church in this place. This town has consequently been called the "*Lourdes of India*". The origin of the shrine (Our Lady of Health -- as virgin Mary) was obscure, but most commonly accepted account was that 200 or 300 years ago a wealthy Portuguese merchant erected a little chapel to "*Our Lady of Health*". This now forms the choir of the church. The chapel was long in charge of the Portuguese Franciscans, but later secular priests from Mylapore (Madras) have officiated.⁸⁰

⁷⁹F. R. Hemingway, Op. Cit., pp. 54-55.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p.415.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Towns had emerged and died but their culture, which absorbed the achievements of previous epochs, was handed down from generation to generation. Many features and functions of towns remained virtually unchanged.

Music, Drama and Dance

Politically kingdoms rose and fell, and there was a fatal fragmentation. Culturally the towns in Thanjavur district were on par with the most advanced civilization.⁸¹

According to William Hickey, there was a renaissance in arts and culture in the "Ancient Thanjavur Country", during the period between seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸²

In Tamil Nadu, Thanjavur district was especially known for its art and culture and also the unique traditional and cultural heritage that the region carries till today.

Thanjavur kings resorted to many expeditions to enrich their economy. The commercial interactions paved the way for cultural contacts between this region and the neighbouring areas. Moreover, the rulers liberally spent their income for the development of art and culture in this region. Besides, part of their wealth was endowed to temples and enshrined as trust

⁸¹ T. Walter Wall Bank, quoted by G. Devaneyam, in his article "Antiquity of Tamil", published in the special issue journal: *Tamil Arasu*, Eighth World Tamil Conference, Thanjavur, January 1-5, 1995, p.19.

⁸² William Hickey, *Thanjavur: Maratha Principality on South India*, Madras, 1872, p.1-3.

property meant for social, economic and more precisely cultural upliftment of the people.

Apart from the wealthy merchants the business class patronised the art and culture in this region. Land grants by the rulers and individuals contributed for the formation of cultural centres and temple towns in Thanjavur district.

The Sree Punnainallur Mariamman temple at the outskirts of Thanjavur town and other temples in this region were famous for folklore arts. The components of the art of drama "karagam", "vocal", "dance" and "dramas" were presented in the temples during the festival occasions.⁸³

Music and songs constituted a substantial part of stage plays like "therukoothu" (a dramatic performance of dance in the street), "kathaakalaachebam" (a narration of puranic stories interspersed with songs) and "villupaattu" (a folk performance in which a story was sung with prose interludes to the accompaniment of a huge bow and other instruments). These dramas coupled with music and songs were well received by the people in Kumbakonam, Thiruvaiyaru and other places.⁸⁴

Tamil Nadu, particularly Thanjavur district was full of veritable sources for enjoyment not generally seen in other regions. Architects were also well versed in the knowledge of music and acoustics. While erecting colossal temples they applied

⁸³ Pamphlet issued by the IATR at the Eighth World Tamil Conference, Thanjavur, January 1-5, 1995.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

their knowledge not only to decorate them with monumental art creation, but also to intensify and enrich the grandeur and solemnity of the divine worship.

Thanjavur has been the nursery of the Carnatic music with the illustrious trinity and their school of musicians. One was even tempted to construct music as yet another "industry". During the rule of Marathas, it was acclaimed as a very important city where art and music were greatly patronised. Pilgrims and tourists to temples augmented its economic resources which maintained hospitals and educational institutions. Its indigenous industries manufactured salt, brassware, musical instruments etc. Hence, this region was considered to be one of the greatest centres of culture and learning in India.

The panchamukha vaadhyam (i.e. the drum or pot shaped body) was met with in the sculptural panels and niches depicting Lord Shiva as the arch dancer-Nataraja in the temples at Thanjavur, Kumbakonam, Tarangampadi (Tranquebar), Tiruvalanjuli and other places in the study region. The panchamukha vaadhyam has been essentially a temple ritual drum even today in this region.⁸⁵ It is played during the annual festival in the temple of Sri Thyagaraja at Tiruvarur in Thanjavur district. Moreover, it has been played as solo and along with the suddha maddalam. Probably the only other place where this instrument is being played, even today, is Thirutturaipoondi in the same district.

⁸⁵ Dr. (Mrs)., S. Premalatha, "The History of Indian Musical Instruments", *Proceedings of the Fifth World Tamil Conference*, Madurai, 1981, p.4-1-40.

The district of Thanjavur became gradually an enlightened centre of musical learning due to the patronage extended by the various rulers.

Sahaji was distinguished as a poet and he was the author of about 30 works in various languages. Yaksha Ganas were also composed. Though Panca Parinaya Nataka was ascribed to Sahaji, it is said that the real author was one Seshachalapati. His work Sankara Narayana Vilasa was written in Tamil.

Serfoji I was also a musicologist. Tulzaji I was the author of a musical treatise called Sangeeta Saravali. Ekoji II was the author of some Padas and Dramas.

The authorship of Devendra Kuravanji and a few plays are ascribed to Serfoji I. Sarabhendra Bhupala Kuravanji was a Kuravanji Natakam written on Serfoji II by Sivakkolundu Desikar. Sivaji II was the author of Annappoornamba natakam.

Many musicians, vocal as well as instrumental, were favoured with endowments of landed property. Veenai Kalahasti Iyer, Veenai Kuppiar, Veenai Ramaswami, Jagannatha Bhatgoswami, Palambhat Bhatgoswami were among those who were such recipients.

Seshachalapathi, Giri Rajakavi, Muthuswami Kavirayar, Utke Govindachari, Ramachandra Dixit, Nalla Bhuta Kavi, Venkatesa Kavi, Triyambaka Bhat, Bhagavanta Kavi and Sivakkolundu Desikar were among the galaxy of court poets of those days.

Many Dramas, written in various languages, were enacted in the palace. There was a separate department for music. Students from other parts of the country came to Thanjavur to learn music. There was also Bhagavata Mela at Mannarkudi. Western music was

also favoured and musical instruments like the harp, violin, piano, French horn were also introduced.

Educational Institutions

Sanskrit education was popular among the Brahmins. The advent of the Muslim power necessitated the study of the Arabic language. Telugu became the Court language during the Nayaks. Marathi was introduced during the Maratha rule. Marathi speaking families settled in Thanjavur in large numbers. Hence the elite, at least, had to learn these court languages in addition to their mother tongue. From the beginning of the eighteenth century English took active part in the politics of Thanjavur and English also had to be learnt. Tamil, the language of the land and the masses survived in the midst of so many languages.

Some English schools were established wherein "for the first time in the late eighteenth century, the window to the west was thrown open to the Tamils".

There was the Nava Vidya Kala Nidhi Sala in the fort of Thanjavur wherein instruction in Vedic lore was given. There was also provision to impart education in six native languages. there were also Tamil schools in the four main streets at Thanjavur. There were also schools attached to the Chatrams and in the Muktambal Chatram 436 pupils were given free boarding and lodging. Out of them 183 learnt Tamil. It seems one came from Penukonda to learn English. There were also special schools for the education of the Europeans. In olden days the Saraswathy Mahal was called Saraswathy Bhandaram. The custodian of this Mahal during Sivaji II was Varahppayya.

During the reign of Serfoji II many palm leaf manuscripts were purchased and added to the library. Many old manuscripts which were in decay were copied afresh. There was a fair collection of French, English, German, Greek and Latin books in the library by this time. There was also a printing press.

Land Grants

Land grants to Brahmins were common in Thanjavur district during the period of study. Tulzaji I granted 5 velis of land to three Brahmins naming it Lakshmi Narsimhapuram in Kottur Mahanam and three velis to eight persons in Tirutturaipoondi Mahaham. Land was also granted to high officials of the Raj, temples and the Bhagavata Mela.

Agraharams

Residential quarters for the Brahmins were called as Agraharam. In this place the Brahmins were given land grants without any tax to be paid to the government. There was one Agraharam in the name of Dabir Pandit Kumbakonam. During Tulzaji II one has come up at kumbakonam in 1763. There were other agraharams also, which were established in different years, for example, at Mimisal in 1777, one at Vennar Bank in 1779, one at Narsingapuram in 1786, at Tiruvidaimarudur and Tirubhuvanam. At Orathanadu there were 24 houses and each occupant was awarded 51 kalams of Paddy every year. One of the Brahmins was an "Ekasanta grahi" in Chakvarambapuram Agraharam.

Choultries (or) Chatrams

A Modi document dated 14-10-1838 gives a list of 15 chatrams under the management of the Maratha rulers. Rajakumaramba Boi Choultry was the oldest chatram. It was founded by Tulzaji I in the name of his consort at Surakkottai. Chakvaramba Boi Chatram was situated in Tirubhuvanam. It had Sarvamanya lands at Tepperumanallur. Raja Kumara Boi Choultry at Mimisal was founded by Tulzaji II in the name of his queen of the same name. Mohanambalpuram Chatram at Rajamadam near Papanasam in Thanjavur district was also founded by Tulzaji II in the name of his queen.

Draupadambalpuram Chatram was at Manamerkudi and Yamunambalpuram Chatram at Nidamangalam was founded in 1761. In the latter place Vedas were imparted to pupils and Upanayanam etc. were performed at chatram expenses. The Rameswaram Chatram was perhaps founded by Tulzaji II and the handed property for the chatram was at Vadaseri. Sulakshnambalpuram Chatram was founded at Velangulam in 1784 by Tulzaji II with an agraharam attached with it. Rajasambalpuram Chatram was founded at Darasuram by the ruler Tulzaji II. At Mahadevapattinam there was a choultry called Umabol Choultry. At Muktambalpuram Chatram in Orathanadu the pilgrims were fed thrice a day. Marriages etc. were conducted at the expenses of the Choultry. There were five schools attached to the choultry and 641 pupils.

The Thanjavur Chatram had lands at Annamma Pettai. Besides daily feeding, some other functions were conducted. Saidambalpuram Chatram and Surakkottai Chatram were amalgamated into one. There were choultries near Mahamaham tank at Kumbakonam

and Thiruvaiyaru. Lakshimirajapuram (Palliagraharam) Chatram was founded by the father of Amirtha Rao Ramoji Ghatge, the brother in-law of Serfoji II. The superintendence of the choultries always descended from the elder to the younger queen and then to the wife of the reigning king. Those who did not choose to take food in the choultry were provided with unboiled rice with spices etc. Travellers who fell sick at the chatram were treated carefully, given medicine and also the diet proper for them till their recovery. By a regulation of the Revenue Board of 1811, the administration of the property of the chatrams was transferred to the District Collector.

There were other types of charities existing during the period of study. The place where yaga was performed was made over to the person who performed the yaga. In 1828 Serfoji II gave the "dana" to one Reddirayaer at Kumbakonam. Dasadana, i.e., giving of cow, land, sesame, gold, ghee, cloth, jaggery, paddy, silver and salt was also performed periodically. Daily godana and gosahasra or giving of 1000 cows on one day was also conducted in 1819. Gold bull and gold elephant were gifted to the Big Temple at Thanjavur.

FORT TOWNS

In Thanjavur district, there were so many fort towns emerged during the study period, especially, during the times of Marathas.

Tranquebar

In Tamil, Tranquebar was called as Tarangambadi, which means "wave village". In 1706 A.D., the German Protestant missionaries, namely, Ziegenbalg and Plutschan established their first protestant mission in the Danish (Denmark) settlement of Tranquebar in the coromandel coast of Thanjavur region.⁸⁶ Tranquebar was a very early Danish settlement of the region and also an important seaport as well as fort city of the study area.

Tranquebar once also served as the headquarters of the collector. Tranquebar town was enclosed by a brick wall and also the town had the remains of a fortification. The main road enters through an imposing gateway bearing the date 1792 and the monogram of the king of Denmark.⁸⁷ The houses were mostly bungalows without compound and the streets (known by such names as King's Street and Queen's Street) were suggestive of a European town. The inhabitants were mostly Christians.⁸⁸

The Danes obtained Tranquebar and a few villages adjoining to the town from the Nayakas of Thanjavur, under a grant in the year 1620. The Danes continued to occupy this town till 1845, when the British East India Company acquired Tranquebar by purchase.⁸⁹ The Danes paid an annual subsidy to the Maratha Rajahs

⁸⁶B. S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Handbook*, Madras, 1957, p.405.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p.406.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸⁹T. Venkatasamy, *Thanjavur District Manual*, Vol.1, Madras, 1915, p.124.

of Thanjavur⁹⁰ and the British East India Company. This subsidy of payment to these people continued by the Danes at Tranquebar till about 1852.⁹¹

The Leipzig Lutheran Mission had its headquarters at Tranquebar. Besides a Roman Catholic Mission was also established in the town. During the study period, the town witnessed little trade and commerce activities in this region, though the port was open to foreign trade.⁹² The Danish fort at Tranquebar called as the "Dansborg" is an important building and probably the only defensible part of the town during the large part of its memorable history.⁹³

CAPITAL TOWNS

Among the cities, Thanjavur perhaps stood first in the urban centres of the capital towns in the region. It was the capital of Cholas, Nayakas, Marathas rule. And it was an administrative centre consisted of number of Royal palaces, a large number of stately residences of the Royal family and a large number of busy streets. There were big streets such as South Street, East Main

⁹⁰*Official Reports of Thanjavur Papers: 1789, Vol. 2-3, Part 3, deals the financial commitments of Thanjavur and see also: the papers relating to the payment of the above subsidy in bundle No. 1, sub Nos. 44-57, etc.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²*S. Anasaratnam. Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1650-1740., Delhi, 1986, pp.27-28.*

⁹³*B. S. Baliga., Op.Cit., p.407.*

Street, North Street, West Street and so on, the big bazaar of Ayyankadai Theru and Kilavasal and the two new important roads running east to west of the whole city known as the Northern and Southern talicharis.

Urban history is undoubtedly an objective process and a historically progressive one at certain stages of social development. Towns have existed for almost two thousand years in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. Towns had emerged and died but their culture which absorbed the achievements of previous epochs is handed from generation to generation. Many features and functions of towns remained virtually unchanged. Medieval Thanjavur saw the promising activities of trade and industries. These two occupations were the root causes for urban centres in medieval Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.

There was no distinction between village and town in late medieval period in South India. According to G. R. Kuppuswamy, "It futile to attempt a clear cut classification of medieval economy of Karnataka into different sectors, namely urban and rural. The villages exhibited more features of a rural of agricultural economy while the towns or cities betrayed more of an urban or industrial and commercial economy".⁹⁴

P. V. Kane pointed out the ancient fact that a village, even a large one, was distinguished from a town on the basis that it was only in the latter all castes were to be found.⁹⁵ With this

⁹⁴G. R. Kuppuswamy, *Economic Condition in Karnataka : 973-1336*, Dharwad.

⁹⁵P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra (Ancient and Medieval*

one can give a picture of urban life. The nomenclature of place name had come in handy to evolve the urban centres in Thanjavur district. Generally Indian historians accepted the following suffices as the pointers to urbanity. They were Nagara, Pura, Pattana, Nigama and Mahanagara.⁹⁶ Among these, Nigama was infrequently used in the Medieval period. This indicates the idea of two essentially opposite points on a continuous pole which continued to survive whatever the stages in the history of urban history.

Terms such as Nagaram, Puram, Pattinam were attached to certain urban settlements in recognition of their market functions and their more diverse population. However such urban settlements were within the complex structure of the newly emerged rural localities, before 1750 A.D. In most of the urban settlements of that time merchants and artisans along with others lived in close association, sharing involvement in the cultural life of the locality.

Administrative Centres

Some big urban settlements had acted as administrative centres in late medieval Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. They were Nagore, Karaikkal, Nagapattinam, Pattukottai, Kumbakonam, Vallam, Mannarkudi and Thanjavur which had acted as authority centres at times. In all these centres army was deployed. All

Religious and Civil Law), Poona, 1946, vol III, p.183.

⁹⁶B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Urban Centres in Early Medieval India - An overview", in *Situating Indian History*, Oxford, 1986, p.16

types of armies had held their sway over these centres and areas around them. Vallam in Thanjavur district was the best example for this. Here the British regiment and the Marathas army-like cavalry, and infantry had been deployed. Many commander-in-chiefs were present and government authorities and local officials were mentioned in the Gazetteers and Manual reports and records. Vallam was one of the important as well as significant military towns in Thanjavur district.

Another administrative centre, to be noted, was Karaikkal. Here French people ruled autonomously. They built many administrative complexes in Karaikkal. Karaikkal had been populated by government and local officials. French army had been stationed here. Also it acted as a pilgrim centre for the people from Thanjavur, Kumbakonam and Nagapattinam and also other parts of the Madras Presidency. Hence it developed as a urban centre in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Poompuhar which was submerged in the Bay of Bengal was another centre of the kings from Thanjavur, particularly Cholas. It was also located at the strategic point.⁹⁷ This centre must have been the authority over ancient highway and the hinterlands in Chola, Chera and Pandya countries. It was populated by communities of the local Tamil people mainly comprising of merchants, various inland traders, businessmen, potters, artisans, craftsmen,

⁹⁷ Karnataka kings who ruled upto sixteenth century (Udaiyar dynasty) had controlled souther Karnataka and modern Kongu.

weavers and administrative officials of the Thanjavur rulers besides musicians, dancers. In course of time it emerged as an urban centre.

Urban history was a distinctive feature of the economic history of later Medieval south India, and it may well have been the most significant historical process of the period from the thirteenth century in the sense of the study of the factors such as economic, cultural and political of that period.⁹⁸

The following chapter discusses about the socio-economic conditions in Thanjavur district during the period between 1750 and 1813 in detail.

⁹⁸Tapanroy Chowdary and Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1982, P. 452.

CHAPTER - V

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS,
1750 - 1813**

There has been a growing realisation of the fact that the study of urban history is essential for an understanding of a society in its social and economic perspective. Within this broad perspective, the present chapter concentrates on the socio-economic activities of different communities and their role in different urban centres in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.

It broadly highlights the presence of various religious communities like Hindu, Muslim and Christian and others in Thanjavur district. From 1750 to 1813, one can see them in many occupations such as the weavers, traders, craftsmen, architects, sculptors, potters, artisans, merchants and others. In addition to the above points, this chapter also gives a gist of the socio-economic conditions and its impact on urban centres in Thanjavur district.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Demography (Population)

Urban centres were undoubtedly an objective process and a historically progressive one at certain stages of social development. Towns have well existed in the study region since the Sangam period. Social stratification among the people in Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur district in particular was based on physiographic distinction. The Tamils had broadly classified the landscape under the five-fold division. They are as follows: i) Mullai (Pasture lands) ii) Marutham (agricultural

lands), iii) Kurinchi (hill regions), iv) Neithal (Maritime tracts) and v) Palai (temporary dry, waterless arid region - dreary and desert like region).¹ Floristic wealth in these above mentioned areas correspond to people's way of life.

The residents of these regions came to be known respectively as the Ayar, Ulavar, Kuravar, Parathavar and Maravar.² The distribution was largely conventional. Transgressions of the regional barriers in respect of occupation was frequent. From internal evidences, it appears that the Kuravan of Kurinchi could settle in the Mullai land and become an Ayar (Cow-herd) and if he migrates to Marutham and took to cultivation, he would become an Ulavar (Agriculturists). Likewise an Ulavar might become a Kuravan. In respect of the Parathavan, his equipment was of a specialised nature.³

Majority of the inhabitants were of Dravidian stock, while the others belonged to the Aryan stock. The Parayars and Pallars were largely field workers. The Vellalar, Pallis and Kallars were peasants. The Tamil Brahmins established themselves mostly at Kumbakonam. The Kariyans were the fishing community, while the Nokkans were rope dancers and Melakkarans were the

¹T.K.Venkatasubramanian, *Environment and Urbanisation in Early Tamilakam*, Thanjavur Tamil University Publication, Thanjavur, 1988, p.36.

² *Ibid.*, p.37.

³ *Ibid.*, p.37.

musicians. Besides agriculture, many were employed in commerce, oil-pressing and weaving.⁴

The traditionally inherent social, political and cultural integration of the Dravidians inspite of the different small regional kingdoms greatly facilitated the peaceful co-existence of people with evergrowing civilisation in the study region.

Since, systematic population studies before 1881 censushave been absent, it is not easy to ascertain the population of Thanjavur district. At our present state of knowledge certain generalisations can be made pertaining to the nature and distribution of population because annual statistics⁵ of Thanjavur district were absent during the period under study.

The following table IV-1 shows the demography of Thanjavur district that includes the number of villages and population during the period between 1779 and 1789. The table also highlights that there was a steep decline in population from 1779 to 1789. Since there was a decline in population, the number of settlements also began to decline in the same years (i.e., between 1779 and 1789). Thus, Thanjavur district witnessed a decline in population as well as the number of settlements in the whole of the district during the period under study. The table shows the details about the population in Thanjavur district.

⁴W.W.Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol.2, Calcutta, 1908, pp.132-134.

⁵Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The politics of fiscal decline A reconsideration of Maratha Thanjavur, 1676-1799", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32,2,1995, pp.201-202.

TABLE : V - 1

DEMOGRAPHY (NUMBER OF VILLAGES AND POPULATION) IN THANJAVUR
DISTRICT FROM 1779 TO 1789

No.	Administrative Divisions	Number of Villages		Population	
		1779-80	1788-89	1779-80	1788-89
1	Kumbhakonam (Kumbakonam)	1,120	1,093	257,040	165,643
2	Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai)	635	586	142,017	71,850
3	Mannarkoyil (Mannarkudi)	1,292	1,252	272,679	149,427
4	Pavanasam (Papanasam)	626	626	220,679	149,427
5	Sirkali (Sirkazhi)	396	327	87,556	32,169
6	Pattukottah (pattukottai)	407	407	79,000	66,000
	Total	4,476	4,291	1,058,424	655,271

Source:

Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Politics of Fiscal Decline: A reconsideration of Maratha Thanjavur, 1676-1799", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32, 2(1995), New Delhi.

From the above table it is clear that the population falls sharply from just over a million in about 1780 to about 650,000 by the close of the decade (as shown in Table V - 1). The table

also reveals that there were substantial differences in the demographic effects of the Nawab's invasion. The worst sufferers were undoubtedly Sirkali (Sirkazhi) and Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai) where half or more of the population disappeared (i.e., people died or emigrated). Next were Kumbakonam and Mannarkoyil (Mannarkudi). Not surprisingly, Pattukottai, which was also geographically most insulated from the Nawab's forces was to suffer the least on account of the troubles of the period.

The society of Thanjavur had some remarkable characteristics. The society was divided into a number of social groups practising their own rites. The Tamil society was gradually watered down by the intermingling of the people of different languages like Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada and Marathi. The impact of these linguistic units did not subdue the dominant nature of the Tamilians. Assimilation of various cultural aspects, however, added strength and colour to the Tamil society of Thanjavur region. The mixed nature of this society created certain problems without affecting the existing social and religious order of society. Since time immemorial, people from various parts of India migrated and settled in large numbers. According to N.Subramanian, the Brahmins of this region migrated from the North to the fertile part of Thanjavur district at different intervals of times.⁶

⁶ N.Subramanian, *History of Tamil Nadu*, Madurai, 1972, pp.162-164.

Due to the contact with Deccan region, migrations of people especially from Telugu and to some extent Kannada regions took place.⁷ Probably some pockets in the Thanjavur region were occupied by these people, and the government also patronised and encouraged such settlements.⁸

The migration from Telugu and Kannada areas were encouraged by the royal authorities during the Vijayanagar rule.⁹ The Vijayanagar Emperors spread their religion and culture in this region as well as in the whole of Tamil Nadu by trade and commerce activities and by all other means. They granted "Sarvamanya" gifts of lands¹⁰ to people drawn mostly from Telugu region and helped them to settle down. Under their active patronage, movement of Telugu speaking people to Thanjavur was on large scale.¹¹

During the Nayaka rule, the movement of Telugu and Kannada speaking people increased in the region under study particularly in the areas like Karanthattankudi (Karanthai), Nanjikottai, Vullum, Palliagraharam, Maharnombuchavadi, Thiruvaiyaru and so on. So a large number of villages were established by the royal

⁷K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *History of South India*, 3rd ed., Madras, 1966, p.314.

⁸*Ibid.*, p.314.

⁹T.V.Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, University of Madras, Madras, 1955, p.240.

¹⁰N.Venkataramanaya, *The Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, University of Madras, Madras, 1935, p.183.

¹¹K.A.Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, University of Madras, Madras, 1955, pp.287-298.

patronage in these parts of Thanjavur district.¹² In these communities various orders were included like traders, weavers, warriors and other occupational groups who were among the recipients of these (land) grants.¹³ With the grant of independence to some of these villages, the migrations attained a new dimension of significance.

The Maratha period witnessed some colonisation by communities from the Deccan.¹⁴ A large number of Brahmins, mostly 'Chidbhavanas' settled in this region to assist the administration and also to augment a social structure which would be a source of strength to the alien royal family. This account for the existence of a large number of Marathi 'Brahmin Raos' in the Thanjavur region. These Brahmin Raos, entered British service and dominated the lower and middle cadres of British bureaucracy in the Madras Presidency.¹⁵

Nevertheless there was an element of non-Brahmin Marathas also. They originally formed part of the Maratha army in this district.¹⁶ In fact, invitations went out to certain families in Poona to come and settle down in Thanjavur for which a sum of

¹²N.Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Thanjavur*, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, Introduction, 1942, p.7.

¹³*Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁴T.Venkatasamy, *A Manual of the District of Thanjavur in the Madras Presidency*, Government Press, Madras, Vol.I, Part.I, 1883, pp.164-168.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.167.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p.173.

Rs.5,000/- was also sanctioned.¹⁷ This was evident from a correspondence between the British resident at Poona and his counterpart at Thanjavur.¹⁸

The fertility and prosperity of Thanjavur district coupled with the royal patronage of the Vijayanagar empire enabled the Nayak and the Maratha Kings to attract people from different parts of the country.¹⁹ This migration had its impact on the social, economic and cultural aspects of the community. Besides, the royal patronage also extended to the spread of religious thought. The Vijayanagar and the Nayak Kings were deeply interested in the promotion of Vaishnavism, while the Marathas patronised Saivism.²⁰ It was their psychological fear that the various rulers encouraged the migration of their own kinsmen to safeguard against an attack or betrayal or any other means of threat of the local population.²¹

Though the Nayakas and Marathas brought their own kingsmen to the kingdom of Thanjavur for their safeguard locals or natives were also inducted to king's security as Kavalkaras. The following table V-2 shows the presence of various castes engaged in this occupation.

¹⁷Thanjavur Papers : 1789, Vol.2-3, Part.3, deals the financial commitments by the Rajah.

¹⁸The correspondences (The official reports) between the Marathas and the British from 1749 to 1789 - preserved in the Tamil Nadu State Archives, Madras.

¹⁹T.Venkatasamy, Op.Cit., P.173.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.173.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp.164-168.

TABLE : V - 2

KAVALKARARS IN KUMBAKONAM AND TIRUVADI (THIRUVAIYARU) DIVISIONS
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT BETWEEN 1750 AND 1813

Caste	Kumbakonam			Tiruvadi		
	Number	Villages	Peons	Number	Villages	Peons
Baliya	--	--	--	3	115	145
Kallan	32	114	114	64	246	256
Valaiyan	--	--	--	1	3	3
Padaiyatchi	38	425	462	6	28	28
Sudarman	6	14	14	5	297	297
Nattaman	1	15	15	4	25	25
Udaiyan	7	111	111	--	--	--
Idaiyan	1	1	1	--	--	--
Tuluva	1	49	49	--	--	--
Tevar	1	4	4	--	--	--
Velalan	2	9	9	--	--	--
Jetti	7	135	135	2	21	21
Total	96	877	914	85	735	775

Source:

Thanjavur Commissioner's Proceedings, Appendix.C, Account Particular of the Number of Cauvulcarras (kavalkaras) and their allowance, etc.

The above table highlights the number of the kavalkaras during the study period. In the former case, they drew a total allowance (kaval) of 24,258 chakrams and in the latter of 21,452 chakrams. They were drawn their salaries from a variety of

castes and groups.²² The existence of so many peons suggests that, even in the latter half of the eighteenth century the old system of village police continued to exist in Thanjavur district. The entrance of modern bureaucracy could not replace them at once. The reason being the efficient system of guarding the village areas by these peons. It took long time for the British to replace them with the modern police system.

Under the Marathas, Brahmins from Maharashtra found their way into Thanjavur and settled on land. Land grants were made to temples and Brahmin priests in Thanjavur district. This policy was more vigorously pursued under the Nayakas and the Marathas. Many Brahmins from the north functioned as ministers under these rulers at different intervals of time in Thanjavur district.²³

The inhabitants of Thanjavur belonged to several communities often with differences in customs, manners, religion and languages. Even under the Telugu Nayakas, Thanjavur's traditional political authorities had been supplanted by an administration of Telugu nobles and Niyogi and Kannada Brahmins.²⁴ There was an influx of these groups from the north, much more than in Madurai. Even under the Cholas the

²²Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Politics of Fiscal Decline: A reconsideration of Maratha Thanjavur, 1676-1799", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32, 2, 1995, p.194.

²³S. Arasaratnam, "Politics and Society in Tamil Nadu: 1600-1800 A.D., A View in Historical Perspective", *Proceedings of the Third International Tamil Conference*, Paris, 1970, pp.180-186.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp.187-190.

establishment of Brahmin settlements or Agraharams and Chaturvedimangalams were used to extend Brahminical culture and integrate the people more closely with the ruling dynasties of the district.²⁵

HINDUS

The Indian society as a whole has been variously influenced by religion, castes, foreign invasions etc., in course of its chequered history. During seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries education, art, science, patriotism and press etc., had their own influence on the society.

Thanjavur, a capital city for the Chola, the Nayaka and the Maratha dynasties, was a flourishing centre for the social and economic activities. The city of Thanjavur and its adjoining areas were gifted with excellent irrigation facilities built by many rulers and chiefs over a period of more than two thousand years. Different communities came for their livelihood in the city during the period of study. Among them, a sizeable number of people were Brahmins who during the early rule of the British took to English education. In later times, Thanjavur became one of the important educational centre in the southern part of the Tamil speaking areas. There were non-brahmins and depressed classes who formed the largest part of the total population of the city. Among the urban population there existed a small group of Muslims. Majority of the people spoke Tamil language during

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp.191-198.

the study period. However, most of the residents of the city and its surroundings knew Telugu also. Telugu occupied an important place during the end of the Nayaka rule in this study region. A small group of people spoke Marathi. They were mainly the descendants of the Maratha rulers and some of them who were not connected with the royal family came to the city along with them. A particular class of weavers in Maharnonbu-chavadi spoke a peculiar tongue and they were called Pattunulkars.

The Hindus formed the majority of the population in Thanjavur district during the period under study. Political history of Thanjavur exhibits, a synthesis of TAMILIAN and ARYAN cultures much in its social and religious customs and ideals as in its literature.²⁶ The majority were Hindus, but there were also among them Buddhists and Jains. Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Saraswathy, Rama, Krishna and a host of lesser Aryan gods and goddesses evoked their veneration, but Murugan was their ancient and favourite deity.²⁷ They built temples for the Saivite as well as the Vaishnavite gods.²⁸ They followed the Aryan customs of marriage, sati, cremation and inhumation, but they also sometimes observed the simpler forms of Tamil marriage, buried the dead with urns and set up "hero stones" on their

²⁶ K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, *Op.Cit.*, pp.63-68.

²⁷ K.N. Sivarajapillai, *The chronology of the Early Tamils*, Madras, 1932, pp.156-188.

²⁸ T.K. Venkata Subramanian, "Chiefdom to State: Reflections on Kaveri Delta Social Fountains", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 57th Session, Madras University, Chennai, December 1996*, pp.3-7.

graves.²⁹ They treated the waters of the river Cauvery as very sacred. Added to this, they liked the Buddhists, had faith in re-incarnation [Karma (or) re-birth] and in fate and they held austerities (tapas) as highly meritorious.³⁰

The upper classes of the Hindus in the entire Thanjavur district lived in houses built of brick and mortar, the walls of which were often decorated with paintings of divine figures and scenes from animal life. Several of these houses were surrounded by gardens with tanks, artificial hillocks, flower plants and glass houses.³¹

In Thanjavur district most of the places were seen with bazaars and many buildings surrounded by platforms reached by ladders. These towers had several apartments provided with doorways, great and small, and long corridors and wide verandahs. The ground floors of these buildings were presumably used for godowns and offices for business transactions, while the upper floors of these were used as dwelling places. The richer Hindu classes were leading a high profile life style with frequent feasts, drinking parties, dance and music.³²

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.7-9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.10-12.

³¹ Clarence Maloney, "Archaeology in South India: Accomplishments and perspectives", in *Essays on South India* (ed.), Burton Stein, New Delhi, 1976, p.7.

³² *Ibid.*, p.98.

Caste System

The caste system existed with all its ramification in Thanjavur district during the period under study. Schwartz (1726-1798) a German missionary, found it very difficult to proselytise the people. Christian mission often quarreled with Brahmins who had a predominant influence over the king.³³ The Maratha rulers were living in the midst of an intensely-religious population, who were mostly Brahmins and they did every thing for their community. The king made large gifts of lands (also called agra-harams) and other valuable presents to Brahmins. Brahmins were accused of monopolising all big offices. The lower classes were denied access to education by Brahmins.³⁴

Next to the Brahmin caste, Mudaliar and Pillai castes occupied a social superiority during this period.³⁵ It was clear from the records which stated that the high governmental posts were held by these social groups.³⁶ Nagalinga Mudaliar, the magistrate of Tiruvadi taluk, and Subbaraya Pillai, the revenue

³³K.R.Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1988, pp.84-86.

³⁴Burton Stein, "Brahman and Peasant in South Indian History", *The Adyar Literary Bulletin*, Vol.31-32, 1968, pp.3-5.

³⁵Kathleen Gough, "The Social Structure of a Thanjavur Village", in Mckim Marriott (ed.), *Village India*, Chicago, 1955, pp.12-19.

³⁶Simon Casie Chitty, *The castes, customs, manners and literature of the tamils*, Madras, 1934, pp.8-39.

officer, could be cited as examples to indicate the status of these castes in the social structure.³⁷

The main agricultural communities were the Vellalars, the Goundas, Padaiachis, Pallis and Naickens including Mudaliars and Pillais. Most of the Kallars, Maravars and Devars of this district were also engaged in agriculture. Besides, the depressed people like Valayans, Koliars, Pallans and Parayans were involved in this profession.³⁸ The Kallars constitute a dominant agricultural caste in Thanjavur bearing the titles of ancient rulers of the Tamil kingdom. Kallars were maintaining a close network of social relationships among themselves through this traditional institutions.³⁹ The Sourashtras were the weaver community of this district. They were concentrated in Kumbakonam and Thanjavur areas. There were a number of communities, each engaged in its own occupation and enjoyed their cultural activities, but formed a part of the homogeneous whole.⁴⁰

MUSLIMS

According to Vriddhagirisan, Nayakas rule witnessed that a sizeable number of Muslims lived in Thanjavur and its

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.40-48.

³⁸ V. Karuppaiyan, *Kinship and Polity, A Study in Socio-Political Organisation among the Upland Kallars of Thanjavur District in Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1970, pp.7-19.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.20-27.

⁴⁰ K.Srinivasaraghavan, "The population of the Thanjavur District", *The journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol.12, No.3, October 1937, p.142.

surrounding areas. He further pointed out that the ruler Sevappa Nayaka period registers a grant of seven 'velis' of land made to the "Fakirs", who were attached to a mosque near Nangikottai, suburb of Thanjavur in 1550.⁴¹

During the later Maratha period, the Carnatic Nawabs exercised a lot of influence over the district. A number of Muhammadan families settled in various parts of the district. The main places of their stay in the study region were (i) Nagore, (ii) Thopputhurai, (iii) Karaikkal, (iv) Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai), (v) Papanasam, (vi) Kumbakonam, (vii) Nagapattinam, (viii) Pattukottai and (ix) outskirts of Thanjavur and also many other small towns around the district.⁴² They were mostly Tamil-speaking Mussalmans, who were converted to the Islam religion. A very few number of Muslims were speaking Urdu in some parts of the district especially in Nagore, Karaikkal, Kumbakonam, Kudavasal and other areas. The following names indicate their existence in Thanjavur district: (i) Dowlat Maharajapuram, (ii) Inayathkhan Thottam, (iii) Thulukka Vayal, (iv) Syedkhan Sahib, (v) Sinnavu Sahib, (vi) Pona Sahib and (viii) Nana Sahib etc.⁴³

⁴¹V.Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Thanjavur*, Annamalai Nagar, 1942, pp.24-34.

⁴²K. Srinivasaraghavan, "The population in the Thanjavur District", *The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol. 12, No. 3, October 1937, Madras, p. 142.

⁴³C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, "A study of the place - names in Thanjavur District - II", *The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol. 12, No. 3, October 1937, Madras, P. 108.

The major castes among the Islam religion in the study region were Labbais, Rowthars and Marakayars. Out of these castes, Labbais and Rowthars were engaged in the cultivation of betel vines, manufacturing of agar bathis, mats and other small scale businesses like wax printing, basket and carpet making etc. The Marakayars were either attached to the inland and external trades like imports and exports or in agriculture pursuits.

The Marakayars considered themselves superior to the Labbais and did not generally inter-dine or inter marry with them. This led to the Marakayars and the Labbais adopting some of the customs of the pure Muslims like dressing themselves and their women in strict Muslim fashion like "purdha" ("Thuppata") system and by speaking Hindusthani at home in most of the places in the Thanjavur region. All Mussalmans belonged to the Mahomedan faith.⁴⁴ These Muslims during the study period enjoyed middle class status in the society when compared to other religious people in Thanjavur district.

The Nawab of Arcot and the British jointly attacked Thanjavur in 1771 and the Nawab, openly referred to his aim of eradicating idolatry -- an image of a deity as an object of worship with excessive and devoted admiration by the Hindu people in the Thanjavur study region.⁴⁵ Later, the Nawab

⁴⁴C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, "A study of the place - names in Thanjavur District - II", *The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol. 12, No. 3, October 1937, Madras, P. 108.

⁴⁵B.S.Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand Book*, Madras, 1957, p.50.

regretted for his action and apologised to the people of Thanjavur as a whole.

CHRISTIANITY

Christianity gained significance since the days of Serfoji (1799-1833) and the entire credit for this must go to the support lent by the Rev.Schwartz.⁴⁶ The helpful attitude of the British authorities, from the Board to the Collector, was also a significant factor in this regard.⁴⁷

A letter from Mr.Benjamin Torin (London), the British Resident at Thanjavur, to King Serfoji in 1813 is interesting in this connection. He assures, "There are many persons desirous of going to India not only as merchants but as missionaries in the cause of religious to follow in the path of Mr.Schwartz".⁴⁸ But the British Government was never interested in missionary activities in India. In the earlier period, the British Government allowed things to take their own course and did not interfere in the missionary work of individuals. Later, they openly dissociated themselves from the forces of proselytisation and disowned responsibility for religious activities in this region. British were holding themselves responsible only for revenue collection and to some extent law and order. So, the

⁴⁶K.R.Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1988, p.86.

⁴⁷Thanjavur District Records, Vol.3507 dated 31.8.1813, p.276.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.276.

Christian missionary work in the Thanjavur region was not very successful. This may also be due to the well entrenched position of Hindu orthodoxy.⁴⁹ The number of converts to Christianity in Thanjavur study region was very much less than in places like Tirunelveli, Madras, Tiruchirapalli and other parts of Tamil Nadu.⁵⁰

The later part of the study period witnessed the Charter Act of 1813 which permitted Christian missionaries to spread the religion of Christianity. The missionaries settlement areas in the study region were well developed in all urban centres.⁵¹ These European Christian missionaries mainly focussed their attention to develop the infra-structure facilities like drinking water, medical centres (hospitals), choultries, community (social) centres, educational institutions like schools and colleges, road, transport service, etc. Above all, they also concentrated on spreading their own religion too.⁵²

Contribution of Christian Missionaries to Tamil language

The Christian missions gave a new fillip and also generated a renaissance with regard to the Tamil language. It is interesting to note that Tamil language has been enriched by alien religions like Jainism and Buddhism in the earlier times

⁴⁹ K.R.Subramanian, *Op.Cit.*, p.86.

⁵⁰ R.L.Hardgrave, *Nadars in Tamil Nadu*, Bombay, 1969, p.37.

⁵¹ William Hickey, *The Thanjavur Maratha principality in Southern India*, Madras, 1872, pp. 80-96.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 96-123.

and by Christianity during the study period. The Christian missionaries developed the Tamil language especially in the areas of prose, poetry, grammar books, dictionaries, etc.⁵³ They also contributed a lot to the development of a scientific study of Tamil language and literature. And in that process, they have left a rich variety of reference books in Tamil.⁵⁴ The details of Tamil works, contributed by the Christian missionaries are as follows: Transfer of Tamil grammar was popularised in European language by Christian scholars from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Among the European (Christian) scholars, who had contributed significantly for the development of Tamil language and grammar are Fr. Beschi, who later changed his name into Tamil as Viramamunivar and also wrote a famous Tamil book called "Thembavani" and a prosody of grammar book in Tamil language.⁵⁵ In the field of Tamil literature and its development, Fr. Beschi was followed by Henrique Henriques, Walter, Ziegenbalg, Caldwell, G.U. Pope and others.⁵⁶

Paulinus a semeto Bartholomaco (1748-1806) wrote a Latin manuscript of Tamil Grammar entitled "Grammatica Tamulica In

⁵³ Susai, "Contribution of Christian scholars to Tamil Grammar", Abstract, Eighth World Tamil Conference, dt. 1-5, January, 1995, Thanjavur, 1995, pp.151-152.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 151-152.

⁵⁵ David Packiamuthu, "Early Prose Translation in Tamil", Fifth World Tamil Conference, Special Issue published at Madurai 1981, pp.XI-XIII.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.XIV.

Compendio Redacta".⁵⁷ Besides, Jesuit Missionary by Portuguese played an important role for the development of other transfer of grammar in Tamil.⁵⁸

LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF THE PERIOD

The "heyday" of the Thanjavur principality was seen under Shahji (1684-1712), the successor of Ekoji. Of all the Maratha rulers, who ascended the Thanjavur throne, Shahji was unquestionably the ablest and the most distinguished. His rule witnessed the high-water mark of literary excellence for great writers flourished in his court.

The Maratha rulers of Thanjavur, who ruled Thanjavur for over one hundred and fifty years were great patrons of learning. It was Serfoji II (1798-1832 A.D.), one among the famous Maratha rulers who enlarged the Saraswathy Mahal Library, at Thanjavur, a veritable store-house of knowledge.⁵⁹

Actually the Saraswathy Mahal Library was started as a Royal Place Library during the Nayaka Kingdom over Thanjavur (1535-1673 A.D.) and was developed by the Maratha kings of Thanjavur (1676-1855 A.D.). During the reign of these two dynasties, Thanjavur was a centre of art and literature and the

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.XV-XVII.

⁵⁸ I.Susai, *op.cit.*, pp.151-52.

⁵⁹ A.Panchanathan, Guide Book to Saraswathy Mahal (with illustrations), Thanjavur Saraswathy Mahal Series, No.201,Thanjavur, 1993, p.45.

kings were the patrons which led to enrich the collection of the library in various fields.

Among the Maratha Kings, Maharaja Serfoji.II (1798-1832 A.D.) was an eminent scholar in many branches of learning. In his infancy, he came under the influence of a Danish missionary Father Rev.Schwartz, who was his father's friend and guide. Serfoji.II had his early education under him. With a great enthusiasm, he took special steps for the enrichment of the Library. When pilgrimaged to Banaras, he employed many pandits to collect, buy and copy a vast number of various works from all the renowned centres in the North and other areas. It is a fitting tribute to the great collector Serfoji that the Library is named after him.⁶⁰

Though waves of Muslim invasions along with internal feuds and dissensions from the central power marred the Maratha rule and aggravated the sufferings of the subjects, the Maratha rulers found time in these distressed years to patronise poets and artists. Their court became the cradle of literature and art. It was during their time that some well known literary men flourished. Ramabhadra Dikshita, Triyambaka Makhi, Narasimha Raya Makhi and Appa Dikshita were some of the noteworthy Sanskrit scholars to be mentioned in this connection. Even the

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.46.

King Serfoji himself was the author of a number of works in Sanskrit.⁶¹

The Marathas continued the legacy of the Nayakas, who were great patrons of Sanskrit and Telugu. The eminent and most brilliant Telugu scholars were Aluri Kuppanna who had the title Andhra Kalidasa and Nelluri Sitarama Kavi.⁶²

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the glorious period in carnatic music. Thyagaraja, the most famous Telugu musician, Syama Sastri, another musician and Giriraja Kavi, composer of Vedantic songs and the author of the famous drama known as 'Yakshaganas' are worth mentioning. No other reign can boast of so much literary output in the field of Sanskrit and Telugu.⁶³

While great encouragement was given to Sanskrit and Telugu there was comparatively little advancement of Tamil learning though the subject population were mostly Tamils. Though there was no royal patronage, Tamil continued to be patronized by the mutts. Many of the works of the period are stala puranas, digests, commentaries on Saiva and Vaishnava sacred literature and a few dramas. The language of the drama was colloquial, generally as spoken by a Maratha.⁶⁴ Some important Tamil scholars

⁶¹T. Venkatasamy, *A Manual of the District of Thanjavur in the Madras presidency*, Government Press, Madras, Vol. I, part-II, 1883, pp. 281-283.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.284-286.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

⁶⁴V. Venkatramayya, *Thanjai Marathiya Manner Kaala samudhayamum*

of this period were Swaminatha Desikar, Thayumanavar, Arunachala Kavirayar and Sivagnana Swamigal.⁶⁵

Modi Documents

Modi was an ancient script used for Marathi language, and it was a form of shorthand script developed for quick writing of the same. Modi documents were the indigenous source material and the main purpose was to record the political, social, cultural, economical and administrative documents of the Maratha kings of Thanjavur as well as the Maratha rulers of other parts of Tamil Nadu who ruled for more than 180 years. But the influence of Maratha rule over Tamil language and culture still exists in various other forms also. They were also called 'Maratha Raj Records'. Approximately 850 bundles containing 2,55,000 modi documents were available in the Saraswathy Mahal Library. They were all paper manuscripts written in Marathi language. These were transcribed into Nagari script and published with Tamil translation. These were the only indigenous source materials for the history of Marathas of Thanjavur.⁶⁶

The necessity of such a script was felt by Hemadpant, the Minister of Yadava dynasty in 12th century and was developed and

Arasiyalum (Tamil), Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1984, pp. 28-46.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-56.

⁶⁶ A.Panchanathan, Guide Book to Saraswathy Mahal (with illustrations), Thanjavur Saraswathy Mahal Series, No.201, 1993, Thanjavur, pp.6-7.

practiced by the descendants of Yadavas and subsequently by the Marathas. However literary works in Marathi continued to be written only in Devanagiri script or otherwise called Balabodh.

In the Medieval days, Modi script was also used for inscription on stones, palm leaves and eventually on paper. Nowadays paper manuscripts only are available in abundance. Many methods of writing to the Modi documents were seen through the ages. The style also differed from hand to hand and time to time. So, it is an interesting topic to study, understand and reproduce it in making the history of Marathas who had spread all over India.⁶⁷

The southern style of Modi was called "Archaic Modi" by Shri D.V.Potday, a historian, who studied the Thanjavur based Modi documents in depth. The various Maratha kings who ruled Thanjavur during 1676-1855 A.D., had kept the diaries, correspondence, gifts, accounts, etc., in Modi script only. These records are available in the Saraswathy Mahal Library and Tamil University Archives at Thanjavur.⁶⁸

Marathas showed keen attention to child education and started many schools for Sanskrit, Tamil and other education. Apart from these, other aspects like political happenings, social structure, position of women, etc., are also known from these Modi records. Marathas patronised a large number of Tamil

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.8.

⁶⁸ R.Vivekanandagopal, "Contribution of Modi documents to the History of Tamil Nadu", A research paper presented at the Eighth World Tamil Conference, Thanjavur, dt. 1-5 January, 1995, pp.1-3.

poets, who authored many minor literary works in Tamil. These Modi documents plays its major role to have a glimpse of the glorious past of the Thanjavur Marathas.⁶⁹

Justice

A bench consisting of five judges was created and the procedure comprehended the three distinct stages. They are i) complaint, ii) answer and iii) decree. The king had the power to veto any decision given by the judges. An appeal laid before the king was generally referred to his sar-i-khel or some other principal officer for report.⁷⁰

There were also some references to the existence of four different courts with separate establishments. They were (i) the "Nyaya Sabha" which dealt with criminal cases, (ii) the "Mudrita sabha" with civil cases, (iii) the "Dharma sabha" with religious litigation and temple cases and (iv) the "Nyayadisa sabha" which was the court of appeal from the other three courts.⁷¹

As already noted, Britishers by establishment of power over judicial, revenue and administrative system became more powerful during the time of Serfoji-II (1798-1832 A.D.). This situation becomes very clear from the data and also a lot of references

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.4-6.

⁷⁰ F.R. Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, Madras, 1906, pp. 208-209.

⁷¹ K.R. Subrahmanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1988, pp. 77-84.

about British officials like Resident, Collector and Agent all of whom seem to have occupied a higher position are available⁷².

Temples (Art and Architecture)

The Cholas of Thanjavur (9th to 12th centuries) were mighty builders, and erected a large number of temples in their empire, some of them constituting the finest specimens of South Indian architecture.⁷³

Thanjavur attained prominence under the Cholas. The Brahadeeswara Temple was a symbol of the greatness of the Chola empire. The Brahadeeswara temple, a monument dedicated to Lord Siva, was established by the Emperor Raja Raja (985-1012) and later came to be known after his name as Rajarajeswaram.⁷⁴ The temple was the most ambitious of the architectural enterprises of the Cholas and was a fitting symbol of the magnificent achievements of Raja Raja. The endowments that he made for his temple were numerous; several large images in bronze and gold were presented to this temple, and their ornaments described in detail in the inscriptions give a vivid picture of the contemporary jewellers art.⁷⁵

⁷²William Hickey, *Op.Cit.*, pp.124-128.

⁷³C.Sivaramamurti, *The Chola Temples*, Archaeological Survey of India, (A.S.I.), New Delhi, 1992, p.1-3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.15.

Fine arts were encouraged in the service of the temple besides the sculptures and the paintings that were elegant in style and perfection.⁷⁶ And also the Tamil letters give an idea of the great art that flourished under Rajaraja. Dance and music were greatly nurtured and were equally employed to serve the temple.⁷⁷

Occupations and their Life patterns during Medieval period

The king held the first rank not only in the government and army but also in society. He patronised literature and fine arts and gathered around him all the nobles and all the brilliant poets and writers. He often took pleasure in giving them lavish entertainments. On these occasions, music and dances were the special attractions.⁷⁸ The Tamil literature, especially poetry once again flourished during the medieval period. Music and dancing too attained a considerable development in those days. It was clear that the musicians knew the lute, the flute, the veenai and the yal (yazh).

The people of Thanjavur region were much advanced and showed a considerably high degree of culture and civilization. They lived in villages and their main occupation was cultivation on the fertile banks of the river Cauvery, which offered them good yield.

⁷⁶N.S.Seetha, "*Thanjavur as a seat of Music*", Ph.D Thesis, Madras University, Madras, 1968, pp.161-165.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁷⁸B. S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Handbook*, Madras, 1957, p. 21.

During the early part of the study period, Thanjavur district witnessed different kinds of profession. Spinning and weaving of cotton and silk formed an important subsidiary professions of both men and women.⁷⁹ Besides, Thanjavur was flourishing as a place for the business in cotton goods. The other occupations were being the king's officials, the tax gatherers, the traders and the merchants who dealt in corn, gems, gold, corals, peals, cotton and silk. Along with them, weavers, jewellers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters, tailors, cobblers, sellers of meat and toddy, musicians, singers, writers, poets, actors, minstrels, buffoons, courtesans, dancing girls, flower vendors, soldiers, sailors and travellers from foreign parts were found.⁸⁰

Agriculture was the main occupation and also the main source of income of the people. People of the south west were chief purchasers of paddy and they exchanged other goods from their region for these paddy grains in the Thanjavur market. Next to this, the textile industry played an important role in this district. Weaving of pure silk was carried on in Thanjavur and Kumbakonam, while weaving of cotton stuff and of mixed silk cotton, silk and artificial silk was the occupation in many parts of the district. The dyes used were almost invariably imported from different places. Among the subsidiary

⁷⁹ Vijaya Ramaswamy, "The Weaver Communities of the Kanchipuram Region Circa A.D. 700-1700", Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.8.

occupations, silk weaving was developed to a remarkable degree. There were large number of women, children and men employed in this industry where spinning, dyeing and hand weaving were all carried out side by side. Carpet weaving was another kind which was done in nearby places of the town.

Thanjavur paintings were very famous. In Tamil Nadu, it was one of the major industries connected with the fine arts in this region. Images of gods were painted in brilliant colours on glass. A particular class of people known as "Rajus" has developed the painting industry to a considerable perfection. They have been doing this profession from a very long time. During the time of festivals, they used to construct beautiful "Vimanams" out of glass pieces. The Raju ladies were also involved in embroidery work, especially in making caps, pillows and velvet cushions besides princely uniforms out of velvet and lace.⁸¹

Making jewellery was another important occupation. Thanjavur goldsmiths were noted for their high craftsmanship in making gold and silver jewelleryes. They were equally skillful in making engraved plates, where in they carve out wonderful lively figures, which attracted the attention of ordinary people. Thanjavur (art) plates were very famous in India.⁸²

⁸¹ K.S.Gopalan, "Human Geography of Thanjavur and its Environs", *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol.12, No.2, July 1932, p.163.

⁸² G.V. Ramaiah, *Thanjavur Zilla Sarithiram* (Tamil), Thanjavur, 1927, pp.30-38.

Basket making and screen netting were manufactured in large scale in this region. The backward classes made mats and baskets out of bamboo vine. Their livelihood depended on this industry. In pookara street (outskirts of Thanjavur town), trade of flowers and big chillies familiarly known as kudamulagai was carried on.⁸³

Perfumery was another chief industry in Thanjavur district, which bears testimony to the splendour of the oriental monarchs. Scented sticks, rose attar, panner and flower scents were manufactured on a very large scale. Kumbakonam compares favourably with Thanjavur in regard to the perfumery industry. The muslims of the city took particular interest in developing this trade.⁸⁴

Wax printing was carried on at kumbakonam, Nagapattinam and other sub-urbs. Mat making on a large scale was in progress at Ayyampettai and on a smaller scale in most parts of the delta. Metal industry also reached great heights during the period of the study. Idols for worship and for exhibition were made in Thanjavur. Vessels and utensils made of brass, copper, lead and bell metal were used for domestic purposes and they were also exported to other regions from Nachiarkovil and Kumbakonam.⁸⁵

⁸³ K.S.Gopalan, *op.cit.*, p.156.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.159.

⁸⁵ G.V. Ramaiah, *Op.cit.*, pp.39-42.

Other fine arts materials like pith work rattam work, musical instruments especially veena, flute, tabla, mridangam and drums besides wood carving and moulding were manufactured in some of the areas of this district.⁸⁶ In addition to that the miscellaneous industries like rope, oil, tanning, bangles, shoes and printing were of minor importance. The other minor industries were inlaid silver-ware, chalk works (Kumbakonam), pottery and steel trunks (Nagapattinam) which were of local importance and commanded a good market.⁸⁷

During the study period, handicrafts were highly developed, particularly silk weaving, but the craft declined under the blow of competition from foreign mill-made cloth under colonialism. Agriculture was the main stay of Thanjavur's economy and it was essentially in the agrarian relations of Thanjavur that social and economic transformations has occurred.

So, the people of Thanjavur district experienced various kinds of professions and had a better life pattern. However, the working class especially the labourers faced a command of force from the rulers and that led to the slavery in Thanjavur district. These aspects are to be discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

⁸⁶ T. Vekatasamy, *A Manual of the District of Thanjavur in the Madras Presidency*, Government Press, Madras, Vol.I, Part-II, 1883, pp.287-289.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.289-292.

Forced Labour

It was the enormous revenue which former rulers derived from land, coupled with unlimited command of forced labour that enabled them to execute the stupendous works, whether palaces, temples, anicuts or tanks which strike us with astonishment in Thanjavur district. This was evidenced from the Chola period onwards in Thanjavur district.

For instance, the celebrated temple at Thanjavur built by the Cholas in the 11th century A.D. was stated to have taken 12 years to complete the construction work. The architect, who designed the building and supervised its execution, was one Somavarman of Kanchipuram. A village called "Sarapallam" literally means the hollow at the base of the scaffolding (i.e. temporary structure for support of workmen, used in erecting, altering or repairing buildings) four miles from Thanjavur town was believed to be the place, where the scaffolding, over which the block of granite, estimated to weigh 80 tons, was carried to the top of the tower 200 feet high and the same was rested on the Brahadeeswara temple at Thanjavur.

The Nayakas, who succeeded them, followed the same kind of attitude towards the working class and their successor, the Marathas, also continued more or less similar kind of approach in this regard. Hence, the labourers in Thanjavur district suffered a lot in the hands of their rulers in the form of unlimited command of force throughout the period.

Slavery

Slavery existed in the Thanjavur district, but it was founded in the first instance upon a voluntary contract. The condition of the slaves differed very little from that of the common labourers, and the treatment of both were nearly the same. The system of slaves being attached to the soil and transferable by purchase, as appendage to the land, did not obtain in the district.

Economic Conditions

This chapter also highlights the link between urban centres and economy especially agrarian economy in Thanjavur district. In this, the role of agrarian relations comes in as a focal point. This chapter also serves to pinpoint conditions of urban centres purely in terms of dry land and wet land distinctions in Thanjavur district.

The economic condition of Thanjavur region may be determined by its natural resources as well as the creative and technical skills of the people. The deltaic fertility of the soil made cultivation of paddy the most important occupation of the people. Throughout the history, the Thanjavur delta region has been considered a surplus area.

The two important characteristics of the agrarian economy, which have moulded the urban process crucially in the study region were: a) the agrarian economy which essentially was a mono-crop economy at a larger scale with canal irrigated paddy being almost the sole crop. Therefore, the specific urban

characteristics of Thanjavur district was tied almost to its agrarian economy and b) the specific nature of the agrarian relations in the district which acted as a force on the development of trade and markets.

Thanjavur district consists of two clearly marked divisions made up of the natural delta of the river cauvery. a) The old delta area is a vast alluvial plain, predominantly of paddy fields constituting the whole of Sirkazhi (earlier Sirkali), Mayiladuthurai (earlier Mayavaram or Mayuram), Kumbakonam, Nannilam, Nagapattinam, almost all of Thiruthuraipoondi and a part of Mannargudi and Thanjavur taluks. b) The drier upland tracts in the South-West of the district, consisting of the taluks of Thanjavur, Mannargudi, Pattukottai, Orathanadu and Arantangi. These divisions comes under the new delta. According to T.Venkatasamy, the district naturally divides itself into two parts, the northern comprising the delta of the river Cauvery and the southern tracts beyond its influence, i.e., the natural division of the district into the deltaic and non-deltaic portions.

The irrigated land was almost entirely watered by the river Cauvery. Irrigation for these lands was secured by the very advanced engineering construction of the Chola period, the grand anicut, which prevents the waters of the river from escaping out of the district. The British further contributed to the irrigation system through the construction of minor irrigation works which support the basic engineering designed by the Cholas.

Thanjavur was pre-eminently a district of large land lords. Early British accounts of Thanjavur note that it had the most unequal distribution of land in Southern region. In 1800, the collector of Thanjavur pointed out that a single large land owner could corner the grain market in an entire taluk. Information on the nature of holding shows that vast extensive property was held by a prominent 'mirasdar'. British Gazetteers write that he could hold between 3,000 to 4,000 acres, not necessarily in one consolidated holding but distributed in plots of different sizes scattered over different villages and even in different taluks. This feature of extensive land holdings dominated the social structure of the countryside and primarily determined the condition of the peasantry.

Sources of Income

The district of Thanjavur derived its income from a variety of sources. The income of the entire district under the Maratha and the East India Company's rule consisted of land revenue, tobacco, apkary, salt tax, customs duty, sundries, professional taxes, postal duty, the stamp duty and the mint duty. The income from the Navaratri tax, the Deepavali tax, the Sankranti (Pongal) tax, the tax on fishing and the fines levied by the courts were comparatively small.

Since this chapter discussed about the socio-economic conditions in Thanjavur district, the following section particularly reveals the economic aspects of land revenue system in detail. The remaining aspects of the sources of income i.e., customs, apkary, tobacco, salt tax etc., will elaborately be discussed in the succeeding chapters in detail. So the following paragraphs highlight only the aspects of land revenue systems in Thanjavur district precisely and comprehensively.

LAND REVENUE

The land revenue was the chief source of income to Thanjavur district, and it came from mainly cultivable lands. Most of the cultivable lands were considered to be the sole property of the district. The share of the revenue of the district was 2/3 of the produce. The cultivable lands remain divided into 'nanjai' or wet land and the 'punjai' or dry land. From the 'nanjai' lands the district collected 'melvaram' and from the 'punjai' lands, the district collected a fixed tax called 'pattacattu'.

The following table shows the total nanja production in Thanjavur district during the period between 1780 and 1796 in detail:

TABLE : V -3
STATEMENT OF THE TOTAL NANJA PRODUCTION
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1780 TO 1796

Anna Domini Years	Fusli Years	Quantity			Remarks	
			Cullums	M	N	
1780	1190	1,19,09,085	2	0	0	Previous to Hyder's war
1781	1191	18,00,807	16	0	0	
1782	1192	15,63,122	2	0	0	During the war.
1783	1192	43,60,911	10	0	0	
1784	1194	60,87,475	5	0	0	First introduction of the Puttuckum system by Bava which effected the recovery of the country.
1785	1195	74,54,897	8	1/2	0	
1786	1196	69,01,911	2	1	1/2	
1787	1197	75,27,956	1	1/3	0	Sheva Row Sirkeleship.
1788	1188	74,96,538	1	1/2	0	
1789	1199	81,08,306	8	0	0	
1790	1200	91,19,863	0	1	0	Company's management during the war with Tippu
1791	1201	91,19,863	0	1	0	
1792	1202	92,44,213	11	0	0	
1793	1203	1,00,29,365	0	1	3/4	Country restored to the Raja
1794	1204	97,11,782	6	0	0	
1795	1205	1,04,16,746	4	0	0	
1796	1206	1,03,23,326	5	0	0	

Source:

Report of the Thanjavur Commissioners, A.D. 1799, Thanjavur District, District Press, Thanjavur, 1905., p.5.

The above table shows the details of the production of the wet lands for seventeen years. In 1780, the production in the nanja lands was recorded at 1,19,09,085 2N cullums. However, the rate of production decreased in the succeeding years due to the invasion of Haider Ali's army in Thanjavur district. The reduction in the productive capacity was more for 1781 and 1782, but it began to raise slowly to 91,19,863 cullums in 1790. From this year onwards the rate of production grew to 1,03,23,326 cullums. The growth of production did not show a continuous raise for all the years. It remained fluctuated for all the sixteen years. This shows the general tendency in the economy Thanjavur district.

A similar trend appears in punjah lands also as shown in the following table:

TABLE : V - 4

STATEMENT OF PUNJAH, SOORNADAYAM AND TOPE REVENUE

Fusly 1210 1800 A.D.			Fusly 1211 1801 A.D.			Fusly 1212 1802 A.D.			Fusly 1213 1803 A.D.			Fusly 1214 1804 A.D.			
S.P.	F	C	S.P.	F	C	S.P.	F	C	S.P.	F	C	S.P.	F	C	
Pun- jah rev- v- nue	76870	13	8	36958	9	30	31852	6	79	29656	23	8	76709	38	72
Soo- rna day- am	19003	41	43	14367	38	24	16328	24	42	10053	17	29	16423	28	38
Tope Rev- nue	4521	1	29	3367	33	53	3432	2	43	989	9	44	11251	11	30
To- tal	100395	14	0	55183	39	27	48612	34	4	40699	3	1	104384	36	60

Source:

Selections from the Records of the Thanjavur Collectorate, Collectorate Press, Thanjavur, 1872, p.11.

The above table shows that there was declining trend in the production of dry lands from 1801 to 1803. It was recovered only in 1804. The soornadayam and tope lands yield also shows a similar trend.

Tope Land:

In fusly 1211 (1801 A.D.), and in fulsy 1212, (1802 A.D.), the mode of collecting the revenue from tope land was continued. In fusly 1213 (1803 A.D.) the assessment on the tope land was

was abolished. In fulsy 1214 (1804 A.D.) the tax on Tope Land was renewed at a rate varying according to the number to the quality of the trees in each tope and to the value of that quality.

The following table V-5 shows it clear that the declining trend appears in all aspects. The total gross produce of Thanjavur and the government share are shown in this table:

TABLE : V -5
FLUCTUATIONS IN THE GROSS PRODUCED IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
GENERAL RATE OF MAILWARUM AND COODEWARAM
(1800 - 1806 A.D.)

A.D. years	Fusly years	Gross Produce			Cirkar share			Per- centage of the Cirkar share	Per- centage of the Coode- warums
		Cullums.	M	M	Cullums	M	M		
1800/01	1,210	140,71,286	8	0	72,58,546	6	0	51	48
1801/02	1,211	117,42,312	10	0	55,30,171	4	0	47	52
1802/03	1,212	66,01,061	5	0	31,62,007	8	6	47	52
1803/04	1,213	77,79,811	0	0	32,26,486	3	0	41	58
1804/05	1,214	102,81,121	2	0	45,29,024	2	0	44	55
1805/06	1,215	114,93,809	4	0	47,53,058	4	0	41	58

Source:

Selections from the Records of the Thanjavur Collectorate, Collectorate Press, Thanjavur, 1872, pp.8-9.

The above table shows that the gross produce in Thanjavur also follows the trend of the wet and dry lands as given in the preceding tables. The years selected in this table are also the same which was given in the previous tables, and it was only the better analysis of the trend of the economy in different aspects. The year 1800-1801 recorded the gross produce at 140,71.286 cullums, which falls down to 114,93 cullums after experiencing fluctuations in other years. Thus all the three above tables make it clear that the economy of Thanjavur shows neither a growth nor was stagnant. It was fluctuating not only during the first decade of the nineteenth century but also shows a similar trend during the whole period of study.

Classification of Land Revenue Systems

During the years between 1750 and 1813, the inhabitants of Thanjavur district experienced three different types of land revenue systems. They are: i) the *amani* system, where the district directly supervised the agricultural operation and collected the tax: ii) the *pathakam* system, where the district gave the lands to the *pathakdars* and received its share from them directly and iii) the *dabirmuri* system, where the district had directly collected its tax from the cultivators.⁸⁸ Eventhough the Marathas adopted these systems, they did not develop any permanent system of their own. The rate of taxes too varied and the number of taxes never remained the same

⁸⁸ *Op.cit.*, p.91.

throughout the Maratha regime in Thanjavur for they were subject to frequent revisions.⁸⁹

For assessing the district's share the district measured the lands in terms of 'Veli',⁹⁰ (One 'Veli' was equal to 2,35,000 square feet, i.e. five 'Kanis', Kani⁹¹ (One 'Kani' was equal to 47,600 square feet, i.e. Four 'ma's), 'ma',⁹² (One 'Ma' was equal to 14,400 square feet, i.e. 100 'Kulis') and Kuli⁹³ (One 'Kuli' was equal to 144 square feet. In some areas one Thanjavur 'Kuli' was more or less equal to 147 1/2 square feet). So the 'Veli' was the largest unit and the 'Kuli' was the smallest unit.⁹⁴ This type of measurement of land is still prevalent in and around Thanjavur district.

During the Maratha's period, a bamboo stick, measuring fourteen man feet was used as the measuring rod. The actual length of the rod was twelve feet and one and a half inches.⁹⁵

In measuring the 'Sarvamanyam' (completely rent free lands, usually attached to the temples or institutions) lands, there was in use a different bamboo stick measuring twelve feet and

⁸⁹ Report of Thanjavur Commissioners, 1799, p.36.

⁹⁰ Charles Harris, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Thanjavur District Records, dated 1st July 1803, Vol.3201, p.39.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.39.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.40.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.40.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.40.

⁹⁵ Charles Harris, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Thanjavur District Records, dated 13th May, 1800, Vol.3200, p.297.

eight and a half inches in length. This increased the measurement of 'Veli' from 32,670 square feet to 32,889 square feet. After measuring the lands, they classified them into different categories and fixed the tax.

For the convenience of taxation, the district divided the land into two. Lands that were watered by rivers were called 'atupachel' or 'nanjai' or wet lands. Lands that depended on lakes and rain for cultivation were called 'manavari' or 'punjai' or dry lands.⁹⁶

The total area of cultivation in the river beds other than cauvery was 81,833 'velis'. The other rivers irrigated the entire Thanjavur district as mentioned below. Vennar river irrigated 28,509 'velis', Vellar river irrigated 17,657 'velis', Verasolagam river irrigated 14,032 'velis', Kudamurutty river irrigated 11,681 'velis' and Munnayar river irrigated 9,954 'velis'.⁹⁷

On the arrival of the Marathas, the 'amani' system of land revenue settlement or village settlement was in force in

⁹⁶ V. Karuppaiyan, *Koothur a Thanjavur Village, A Study of Changing Patterns of Land and Power Distribution*, Unpublished M.Litt. Dissertation, University of Madras, Madras, 1973, pp.3-19.

⁹⁷ Report for making Permanent Settlement, 1806, p.25.

Thanjavur.⁹⁸ At the beginning of the Maratha rule the age long 'amani' system fared well, but in the later years it was found to be inadequate. The officers involved in the collection were poorly paid and they turned corrupt. In an attempt to get the maximum benefit they interfered in the agricultural operations and the ryots left their fields fallow. Yet this system continued till the year 1804 with occasional breaks and changes until the British introduced the permanent revenue settlement.⁹⁹

As a result of the neglect of cultivation, the cultivable lands became fallow, manufacturers suffered, commerce declined and public revenue fell. In 1784, William Fullarton, the British Colonel, observed that Thanjavur was marked with the distinguishing features of a desert. The revenue at the beginning of the Maratha regime was 3,20,50,000 Kalams of Paddy¹⁰⁰ but at the end of their rule it fell steadily. The fall in revenue was 53,29 percent within a period of 125 years.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ B.S.Baliga, *Studies in the Madras Administration*, Madras, 1960, p.103.

⁹⁹ T.Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, Vol.II, 1857, p.775.

¹⁰⁰ W.Fullarton, *Letter to Madras Military Sundries*, dated 13th August, 1784, Vol.66, p.226.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.226.

The following table V-6 shows the amount of produce in Kalams.

TABLE V - 6
AMOUNT OF PRODUCE IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
DURING THE MARATHA'S RULE

Ruler	Period of Rule		Output	
1. Ekoji	(1676-1684)	--	320,000,00	Kalams
2. Shahji	(1684-1712)	--	320,500,00	Kalams
3. Serfoji.I	(1712-1728)	--	240,000,00	Kalams
4. Tukoji	(1728-1736)	--	240,000,00	Kalams
5. Baba Sahib	(1736-1737)	--	200,000,00	Kalams
6. Suguna Bai	(1737-1738)	--	200,000,00	Kalams
7. After the Death of Suguna Bai	(1738-1739)	--	200,000,00	Kalams
8. Pratap Singh	(1739-1763)	--	170,000,00	Kalams
9. Tulzaji	(1763-1787)	--	150,000,00	Kalams
10. Nawab	(1773-1776)	--	170,000,00	Kalams
11. On restoration	(1799)	--	150,000,00	Kalams

Source:

W.Fullarton, Letter to Madras Military Sundries, dated 13th August, 1784, Vol.66, p.226.

The above table states that the total output -- gradually reduces from 320,000,00 kalams in 1676 to 150,000,00 kalams in 1799. The decline was more marking after 1763. This trend was due to the political wars and other non-economic reasons such as the interference of European companies in the economic and political decisions of the rulers during this period.

For a brief period (1773-1776) the Thanjavur district was under the control of Nawab of Arcot, who employed 'Dabir Pandit' to make a new settlement.¹⁰² He put the whole district under 'amani' and called for the cultivator's own accounts of their produce. But this settlement was not actually put in operation and Tulzaji on his restoration in 1776 attempted to continue 'amani'.¹⁰³ The opposition of the people and the dishonesty of his own revenue servants compelled him to desist and to fall back on "the accustomed reputed produce" a smaller demand than that of the "Dabir Muri".¹⁰⁴

The following table V-7 shows the tax during the percentage of Tulzaji's rule in Thanjavur district.

TABLE V - 7
PERCENTAGE OF TAX DURING TULZAJI'S RULE
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1776 TO 1789

<u>Year</u>	<u>Government Share</u>
1776-1780	56%
1784-1785	56%
1786	53%
1787	54%
1788	56%
1789	57%

Source:

Charless Harris, *Letter to the Board of Revenue, Thanjavur District Records, Vol.3200, p.72.*

¹⁰² B. S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand Book, p. 92.*

¹⁰³ Report of the Thanjavur Commissioners, 1799, para 9 and 86.

¹⁰⁴ B. S. Baliga, *Op.cit., p 92.*

In fact, the revenue administration of the Marathas was characterised by oppressive settlements. As they changed the systems to serve their interests, the people found it extremely difficult to adjust. Had the Marathas stuck to any one of the three systems - 'amani', 'pathakam' and 'dabir-muri', revenue system would have shaped well and the subjects would have been well informed and the people would have been happy and prosperous. Their shifting of the systems, without looking into the difficulties and grievances of the people, put the entire region (kingdom) in chaos, disorder, resulting in the fall of revenue, defrauding and the corruption of the state officials and the instability of the king himself.

In turn, people expressed their protest in various ways like enmass evacuation, leaving the lands fallow and evading tax with the result that every change in the set-up added to their misery and every increase in taxation took them nearer to poverty.

AGRICULTURE

a) Paddy

Paddy cultivation forms the first important crop among the agricultural products of Thanjavur district and also paddy was the main source of income of the people of this region. Besides the staple crop was raised almost entirely by the artificial irrigation.¹⁰⁵ It was grown chiefly in the delta of the Cauvery

¹⁰⁵ v. Karuppaiyan, *Koothur, a Thanjavur Village, A Study of*

and to a much smaller extent in the upland portion of the district, under tanks fed by the local rainfall. The rice grown in Thanjavur consists chiefly of two species, viz. 'car' (kuruvai) and 'pishanam' (samba) each including minor varieties.¹⁰⁶

Of the total area of Thanjavur district 23,92,117 acres in local records about 55 percent or 13,06,713 acres were generally under the plough, 17 percent or 4,02,958 acres were cultivable but not cultivated (including land left fallow) and 28 percent or 6,82,446 were incultivable, or reserved for purposes other than agricultural. Of the cultivated area 12,31,944 acres, i.e., more than 94 per cent were food grains and of these 9,14,719 were irrigated rice lands.¹⁰⁷

In the four deltaic taluks of Kumbakonam, Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai), Sirkazhi and Nannilam, there was considerably larger proportion of land under cultivation including land devoted to food grains.

Changing Pattern of Land and Power Distribution, Unpublished M.Litt. Dissertation, University of Madras, Madras, 1973, pp.20-37.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.38-46.

¹⁰⁷ G. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Volume.II, Appendices, 1888, p.127.

TABLE : V -8
NET CROPPED AND NET IRRIGATED ACREAGES AND PADDY
PRODUCTION IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT, 1773-1807.

Year	Net cropped acreage	Net irrigated acreage (Mainly Paddy)	(2) as % of (1)	Gross paddy produce (a)* (Metric Tons)
1773-74		5,72,549		2,81,919
1774-75		5,79,332		2,91,574
1775-76		5,78,664		2,30,969
1776-77		5,85,454		3,09,848
1977-78		4,33,593		3,08,226
1778-79				2,89,308
1779-80				3,01,526
1780-81				45,594
1781-82				39,576
1782-83				1,10,413
1783-84				1,54,128
1784-85				1,88,737
1785-86				1,74,734
1786-87				1,90,599
1787-88				1,89,805
1788-89		3,37,302 (b) *		2,05,294
1789-90				2,30,691
1790-91				2,34,834
1792-93				2,53,937
1793-94				2,45,892
1794-95				2,63,741
1795-96				2,61,375
1800-01		5,30,215		3,08,441

Table continued...

1801-02		5,42,185		2,97,303
1802-03		4,19,206		1,67,364
1803-04		4,29,317		1,97,251
1804-05		4,72,681		2,62,197
1805-06		5,52,807		2,93,764
1806-07	6,49,534	4,51,561	69.5	2,91,572

Notes:

(a)* Tanjorean Kalams and British tons have been converted into metric tons.

(b)* Average for 1788,1789, 1793 and 1794.

Sources:

- 1) District Census Handbook, Thanjavur, 1961, Vol.1, pp.556-58.
- 2) Techno economic Survey of Madras, Government of Madras, Madras, 1960, p.94.
- 3) C.W.B. Zacharias, Madras Agriculture, Madras University, Economic Services, No.6, 1950, Appendix. I.

TABLE : V - 9
PADDY YIELDS PER NET IRRIGATED ACRE AND HECTARE
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT, FROM 1773 TO 1803

Year	Metric tons per acre per year	Metric tons per hectare per year
1773-74	0.49	1.22
1776-77	0.52	1.31
1793-94	0.75	1.87
1800-01	0.58	1.44
1802-03	0.39	0.98

Source: Techno economic survey of Madras, Government of Madras, 1960, p.94.

Note:

This table is derived from the earlier one (i.e.) Net cropped and net irrigated acreages and paddy production, for the selected years in Thanjavur District during 1773-1807.

The above two tables show the net cropped and net irrigated acreages and paddy production at different intervals of time during the study period i.e., from C.A.D 1773 to 1820.

From the figures available above in the former table, it appears that Thanjavur's average paddy yield per acre (or) per hectare per year fluctuated between the early 1770s and the early 1800s.

The above table further shows the average paddy yields in irrigated acres for selected years between 1773-74 and 1802-03. These figures were not the total estimate of the actual paddy yield per acre, for the dry and un-irrigated lands were excluded. From the account leaving aside the famine years of 1773-74 and 1802-03, the yield fluctuated between 0.52 metric tons per acre and 0.76 tons. The lands, probably, would have yielded on an average of more than 0.60 tons per acre before 1770, and during 1770s and 1780s the yields were less comparative because of the devastation caused by the Nizam's and Hyder Ali's invasions. Apart from the above tables which show the then condition in Thanjavur district, there is one more table (given below) that exhibits the trend in the paddy production as well as the revenue collected by the government.

TABLE : V - 10
FLUCTUATIONS IN PADDY PRODUCTION AND REVENUE
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1780 TO 1790

year	Paddy Produce (in kalams)	Circar Share (in kalams)	Value	Total Revenue (in Star pagodas)
1780	11,909,085	6,630,452	478,075	733,597
1781	1,800,807	1,107,567	271,901	368,904
1782	1,563,122	873,258	582,172	768,486
1783	4,360,911	2,432,102	500,173	707,168
1784	6,087,473	3,385,388	597,268	848,407
1785	7,454,397	4,331,231	495,836	766,206
1786	6,901,311	4,055,304	418,138	665,300
1787	7,527,956	4,349,894	449,929	695,850
1788	7,496,538	4,152,715	749,199	965,711
1789	8,108,306	4,451,190	650,845	881,262
1790	9,119,863	5,044,416	650,554	901,194

Source:

Thanjavur Commissioner's proceedings, statement of the nanjah or paddy produce of the Thanjavur's country for a series of years (1780-1790) extracted from the palace dufters.

From the table it is clear that though there was decline in the production of paddy from 1781 to 1790, the volume of governments share of revenue remained the same. Even during the famine years, there appeared to be a full collection of land revenue without remission to the ryots. The declining revenue, the ruined economy, the deplorable condition of the ryots all, at once, siezed the urban centres in Thanjavur district. All

these conditions had a greater impact on the crop production throughout the district.

b) Dry and Green Crops

Dry land crops were cultivated to a small extent in this district. They were chiefly: i) varagoo, ii) kelvaragu or raggy (Eleusine Coracana), iii) Cumboo, iv) Cholan (millet) and v) Toovaray or Dal. Varagoo and dal were grown chiefly at the western end of the upland portion of the district. Raggy and Cumboo were cultivated in small patches both in and beyond the delta.¹⁰⁸ Besides, groundnuts, gingerly, tamarind, turmeric, bamboo, cassuarina, cashewnut, sweetpotato, tapioca, cotton, casterseeds, black and green grams were also grown enormously in this region.¹⁰⁹ In the delta these crops were raised either on high lands which were unirrigated or as an auxiliary crop on rice fields. In the latter case they were sown either before or after rice.

Green crops were common in Thanjavur and were grown chiefly in backyards of houses and on river margins. The green crops generally raised were onions, radishes, sweet potatoes, and the various kinds of greens, of which the most prized were coriander and curry leaves.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ K. Aravamudan, "The Economic Geography of Thanjavur District", *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol. 12, No. 2, July 1937, Madras, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.153.

¹¹⁰ B.S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Hand Book*, Madras, 1957, pp.

(c) Cash/Wet (Rotational) Crops

Plantain cultivation came second in the order of importance among the products of this region. Plantain was grown as a cash crop. Plantain leaves were very famous in Thanjavur, Kumbakonam and Karaikkal region and they were sent to the remaining places of Tamil Nadu and other areas. Betel was the next important cash crop. Betel trade was flourishing in this locality for many years. The important centres for collecting betel leaves and plantains such as Ayyampettai, Papanasam and Pandaravadai were located near Thanjavur.¹¹¹ The major wet crops of this region were sugarcane, tobacco, vegetable and fruits. They were all rotational crops.¹¹²

(d) The Village

Each subha was divided into a number of Simais and these were again sub divided into Maganams and then into villages. There were 4225 villages in the Maratha kingdom and each village was a self-contained unit with its establishment *karnam* (village accountant), a *nirganti* (distributor of irrigation water), a *vettiyan* (a village servant), a *Talaiyari* (village watchman), watcher of stray, cattle etc.¹¹³

160-161.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.160.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.161.

¹¹³ K. R. Subramaniam, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1988, pp. 77-84.

The following table V-11 shows the number of Maganams and the villages besides its cultivated land in velis and grain production in kalams in the study region.

TABLE : V - 11
ECONOMY OF VARIOUS ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS, MAGANAMS AND
VILLAGES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT - FROM 1750 TO 1773

Administrative Divisions	Maganams	Villages	Land (velis)	Grain (Kalams)
Kumbhakonam (Kumbakonam)	46	661	17,360	43,70,000
Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai)	40	852	14,180	33,50,000
Mannarkoyil (Mannarkudi)	56	1,628	27,840	55,90,000
Tiruvaiyaru (Thiruvaiyaru)	46	646	19,080	38,14,000
Sirkali (Sirkazhi)	15	438	6,750	17,80,000
Total	203	4,225	85,210	18,904,000

Source:

A general account of the kingdom of Thanjavur, Fort. St. George Records, 7 December 1773, pp.325-331.

The above table exhibits the number of villages and maganams in Thanjavur district. In addition to this, the extent of land and the production of grain is also mentioned. These minute details pointed out the system of revenue administration and their respective divisions in Thanjavur between 1750-1813.

The categorisation of revenue divisions are important for the extraction of revenue from the ryots. The lowest unit of categorisation, the village, is presented in the next table.

The table given below shows the classification of villages into samudayam, palabhogam and ekabhogam in Thanjavur district during the period of study.

TABLE : V - 12

CLASSES OF VILLAGES UNDER SAMUDAYAM, PALABHOGAM AND EKABHOGAM IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT

In 1807 a Committee appointed to report on the project of making a permanent settlement in Thanjavur found that there were three classes of villages in the district, which were named accordingly to the tenure on which they were held. These were:

1) Samudayam, of which there were	..	1,774 Villages
2) Palabhogam, of which there were	..	3,303 Villages
3) Ekabhogam, of which there were	..	1,807 Villages
		- - - - -
Total Villages	..	5,783 Villages

Sources:

- 1) H.J.Stokes, C.S.Negapatnam, The custom of "Kareiyid" or Periodical Redistribution of land in Thanjavur.
- 2) T.Venkatasamy, A Manual of the District of Thanjavur in the Madras Presidency, Government Press, Madras, Vol.II, p.xxxviii.

Apart from the categorisation of villages, the above table also shows the number of villages under each category. This example makes it clear the type of ownership of land under these categorisations. The differences in the ownership of land attracts various types of taxes. For example, the estates had one type of tax, whereas the ryots personal holding had another type of it. Thus the rate of tax also changes according to the type of ownership of land. These categorisation of villages, eventually, shows the variations in the contribution of land revenue to the government.

e) Revenue Administration

The prevailing system of revenue administration in Thanjavur was 'ryotwary'.¹¹⁴ The general average of the government assessment for the district for irrigated lands were Rupees 4, Annas 14 per acre, and for unirrigated lands Rupees 1, Annas 4 per acre. The average net profit per acre of the ryotwary holder was estimated at Rupees 9 Annas 10 for irrigated lands and Rupees 2 Annas 7 Pies 4 for unirrigated lands. In towns, wages were paid in money.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Mohammed Mustafa, *British Policy Towards Inam Settlements in Madras Presidency 1801-1871*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, December 1995, pp.80-120.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.120-128.

e) Landless Labourers

Landless labourers constituted about one half of the adult male population of Thanjavur district and of these nearly two thirds were engaged in agriculture. They were chiefly Pallars and Pariahs who were permanently attached to the farms. The remaining were low caste Sudras who immigrated from time to time from the Marava region, lying between the Cauvery delta and Cape Comarin. They went by the general name of "Terkattiyans" or "Southerners".¹¹⁶

IRRIGATION

The Cauvery has from the earliest times been used for irrigation from its source in the Coorg mountains to its delta in the Thanjavur district. It waters probably a greater area than any river in India.¹¹⁷ The Cauvery delta was the heart-land of the Thanjavur kingdom producing a steady revenue and with a high level of agricultural productivity. The land was flat, irrigable and cultivated and no serious problems of agricultural pursuits during the period under study were encountered.

The great natural advantages of irrigation which Thanjavur possesses had been more or less improved upon many centuries, before the district became a British territory. The Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of Thanjavur, was utilised for

¹¹⁶ K.R. Subramanian, *Op.cit.*, p.128.

¹¹⁷ G. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration in the Madras Presidency*, Vol.I (63), Part.II, 1888, p.390.

irrigation to a small extent. The main branch of the Cauvery enters Thanjavur district about 8 miles east of Tiruchirapalli and spreading out into innumerable small channels. This forms a vast network extending down to the sea and converts the northern portion of the district, commonly known as the Cauvery delta, into one huge rice field.

The ancient native work, a masonry dam, known as "The Grand Anicut", prevents the waters of the Cauvery branch being wholly drawn off into the Coleroon. This work, which has been justly called "the bulwark of the fertility of Thanjavur"¹¹⁸ was traditionally believed to have been constructed by a king of the Chola dynasty in the 3rd century A.D.¹¹⁹ In the later period, these dams were continued to exist. However, the survival of these here stated repairs to be undertaken by the government. Hence the government was forced to spend money on measurement of these dams.

The following table shows the maramut expenditure on irrigation works, roads and bridges in Thanjavur district during the period under study:

¹¹⁸R. Rukmani, " The Process of Organisation and Socio-economic Change in Tamil Nadu 1901-81" *Unpublished Ph.D thesis*, Madras University, Madras, 1993, p. 137.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.137.

TABLE : V - 13
STATEMENT OF MARAMUT EXPENDITURE ON IRRIGATION WORKS,
ROADS AND BRIDGES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1800 TO 1813

A.D.	Fusli Years	Expenditure on Irri- gation works	Expenditure on Roads & Bridges	Total Govt. Expen- diture
1800	1210	--	--	--
1801	1211	--	--	1,68,177
1802	1212	--	--	1,29,547
1803	1213	--	--	1,09,858
1804	1214	--	--	86,643
1805	1215	--	--	1,09,856
1806	1216	--	--	1,17,956
1807	1217	--	--	75,195
1808	1218	10,36,113	3,45,370	38,376
1809	1219	--	--	32,335
1810	1220	--	--	88,402
1811	1221	--	--	55,257
1812	1222	--	--	90,013
1813	1223	--	--	1,02,510
Grand Total		10,36,113	3,45,370	12,04,125

Source:

Revenue Board Office, Fort St. George, dated 21st May, 1855.

Note:

The term maramut, so well known in this Presidency, includes all works of irrigation and communication, channels, tanks, bridges, roads, etc.

The above table mentions about the expenditure on irrigation works besides roads and bridges in Thanjavur district during the later part of the study period.

The expenditure from 1800 to 1829 has been taken from the collector's statement received from the Government. As the expenditure is not shown under distinct heads before 1815, it is assumed that 3/4 of it was on irrigation and 1/4 on other works.

The following table shows the collection of revenue for the maramut charges:

TABLE : V - 14
COLLECTION OF MARAMUT CHARGES ON IRRIGATION WORKS, ROADS AND
BRIDGES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1801 TO 1815

MARAMUT CHARGES				
Fusly	Year	Charges incurred in the Repair and construction of Roads, Bridges and Ghauts	Total (in rupees)	Average for five years
1211	1801	--	1,68,000	1,21,000
1212	1802	--	1,29,000	
1213	1803	--	1,09,000	
1214	1804	--	93,000	
1215	1805	--	1,08,000	
1216	1806	--	1,17,000	58,000
1217	1807	--	75,000	
1218	1808	--	38,000	
1219	1809	--	32,000	
1220	1810	--	88,000	

Table continued...

1221	1811	--	55,000	}	83,000
1222	1812	--	90,000		
1223	1813	--	1,02,000		
1224	1814	--	74,000		
1225	1815	--	94,000		

Source:

Revenue Board Office, Fort. St. George, dt. 21st May, 1855.

The above table highlighted the collection of charges on the same work, which was mentioned earlier i.e., irrigation works as well as roads and bridges in the study region. So the previous table discussed about the Maramut expenditure and the this table shows that how the government collected the charges incurred for the repair and construction of roads and bridges etc., in Thanjavur district during the same period of time in detail. These attempts of the government resulted in the increase of irrigated lands in Thanjavur district.

The aggregate irrigated areas in Thanjavur district, excluding the Zamindaries, was about 965,878 acres, of which about 869,658 acres were irrigated from river channels, and about 96,220 acres from tanks.¹²⁰

The Cauvery river together with its tributaries was fed by the rains of both monsoons and had an abundant and constant flow for nine months in a year. At the head of the delta it was

¹²⁰ Mohammed Mustafa, *Op.cit.*, pp.33-39.

4,400 feet wide, had a drainage area of 27,705 square miles, and a maximum flood discharge of 2,84,000 cubic feet per second. The total average annual discharge was about 4,90,000 millions of cubic feet, equivalent to 17.68 inches of discharge from the whole drainage basin. The irrigation of the Thanjavur delta dates to a very remote period.¹²¹

The total area of delta was 14,02,880 acres (2,192 square miles) of which 9,00,000 acres were irrigated during the period between 1804 and 1836.¹²² The irrigation in the delta was fully supplied, when the river stands 5.7 feet on the cauvery regulating dam, which represents a discharge of 12,330 cubic feet per second. The upper Coleroon anicut was built across the head of the coleroon, with the body wall 2,789 feet in length and was founded on a double row of walls.¹²³ (About the year 1800 A.D. the Thanjavur district ceded to the British and in 1804 it was found that the upper Coleroon anicut work started in Thanjavur district).¹²⁴

The anicut was provided with under sluices and a bridge, of six feet between parapet walls was built across it. The Cauvery regulating dam practically a continuation of the anaicut was

¹²¹ G. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I (63), part-II, 188, p.390.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 399.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

¹²⁴ N. Swaminatha Aiyar, "The Cauvery Delta", *Journal of Madras Geographical Association*, Madras, 1957, p.80.

built across the Cauvery branch at its head and was 1,950 feet in length from wing to wing. The highest flood ever known in the river rose to 13.20 above floor of the dam.¹²⁵

The delta of Thanjavur was very well suited for cultivation of paddy and sugarcane. Beyond the delta area too, the soil was rich in red loam, black soil, sandy light soil and yellow clay soil. Besides paddy and sugarcane, coconut trees, plantain, tobacco gardens, indigo, jasmine flowers and palmyra trees were also seen widely. James Welsh rightly called it the "garden of the Carnatic".¹²⁶

The jungles and forests are very limited in extent. In the past, jungles abounded with antelopes, spotted deer and wild hogs, but they vanished with the extension of cultivation. In addition to the scenic beauty of the country, the great pagodas¹²⁷ or temples of Thanjavur and Tiruvarur, numerous choultries, the Minaret of Nagore and the Tower of Nagapattinam (one of the principal settlements of the Dutch) render the land attractive.

The socio-economic conditions in Thanjavur district on the basis of statistical analysis, suggests a period of decline of urban centres politically there was a break down in the central dominance. This could be seen in the presence of various

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.86.

¹²⁶ William Hickey, *The Thanjavur Maratha Principality in Southern India*, Madras, 1872, pp.4-28.

¹²⁷ Pagoda : In the ordinary sense pagoda means a temple. Pagoda was also a coin in circulation during the period under study. A pagoda was valued at rupees three and a star pagoda rupees three and a half.

political powers in and around the Thanjavur district. The Nawab of Arcot attempted to annex the Thanjavur district. He attempted to ruin the existing vibrant-economy of Thanjavur district. There was a decline in production activity. In 1780, the paddy production was 11,909,085 kalams and in 1790 it was only 9,119,863 kalams in Thanjavur district. There was a decline in total revenue collection from paddy between 1775 and 1780. In 1775-1776, the total revenue collection was 960,199 (star pagodas), but in 1779-1780 it was just 733,597 (star pagodas). It was clearly indicated that there was a steep down fall in revenue collection in Thanjavur district during the period under study. The collection of paddy produced also came down from 200,000,00 kalams in 1740s to 150,000,00 kalams in 1800s. Yields, throughout the 1770s and 1780s were poor because of the devastation caused by the Nawab of Carnatic besides the Nizam's and Haidar's invasions.

Famines attacked the district during the years 1773-1774 and 1802-1803. On the other hand, British were trying to assert themselves politically and economically. Due to these factors Marathas began to lose their control on their territory. During the study period, there were fluctuations in the collections of revenue and the production of grain. All these factors led to the decline in population from 1,058,424 to 655,271. There might have been deaths due to famines and thereby large scale migration to other places due to the political chaos and instability.

Thus, Thanjavur district present a depressive picture of social and economic conditions during the latter half of eighteenth century. However these conditions began to stabilise in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In the next chapter, an elaborate discussion on trade and commerce activities in Thanjavur district during the period between 1750 and 1813 C.A.D. is taken up.

CHAPTER - VI

**TRADE AND COMMERCE,
1750 - 1813**

This chapter focuses on a short history of the Marathas and the Europeans' presence and their economic activities mainly related to trade in the study region from 1750 to 1813. A few notable features of the Maratha rulers commercial activities up to 1813, as gathered from the translated Modi records are also given in this chapter. It also deals with the hinterland, inland and maritime activities of these powers as well as natives of the Thanjavur district.

The town of Thanjavur was famous for several outstanding features. Thanjavur, the capital of the district, was a town of historic importance. It was one of the ancient towns in the Tamil country, and was a place noted for the existence of many a ruling dynasty, such as the Cholas, Nayakas and Marathas, who had risen, flourished and decayed. Thus politically, it has been an independent unit for a long time.

In 1749, Thanjavur was occupied by British. It was the first interference of the British and was reduced by the English in 1771. In 1799, the ruler of the Maratha dynasty of Thanjavur by name Serfoji II (1799-1832), handed over the Thanjavur country to the English (British) and received pension (the geneological table of the Maratha rulers in the study region is given in the appendix). So the transfer of administration from the great Marathas to the British took place in the year 1799. They ceded Thanjavur to the British keeping the fort as their residence and

an estate for their support (Thanjavur was later annexed to the British empire under the 'doctrine of lapse' (1855) by Dalhousie.

During the Medieval times, Thanjavur was very famous for its international trade and commerce activities. The Medieval rulers of Thanjavur used to send shiploads of merchandise and articles of luxury to distant ports, mainly to the South East Asian nations as well as ceylon (Sri Lanka). But, a good portion of international commerce as well as internal and coastal trade was in the hands of merchants, who used to form themselves into guilds and enjoy exceptional privileges. The king offered them facilities by granting lands and houses for residences and warehouses. The guilds in turn showed their gratitude by making endowments for temples and charitable institutions. One such celebrated guild called "Nanadesis" engaged in extensive foreign and interanl trade, sending its representatives for selling precious stones, spices and drugs, wholesale as well as retail to Thanjavur and its sorrounding areas.¹

Settlements of European Companies

The Companies, settled with royal omissions in self-governing ports. The Danes arrived in 1629, the Dutch in 1660, the French in 1739, and the British in 1749. They were sustained by the Melvaram of lands granted to them and by their profits. They imported horses, weapons, ammunition, gold and

¹F. R. Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, Madras, 1935, pp.159-160

silver, and baser metals, for the monarch and the state class, and exported textiles, spices, drugs, pearls, art metalware, and precious stones.²

During sixteenth and seventeenth centuries trade activities with Europe were carried out from different parts in Tamil Nadu and particularly in Thanjavur district by the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, English and the French. The role of foreign trade occupied an important position for the development of urban centres in India especially in the coromandel coastal regions of Tamil Nadu and Thanjavur in particular. The establishment of European factories at different places in the study region of Thanjavur district contributed for the increased importance of some places. For example : Tranquebar, a little known port earlier started receiving importance with the establishment of the Danish factory. Similarly Nagore and Nagapattinam (port towns) began to get importance with the establishment of Portuguese, Dutch and British factories. In Karaikkal, the French established a factory and expanded the town.

Foreign trade, in particular the commercial transaction between Thanjavur district and other European nationalities like Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, British and French played an important role in the development of urban centres, especially during the colonial expansion of the period under study.

²Kathlean Gough, *Rural Society in Southeast India*, Cambridge, 1981, pp.36-45.

The Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first among the European trading settlers to arrive in Thanjavur district. And they called it "the city of the coromandel". However, their largest station on the East coast was at Nagapattinam during the years 1612 - 1660. The Portuguese had a trading settlement in Nagapattinam for many years, till it was annexed and fortified in A.D. 1642. In keeping with Portuguese commercial policies in the Indian ocean, they permitted uninterrupted flow of the traditional trade from there. Thus Nagapattinam's coastal trade continued under the portuguese. Among the native merchants, the Muslims had to migrate to Nagore due to the large presence to Portuguese in Nagapattinam.

The Dutch

After the Portuguese, the united East India Company of the Netherlands (Dutch) came to this region. They established a factory at Nagapattinam and indulged in various trade and commerce activities in this coromandel region of Thanjavur during the period from 1660 to 1781. In 1660, the Dutch got possession of it and in 1689 made it the seat of their governor. A new castle was built at a cost of 16,000,000 guilders which far surpassed Fort Geldria (pulicat) in size and strength. The Dutch have left a deep impression on Nagapattinam. There still remains several structures erected by the Dutch like (i) the Flag Staff,

(ii) St.Peter's Church, (iii) the Holland Bungalow, (iv) the Governor's House and (v) the Dutch Market.

The Dutch later conquered the Nagapattinam port. From the Portuguese in 1658. The Nayak of Thanjavur helped the dutch against the Portuguese in the hope of recovering the place from alien rule. When he was disappointed in this, he tried unsuccessfully to drive our the Dutch who entrenched their hold over the port. To this they subsequently added neighboring villages by flight of trade away from Nagapattinam to Nagore was accelerated when Dutch, because of their restrictive commercial policies.³

Indian shipping, both Hindu and Muslim, operated from Nagore. During the study period, Nagapattinam was primarily a centre of Dutch trade where Indian shipping was also permitted as long as it did not conflict with Dutch interests. With the flowing dutch hold on the South East Asian archipelago, Nagapattinam's flourishing trade was severely constricted.⁴

Under the Dutch, the Nagapattinam port handled a substantial trade in textiles, rice and other country produce and the import of South East Asian goods. In the eighteenth century Nagapattinam declined from its former greatness as one of the busiest parts of the Bay of Bengal.⁵

³S. Arasaratnam, "Dutch East Indian Company and the Kingdom of Madura: 1650 - 1700", *Tamil Culture*, X.1, 1962, pp.49-73.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp.70-72.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp.72-73.

The Danes

The third European trading company occupied in this region belonged to the Danes. The Danes occupied and established fortresses and trade activities in the Tranquebar region of Thanjavur sea coast. The Tranquebar trade under the Danish flag was regarded as the Golden age of Denmark's trade with this region between 1772 and 1808.

TRANQUEBAR

Tranquebar was the centre of Danish operations in India and it had little trade before 1770. Danish neutrality in the European wars and the increasing clandestine trading between London and India led to its importance in the period 1772-1807.⁶ The charter renewal of the Danish Company permitted the issue of licenses to private traders in 1772 and this was used by British private traders to mount several expeditions from the coromandel.

Tranquebar was their important centre particularly in the initial period. The networks of private trade operated by traders like by name Jourdon supplied piece goods which were in fact the sole article of export, a ship of 500-600 tons carrying approximately 1100 bales. Gradually, the importance of Serampore

⁶O. Feldback, *Indian Trade under the Danish Flag :1773-1808*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1963, Chapter.I, pp. 3-7.

increased; this was evidenced by the increase in voyages from Serampore without touching Tranquebar. 75% of the Danish trade at the turn of the century was from Bengal. This included both private and Asiatic Company trade. As Bombay trade was negligible, the trade from Coromandel region of Tranquebar might be one third of the total. While Feldback (1969) has provided detailed accounts of the sale value of commodities, it was very difficult to estimate Tranquebar's share, particularly because of its decline.⁷ He established both the decline of exports from coromandel as well as the fall in the quantity of textiles exported to Europe by the Danish Asiatic Company.⁸

The trade with Tranquebar, though not large in quantity, was significant evidence, because of the links which subsisted between the private British trade and the Danish. Danish exports of coromandel goods from Tranquebar to Europe had virtually ceased in the year 1797. The importance of this port town could be known from the following table, which shows the trading activity of this port.

⁷*Ibid.*, p.216.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp.216-218.

TABLE : VI - 1

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS IN VILLAGES IN DANISH TERRITORY

On one bag rice should be in duty	..	8 cash
On 1000 arecanuts	-do-	3 cash
On tamarind per fanam	-do-	5 cash
On gallnuts	-do-	2 cash
On linen, silk	-do-	1 cash
On spices, etc.	-do-	1 cash
On sugar	-do-	1 cash
On one bag paddy	-do-	10 cash
On one "tuck" tobacco	-do-	9 cash
On oil per fanam	-do-	2 cash
On betel leaves	-do-	10 cash
On one "bag" gingerly seed	1 Fanam	40 cash

(The duty to be paid when the seed is brought to
the oil-mill)

On one bullock the duty is 1 cash

On Horses 4,3, or 2 Danish Rix Dollars

A yearly tax of 9 fanams was levied on all oil-mills. All bazaars (except in Tillaly where trade was free) shall pay the following tax :

A large bazaar daily	..	4 cash
A small bazaar daily	..	2 cash

Source :

Calendar containing Notifications (1779-1824) issued by the Danish Administration at Tranquebar Danish Records dt. 11th August, 1779. Serial No.1, Government Press, Madras, 1908, p.1.

All goods imported by sea and for which duty has been paid at the Sea Custom office and permit obtained were duty free when imported into the villages. All goods belonging to the king or the Danish Asiatic Company were duty free if correctly entered at the Custom office. The weavers needed to pay no duty on cloth manufactured by themselves for their own or their family's use. The cloth however should be stamped by the Custom officer before it was washed. All Indian goods could be warehoused duty free (provided a written declaration of their value was given to the Custom officer) for one year and six weeks, after which period they should either be exported or duty should be paid on them. Danish subjects may export goods duty free to foreign places on the coast in order to try to sell them, provided the value and a six months declaration was given to the custom officer. After six months the goods should be either exported again or duty paid to them.⁹

In all cases of violation of the principle of the customs the offenders shall be punished by fine and the goods would be confiscated, one half part of which would be given to the custom officer, the other half to the informer.

Custom officers shall not collect the so-called "magamy", the duty paid to the temples on all exported and imported goods. The temple servants should do this on their own.

⁹Calendar containing Notifications (1779-1824) issued by the Danish Administration at Tranquebar Danish Records dt. 11th August, 1779. Serial No.1, Government Press, Madras, 1908, p.1.

The weavers shall inform the custom office, when they bring their goods to the bazaars or to the merchants. The duty was then to be paid by the merchants after the goods were sold or exported. When duty was paid on linen it shall be stamped on both ends with the custom office seal. No washerman shall dare under paid of corporal punishment to wash unstamped new linen chintz.¹⁰

Complaints regarding the custom were to be referred to the Finance Alderman pro tempore who may refer the matter to the Government or institute regular legal proceedings. If the money involved in the case exceeds two hundred rupees the case should be brought before the High Court.¹¹

The following table shows the customs duty on Imports and Exports in Thanjavur port.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.1.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p.1.

TABLE : VI - 2
CUSTOMS REGULATIONS WITHIN TRANQUEBAR LAND PORT

The duty was here calculated on the basis of "per cent" and the table contains both the export and import duty :

	Import	Export
	Per cent	Per cent
On paddy	3	2 1/2
On ginger, tobacco, betel, tamarind, linen, silk, spices, printed calico	5	2 1/2
On all European goods	2	none

Source :

Calendar containing Notifications (1779-1824) issued by the Danish Administration at Tranquebar Danish Records dt. 11th August, 1779, Serial No.1, Government Press, Madras, 1908, p.2.

Tobacco Trade Regulations outside the town of Tranquebar

The tobacco trade was a Royal Monopoly and could be carried on only by those licensed by the Government. The licensee should always keep good tobacco and sell to all who wish to buy.

The tobacco should be sold at the following rates: Quid of tobacco, best quality, 1 tuck 4 1/2 fanams; Jafnapatnam tobacco, best quality, 4 fanams for 1 tuck; tobacco second quality for

cheroots, 1 tuck 3 1/2 fanams; 105 cheroots should cost 1 fanam. One cheroot shall weight one pagoda's weight. One cash worth of tobacco shall weight 3/4 pagoda's weight.

The cultivator shall sell all his tobacco to the licensed trader, but he may keep one tuck for his own use for each "pair of oxen plough land" he cultivates for tobacco. If the grower hides tobacco he was punished either with fine or corporal punishment and the tobacco was given to the licensee.

On tobacco imported from foreign places a tax of 2 1/2 fanams per tuck shall be paid to the licensee. If anyone is found to have more than one cheroot of foreign tobacco which has not been entered at the custom office he will be punished with fine or corporal punishment and the tobacco confiscated.

If the licensee keeps tobacco unfit for consumption it shall be confiscated and thrown into the sea and a fine was imposed on him. If he keeps foreign tobacco inferior in quality to that prescribed he was liable to heavy punishment. Legal proceedings were to be conducted according to the rules in the preceding regulations.

Tobacco Trade Regulations within the town of Tranquebar

With a few exceptions almost the same regulations were applied as the preceding regulation inside the Tranquebar. A tax of 1 cash shall besides the regular duty be paid to the licensee on each caveli of betel-leaves (a caveli shall contain 50 leaves). Any one who has more than three leaves of betel which

has not been reported should be punished with fine or corporal punishment and the leaves confiscated. Besides the regular duty a tax of 5 per cent should be paid by the licensee on all tamarind and curka imported into the town. The privilege of collecting a tax of 2 cash from each bazaar in the town also belongs to the licensee.¹²

The British

The British came to India as traders and established their colony only for the purpose of trade. They carried their trade activities even after they became the rulers of India. During the period under study, the Marine department of the Madras Presidency was efficiently involved in the commercial activities. The British traders exploited the wealth of India in the name of exports and brought their luxurious articles for their own comfortable living from England in the name of imports.

Thanjavur was an important centre for sea-borne trade ever since its establishment by the British East India Company. The greater portion of the east coast of India was promptly utilized by the Britishers for the handling of the import and export merchandise. Studies of Thanjavur trade during the period of imperial expansion (i.e. from the mid eighteenth century onwards) have been dominated by the theme of foreign trade and particular, trade with Great Britain. Trade, trading capitals and markets,

¹² Calendar containing Notifications (1779-1824) issued by the Danish Administration at Tranquebar Danish Records dt. 11th August, 1779, Serial No.1, Government Press, Madras, 1908, p.2.

both within and beyond the study region continued to be the company's abiding concerns.¹³

The French

The last European trading company landed and occupied the Coromandel coast was the French. Karaikkal (during the study period was a part of the Thanjavur district) was considered to be the most important trading settlements of the French in the study region. They established trade and commerce activities from this region during the period between 1750 and 1816.¹⁴

From the point of view of South Asian commerce, the 17th Century was the period of expansion while the 18th was one of stagnation and even of decline. It was in this situation that the era of competitive European commerce dawned in the Asian waters and, while in the preceding century the Portuguese were the only Europeans to trade through the cape route at their leisurely pace, there came successively the Dutch, the English, the French.

Foreign settlements were freely permitted by the rulers of coastal states, as they were aware of the advantages of trade and traffic within their domains. The Carnatic coast was soon littered with such settlements, beginning with the Portuguese at Nagapattinam and after their decline the Dutch at Nagapattinam,

¹³ Asiya Siddiqui (ed.) *Trade and Finance in Colonial India: 1750-1860*, Delhi, 1995, pp.1-3.

¹⁴ G.B.Malleson, *History of the French in India*, London, 1893, pp.78-79.

the English at Devanampattinam, the Danes at Tranquebar, and the French at Karaikkal. In many of these places concessions were given towards the constructions of forts, factories and store-houses, concessions in tolls and tariffs, securities for the collection of bad debts and legal privileges over their citizens and others who lived under their jurisdiction. Everyone of these settlements developed into flourishing business centres in that area, the most noteworthy among them being Tranquebar, Nagapattinam and later Karaikkal. They showed a resilience through frequent changes of interior government and though they owed their continuance primarily to their exertions, succeeding indigenious governments learned to value these avenues of external trade and reconfirmed privileges granted by their predecessors.

Both the Dutch and the English were never satisfied with the amount of textiles they could negotiate and were always looking for more, especially for the European market. Every effort was made to establish contact with the centres of production, to assure supplies of textiles to the desired quantity and quality and equally important, to deprive competitors of an advantage.

The Indian merchants appear to have arrived at a modous vivendi with these new authorities for mutual benefit. They also functioned as representatives of the Europeans, safeguarding their interest, helping in ironing out disputes with land power and in securing concessions for them. This is a significant function performed by the merchants, one that assumes increasing importance. Many of them were going on deputations on behalf of

their European clients, interceding on their behalf with the administrative officials and helping to smooth the flow of trade. Then there were also the employees of the European Companies, the dubash or interpreter, the clerk, the accountant and many other minor functionaries. They were generally men of some education, obviously drawn from the upper castes. A number of Brahmins begin to function in this way, even in the seventeenth Century; the classic example of a dubash in the 18th Century was Ananda Rangapillai, the interpreter and confidant of Dupleix. As indigenous enterprise declines in this period, more people take service under the Europeans as subsidiary functionaries.

The decline of indigenous enterprise and of the merchant groups was a marked phenomenon of the eighteenth Century. The introduction of European capitalist joint stock venture and sea-borne trade in vessels of much bigger tonnage brought in a new dimension into Indian trade. What was not appropriated by these massive organisations was cornered by the self-assertive and brash privateers, the European country captains, who increasingly became important in the eighteenth Century. It has already been noted above that Indian enterprise shifted to brokerage in the face of this competition in sea-borne traffic. A number of factors led to their dropping out of these functions and to their decline by the origins in the political instability of the time.

After the central control over Mughal dominions weakened in the south, the Nizam of Hyderabad was the effective authority. In the course of time even his authority became nominal and real power was wielded by the Nawab of the Carnatic who was stationed at Arcot. The administration of the conquered Tamil districts was under him and he appointed various officials of his army to rule over different parts. These offices were much sought after because they were lucrative and, in regard to the land revenues and other taxes, the method of auction was widely adopted.¹⁵

It is reasonable to assume that the officials looked upon wealthy merchants too as their objects of prey. It is recorded that in the middle of the eighteenth century, merchants were reluctant to reveal liquid assets for fear of extortion. The credit-worthiness of the merchant had declined. While previously there were many merchants who could invest up to 500,000 Rupees, individually or in a cumulative fund, now they were found to be unable to do so. They asked for substantial advances before they took contracts for the supply of cloth and quite understandably the Europeans were reluctant to make advances in an insecure climate. It was difficult to understand how this decline took place, except in a context of extortion, bribery and excessive taxation. Sometimes merchants sought the protection of their European client against local officials but the Europeans were as yet in no position to offer such protection. By the 1750s many

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.193.

of them had returned to their ancestral villages. Some were bankrupt or in dire need. Others had taken up permanent subordinate employment with Europeans. Those who did still have some capital probably converted it into gold and hid it away from the prying eyes of officials. The appreciation in the value of gold coins, such as the pagoda, in certain parts of the country and its subsequent scarcity led to the belief that they were being smelted down for gold.

Another factor indicative of trends was the drastic rise of prices recorded from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Both the English and the Dutch factories complained every year of increasing prices of textiles, cotton, yarn, indigo and various dyes. Brokers were asking for an increase in the price of all varieties of woven and painted cloth and there were interminable arguments with the principals before the conclusion of each contract. Basic to all this was the increasing price of rice. At all times this commodity was susceptible to fluctuations in price depending on the harvest. But there is noted a marked difference between the standard price in a good year in the seventeenth century from that in the eighteenth century. One of the factors that caused this was undoubtedly the unsettled conditions in the country and the resultant decline in productivity.

There was the ever-increasing demand for rice in this period; with the expanding consumption and trade of the Europeans, rice brought to the market in Thanjavur was snapped up

in no time and in fact there were advance orders. The Thanjavur officials held a near monopoly in this commodity through their hold on marketing and land revenues. One estimate puts the rice exports of Thanjavur at Five Million Rupees. "The large supply of surplus of exports over imports also led to increase in prices. Coromandel was always known among European traders as a gold-draining area and this necessity to use bullion in the Coromandel trade also had the effect of putting up prices." The increase in the price of essential commodities put up the price of labour.

The annual trade surplus of the region as a whole was substantial and continued through the period. Again one can only speculate. Almost all the regimes of the period were militaristic - that is to say, based on presence of large standing armies which also performed administrative functions. The military power of Carnatic Nawab was enormous and must have consumed a great amount of money. Even in the Nayak kingdoms, the emphasis of the administration was military rather than civilian.¹⁶ The Carnatic Nawab thrived on monetary contributions from the subordinate rulers. The Thanjavur King once had to buy off a threatened invasion with 75 lakhs of Rupees. Such exgratia payments were frequent in this period. This must have been where the money went. The necessity to create and maintain mobile and thrustful military machines was a burden on the country and

¹⁶R. Satyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madurai, Madras, 1924, pp.7-21.*

should have consumed the surplus revenue. It was very cynically demonstrated in the period of the Anglo-French conflict in the Carnatic and the Deccan when both powers fleeced their proteges with the use of armed power whenever they were in need of money.

From the 1730 these trends were accelerated. Carnatic political power penetrated southwards and the Nayak kingdom of Madura was annexed to its domains of the Mughals. Thanjavur began a dependency of the Carnatic Nawab, paying large sums in tribute. The rentier system was extended into these areas and military officers became recipients of large jagirs. Those powers that had maintained the integrity of the far south against the expanding Carnatic power now disappeared or were weakened. Subordinate cheiftains hurried to make their peace at the price of a large peshkash which had to be promptly paid if they were not to suffer a sudden strike from an invading army. The Carnatic Nawab declared overlordship over the polygars and Rajahs of the far south. The gradual subjection of Thanjavur to the Carnatic authority had very adverse consequences on its internal administration. The skimming away of substantial sums of money in annual tribute ruined the economy of the Thanjavur area. Internal dissensions and the invasion of Tippu Sultan compounded these effects. When, at the turn of the century, the English appointed a commission to inquire into the internal affairs of Thanjavur, it found corruption and maladministration endemic and

the plight of the ryot pitiable indeed.¹⁷ Polygars of this region were paying only token contributions and were in heavy arrears of their annual peshkash and the British decided to put land revenue collection on firmer footing. All these factors had greater impact on trade and commerce between 1750 and 1813.

Trade and Commerce Activities in Thanjavur District

The supremacy of Tamil Nadu, especially of the district of Thanjavur, in the field of trade and commerce including industries reached its zenith towards the end of the seventeenth century. The manufacturers and skilled craftsmen of Thanjavur district were popular in the Indian market as well as world market during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thanjavur from being an exporter of manufactured articles, became an importer of them, in the late eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century. As a result of all these trade of the foreign companies was declined.

Urban centres dotted on the coastal and the interior Tamil country of Thanjavur region and adjacent areas have been playing a dominant role in developing contacts with the outside world and promoting economic exchange by a wide network of trade and commerce. The development of sea routes, inland waterways, road routes and hinterland services have greatly helped the economic (trade and commerce) activities in the study region for building up commercial and industrial oriented urban centres.

¹⁷K. R. Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*, Madras, 1928.

Trade was the main channel of the mobilisation of productive wealth from one place to another. Thanjavur's sea coast formed the most vital zone in the field of inland and foreign trade in the coromandel region. This zone witnessed a considerable volume of trade during the study period.

Thanjavur, in the late eighteenth century, was a place where wealthy merchants and businessmen imposed their bourgeoisie values on an indifferent and passive native population.¹⁸ This study region was noted for the agricultural production, manufacture of textiles, South Indian musical instruments, brasswares, bronzes and other goods. The peasantry, the weavers, the artisans and the mercantile community were involved in the respective professions. In addition to it, Thanjavur was an industrial centre and a home for finest theproducts of handlooms and was a noted handicrafts centre too.¹⁹

During this period trade and commerce activities, transport facilities (including road and sea) and the hinterland activities all underwent dramatic change in character and composition.

The degenerative political and economic factors led to the decline in the population of Thanjavur district during the period between 1750 and 1813. This could be known through the figures given for some years in the late 18th century. For example, in 1779-1780, the population in Thanjavur district was 1,058,424

¹⁸ F.R.Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, Vol.I, p.5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.6-9.

which declined to 6,55,271 in 1788-1789²⁰. Thus, all these factors had an impact on trade and commerce activities in this district.

Inland and Maritime Trade

The trade of the Thanjavur district consisted chiefly of the export of foodstuffs (principally rice) and the import of articles of luxury and comfort. Exports to other places consisted of silk and cotton, fabrics, metal ware, tobacco and ground nut. In addition to that, the chief articles of export were betels, plantains, tobacco, flowers and vegetables. The important articles imported here were mainly groceries. We can broadly divide trading activities into inland and overseas (maritime) trade in during the eighteenth century in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.

Inland trade

Inland traders were bigger merchants. They traded on articles like cloth (textile goods), betel, rice, etc. These were exported to different places in and around Thanjavur. Mention may be made of the fact that small boats, rafts and make-shift floats travel a few miles up-stream, carrying cargo of varying importance and wealth. In Thanjavur the rivers and canals served as highways for conveying bamboos, plantain, leaves, fruits,

²⁰Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Politics of fiscal decline: A reconsideration of Maratha Thanjavur: 1676-1799", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32, 2, 1995, pp.193-194.

flowers, vegetables, betels and stems. These were carried on by means of 'rafts', when the rivers were full of water. The cost of communication was cheap but there was also a danger lurking in it. Plenty of care was to be taken before settling afloat the raft. The articles above the raft were to be properly arranged and tied tightly. Besides, ferry boats were used to bring road metal and other important livelihood items from neighbouring districts to Thanjavur across the river Coleroon and Cauvery.

A sufficient amount of *Indigo* and *Nonahvare* (a species of red dye) and proportion of cotton were cultivated for these manufactures in the Thanjavur district and large quantities of cotton and dye materials were imported from Coimbatore, Salem and the adjacent districts under the rulers of Thanjavur. As the Southern part of the district from its situation seems well calculated for the growth of cotton and of opinion that every possible encouragement were given to the inhabitants of Thanjavur district to cultivate that article alone, in order to relieve the paddy growers from the superabundance of their produce and by promoting a barter of grain for cotton which by increasing the demand for grain and consequently raising its price, would prove to be of essential service to the revenues.²¹

There was also a very considerable manufacture of brass and copper vessel (utensils) made in the vicinity of Kumbakonam area. The copper and the brass consumed for this purpose was mostly

²¹*Ibid.*, p.26.

drawn from Tranquebar, where it was imported by foreign ships during the period under study. In addition to this, the raw materials for making vessels (i.e. Copper and Brass) were also transported from Tranquebar harbour to the neighbouring port towns of Nagore and Nagapattinam. Besides, the inland trade was also carried to Thanjavur and adjacent towns.²²

The Nagapattinam - Vedaranniyam canal, running for a distance of about 36 miles southwards from Nagapattinam to the southern end was designed to bring the salt pans of Vedaranniyam into touch with the port at Nagapattinam. The canal was still used for this purpose as well as for carrying ordinary goods and passengers. In addition to these facilities for trade, canals connecting Tranquebar and Thirumullaivasal had been dug and were in use.

The rivers were used for the transport of goods for Tiruchirapalli and other inland places. Over a period of time however the existence of shoals and the gradual decrease of the volume of water caused by irrigation have been the main causes of the disappearance of inland boat navigation. The rapidity of currents, which prevent the boats getting inland from the coast and the regulations which were unprovided with any locks unlike in the Godavari delta have further prevented the use of the rivers as waterways.

²²*Ibid*, p.26.

There were a large number of ferries across the rivers in the district. The ferry boats were usually round basket boats covered with leather, called *parisals*, but long wooden boats were also used in some places.

Brahmans and their Trade

The brahmans carried on two forms of exchange with people from outside the villages, i.e. barter and market trade. A number of itinerant castes visited the village occasionally to barter their wares or services. They included basket makers, puppet players, and acrobats, all of whom were paid in grain. Seasonally, Padaiyacchis would arrive from Tiruchirapalli and South Arcot, north of the Coleroon, bringing carloads of dhal, ginger, tamarind, mustard seed, chillies, and other products, which they exchanged in Thanjavur for paddy. From the dry tracts of south Thanjavur and Pudukkottai would come bringing dhal, mangoes, and millets, which they too, exchanged for paddy.²³

Beginning in 1804, the Brahmans were obliged to sell much of their produce for money in order to pay their land revenue in cash as the British demanded. It was not clear how they managed to sell one-half or more of their paddy in the first half of the nineteenth century, or where they sold it. It seems probable that for some years after 1804 government agents bought it as had

²³ Kathleen Gough, *Rural society in Southeast India* Cambridge, 1981, pp.70-85.

sometimes been done in Maratha times, and transported part of it by sea to Madras and other parts of India where paddy was less readily available.²⁴

Agraharam would load carts with paddy after the harvest and drive them south to Pudukkottai where they could sell the paddy. They would use part of the money they obtained to buy gingelly seeds, mangoes, dhal, tamarind, millets, and marble tiles for houses. They would sell the tiles, and some of the produce, to wealthy people in Thanjavur town for twice what they had paid in Pudukkottai, keep the rest of the produce for their use, and use the profits they had made to pay their revenue. In the later nineteenth century some Brahmans became still more ambitious traders who borrowed from money lenders in Thanjavur, bought paddy in the agraharam or other villages, sold it in Pudukkottai, and brought back quantities of merchandise to Thanjavur town. Some Non-Brahmans also began this trade in the later part of the study period. It was not known how much of their crop the Brahmans sold in the early nineteenth century or whether they were already borrowing from money lenders to carry on their trade.²⁵

Concomitantly, British industrial commodities began to invade the Thanjavur market. India's larger villages as well as its cities were abundantly supplied with European manufactures of

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp.86-98.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp.125-146.

every sort, including woolens, textiles, scissors, knives, glasses, and hardware. Britain supplied 42 percent of Madras's manufactured imports. Thanjavur's textile exports were ruined, as were the exports of steel and other manufactures from other regions of Madras.²⁶

To pay for its imports Madras gradually exported more raw materials, in the early decades, chiefly cotton, indigo, pepper, and tobacco. Thanjavur's contribution was paddy together with small quantities of salt, indigo, hides, fruits, and coconuts. In 1797, Thanjavur was reported by an investigating commission never to have exported "any considerable grain at any period". By 1817 it monopolised the Madras grain market, which had previously received supplies from Bengal.²⁷

These developments, however, did not compensate for the loss of European markets for textiles. After 1812 Thanjavur's export earnings fell drastically and the district, like the rest of India, entered a long period of deflation.

The collapse of Thanjavur's export trade in manufactures meant that large quantities of gold and silver were no longer imported from Europe. At the same time, the government continued to extract high land revenues, which were mainly spent by the company on external wars, salaries, private fortunes, pensions, or government "home charges". The revenue, which was 53 percent of the gross produce in 1800-1801, in theory dropped to 45

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.148-157.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.158-165.

percent in 1804-1805 and 42 percent in 1805-1806. However, earlier rulers had collected the revenue sometimes in kind and sometimes in cash but the British demanded cash payments, sometimes in advance of the harvest. In some years, especially after 1815, the current grain price was so far below the government's commutation rate that landlords were in fact paying 60 percent of the gross produce as revenue.²⁸

Maritime Trade

Ports have played an important role in the economy of a country. Since Sangam period, the study region witnessed that ports were centres of brisk trade and commerce. Ports, undoubtedly, represented potential centres of urban growth. The early factory records and references in literature gives an idea of the port activities in the study region. Thanjavur district has enjoyed special privileges with its long coast line. The long coromandel coast line of Thanjavur district embodied a number of minor and major port towns right from the dawn of our Indian History. The details are as follows. There were eleven sea ports on the coast of the Thanjavur district during the period under study. They were from north to south, which were of varying importance. (i) Thirumullaivasal, (ii) Tranquebar, (iii) Nagore, (iv) Nagapattinam, (v) Vailankanni, (vi) Thopputhurai, (vii) Point Calimere, (viii) Muttupet, (ix) Adhirampattinam, (x)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.166-185.

Kodiyampalaiyam and (xi) Kattumavadi.²⁹ The trade and commerce activities and the anchorage was good at these places but the shoals which lie nearby make it necessary for big ships to anchor at distances varying from one to four miles and to unload goods to the shore on cargo of varying sizes up to ten tonnes burden.³⁰ The retail bazaars were found in each port and probably almost all ports were opened for coastal and foreign trade, and this fact was an indication of the trading wealth of Thanjavur district.³¹

The rich region of Thanjavur provided good opportunities for trade through these ports. Tranquebar, Nagore, Nagapattinam, Thopputhurai and Adhirampattinam ports were constructed at the mouths of river and each of them had their period of prosperity.³²

It was queer that with such an extensive sea-board for the district, the sea was but little used by passengers, though there was a good deal of sea-borne trade not only with other places outside the district but also to some extent between the several sea ports within the district.³³

The sea borne trade of Thanjavur district harbours could be roughly divided into two sections viz., that carried on from

²⁹ F.R.Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District*, 1933, Madras, pp.7-9.

³⁰ B.S.Baliga, *Thanjavur District Handbook*, Madras, 1957, p.3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.3.

³² *Ibid.*, p.3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.3.

Nagapattinam and that carried on through other smaller ports. In the case of the latter the exports consisted generally of husked rice, paddy and to a small extent of other grains.

Nagapattinam has been the centre of commercial activities from the early days of European trade. In Nagapattinam chief articles of exports were paddy, rice, tobacco, ground nut, coconuts, cotton and silk piece goods, etc. And the main imports were timber from Burma, tiles from Calicut and Quilon, gunny bags from Calcutta, palmyra timber from Jaffna in Sri Lanka wood and timber from Thondi, coral stone and straw from Rameswaram, betalnuts from the palk-straits and Sri Lanka.

From Thopputhurai there was a considerable export of living animals like goats, buffaloes, ox, etc., besides their skins. During the period of study, Thopputhurai was considered to be one of the major port towns of the district and also trading activities of Maraikkayars community were seen largely in this port town. And the major imports were mainly grains of different sorts, spices, nuts for betel and returned empty gunny bags.³⁴

In Karaikkal, Nagore, Muthupettai and Adhirampattinam, there was every indication that Muslims were very active in trade activities. They were concentrated in and around the major and minor ports of Thanjavur sea coast.³⁵ As a whole, this community played an important role in the seaborne and inland trade of the

³⁴F. R. Hemingway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District, Madras, 1933, Vol.I, p.130.*

³⁵*Ibid.*, p.131.

coromandel coast of the Thanjavur district. They entered every major and minor avenues of trade in the area like paddy, rice, textiles, coconuts, arecanuts, spices, grains, minerals, chanks, dried fish, salt, precious metals, pearls and so on. They were also money lenders.³⁶

The colonial port cities of Thanjavur sea coast grew rapidly during the mid eighteenth century. The native merchants and the businessmen however played only a secondary role at these ports. In addition to this, Political, Economic and Demographic factors also affected the trade activities during this period. It was in the large ports of the native kingdoms that these traders held their own. Nagapattinam in the coromandel coast was the one of the major ports of this variety.

The study period witnessed the increasing European presence in this region. The increasing European presence and the growing private trading networks affected native trade also. In addition to this, political, economic and demographic factors also affected the trading activities during this period. There were many feeder ports acting as auxiliary to the Nagapattinam port and the trade activity at this port remained true to the traditional pattern even upto the end of the nineteenth century. In Thanjavur district, ports like Thirumullaivasal, Karaikkal, Thirumalairayanpattinam, Point Calimere, Tranquebar, Nagore, Adhirampattinam, etc. fell into this category.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.132.

Seaborne trade was carried on mainly in 'dhonies' which were small vessels of 60-100 tons displacement. These ships were built with local woods. With the advent of large Europe ships, the local ship builders in the entire coastal area of Thanjavur district learnt to built larger vessels too. The larger vessels were in use, in the hands of the bigger Indian merchants and the ruling elites. The Modi records of the Marathas, describes on the ship-building activities of the Thanjavur's Maratha Kingdom.

MARAKKAYARS AND THEIR TRADE

The Marakkayars were Muslims and Tamil speaking people in the coromandel coast of Thanjavur region of Tamil Nadu. Muslims settlements sprang up in this particular part of Tamil Nadu during the early part of the Medieval period. As referred earlier in the preceding chapter the study region was studded with no less than eleven ports. Out of these Karaikkal, Nagore, Nagapattinam, Thopputhurai, Muthupettai and Adhirampattinam sea ports were fully controlled by the Muslim community. Among the Muslim community Marakkayars played a predominant role for the development of maritime activities in the study region of Thanjavur district. These ports were used as a passage or crossing points to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Penang, Malacca, Malaysia and other South East Asian nations. The Arab merchants settled in these port towns due to their trade contacts and also married the native women. The offsprings of these people continued the sea faring tradition as navigators, Ship owners, traders and

maritime merchant Princess. These people were to be called as "Marakkayars".³⁷ They yielded enormous power in the courts of the local rulers of the Marathas. These rulers in turn willingly offered all kind of infra-structural facilities to the people of this trading community in their study region.

The Marakkayars ruled the waves of the Indian waters especially in the coromandel coast from the beginning of thirteenth century to the end of nineteenth century A.D.. They established a wide network of depots and branches in the peninsular region of Thanjavur district and far off lands. The Marakkayars exported the chief items like (i) Textiles including Silk and Cotton, (ii) Rice (iii) Chank (iv) Pearls and (v) sea products like both fish and dryfish, Crabs and Prawns etc., from Thanjavur district. Their inland trade activities were connected with the imports, such as (i) spices (ii) arecanuts (iii) metals (iv) horses (v) elephants and (vi) a variety of consumable items or consumer goods through Thanjavur port towns during the study period.

A great deal of this export and import trade was carried on by ships and boats and the exact figures of this trade were not available in Thanjavur district till the end of 1820s.³⁸ Regarding the sea-borne trade, most of the exports and imports passed through the port of Nagapattinam and only very small

³⁷J. Raja Mohamed, "Marakkayars, The Maritime People of Coromandel Coast", Eighth World Tamil Conference, Thanjavur, dt. 1-5 January 1995"

³⁸*Ibid.*, p.201.

amount of trade was carried on at the other sea ports of Thanjavur region at Thopputhurai, Thirumullaivasal and Adhirampattinam.³⁹ It was stated that the trade of Nagapattinam was not exclusively the trade of the Thanjavur district, but it was also that of other nearby districts connected to it by road and inland waterways through small vessels or boats. Most of the above mentioned articles or goods continued to be exported from Nagapattinam till the beginning of the second world war.⁴⁰

Marakkayars were great fortune seekers and earned a lot of wealth from the lands of South and South East Asian countries for trade and were economically strong and politically powerful in those regions.⁴¹

The Marakkayars faced so many hurdles and turmoils from the Europeans during their overseas trade activities in the region. The Marakkayars stumbled by the ruthless attack of the Portuguese in the 16th century A.D.. This was the first blow from the foreigners against Marakkayars. Later this economic rivalry continued by the other European trading companies like the Dutch, the Danes, the England and at last the French. However, to the European adventures, the Marakkayars also accommodated to the changed situation for their economic development.

³⁹F. R. Heminway, *Gazetteer of the Thanjavur District, Madras, Vol.I, 1933, p.130.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p131.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p.131.

There were many references also to vessels owned by "chettis" as well as "Muslims" (Marakkayars) at Nagore and Nagapattinam.⁴² Karaikkal too had ship building activity. The maratha Modi records evidence the efforts of the Thanjavur Rajah to encourage ship building on a large scale at Saluvanackenpettai in the coromandel coast of the study region. Saluvanacken Pettai was one of the important port towns located in the Cauvery delta region. Small volume of inland trade mainly rice was transported in and around Thanjavur district from Saluvanackenpettai during the period under study.

Thus the prosperity of the native merchants had declined. Their overseas trade and their guilds was virtually extinguished. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many of them became agents, servants, or bondsmen of European companies.⁴³

INDUSTRY (Manufacturers)

In Thanjavur, the industry of the inhabitants was liberally rewarded by the fertility of the soil. The labour of every individual in the district exerted in agricultural pursuits. The weavers and other classes of manufacturers were very numerous and of late years many sought a refuge in this district of Thanjavur

⁴²V.Venkatramanayya, *The Origin of South Indian Temple*, University of Madras, 1984, p.391.

⁴³Kathleen Gough, *Rural Society on Southeast India*, Cambridge, 1981, pp.252-285.

from the severity and exactions to which they were subject to the rulers of Thanjavur.⁴⁴

The manufacturers were brought from other parts of the country to the Maratha Kingdom by the rulers of Thanjavur and were asked to manufacture clothes as per the demand for the locals. They consisted of different varieties of clothes and all kinds of clothes were in use. These manufactured clothes were well suited for the natives of the district as well as best calculated for the Madras and Europe Markets.⁴⁵

In addition to the export of clothes to these places, a variety of silk and cotton carpets were also exported and from the general resort of merchants and brokers from Madras. The Thanjavur district benefitted essentially from most of its return being made in spices.

Weaving

The quantity of cloth manufactured in these areas of Thanjavur district was about six thousand (6,000) cores and consisted of long cloth, coarse and five chintz, moorees, succatoons, cambays, romals, gingham, tuppees and bazaar cloths.⁴⁶ During this period, the weavers were free from any exception or oppression and were very happy with their business

⁴⁴Report of of the Thanjavur Commissioners, A.D. 1799, Thanjavur District Press, Thanjavur, 1905, p.25.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.25.

⁴⁶Thanjavur District Records, Nagore Factory : A) Correspondence of the Commercial Resident in the year 1796, Vol.3326, pp.53-54.

activities. The Thanjavur district records further states that the weavers were in a perfect state of comfort and liberty and harmony reigned everywhere. There were about 100 washermen, 230 painters and about 30 dyers.⁴⁷

The Company's investment was extended to atleast one lakh of pagodas on blue cloth. Petty disputes between the traders and the commuters were settled very quickly and complaints were seldom preferred. The transfer of commodities both imports and exports were carried out by different modes. Thanjavur district records quote that there were about 230 vessels available for freight in the Thanjavur sea coast. The records further pointed out that the Maratha ruler devoted every care to promote trade and extend the Company's investments.⁴⁸

Textile Industry

The textile industry in the Thanjavur region was at its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many craftsmen, both Indian and foreign were involved in this trade. The trading community exported textiles to many foreign countries, especially to England in large quantities. According to Subramanian, the English people were mad after such goods; many an Englishmen was jealous of their popularity and complained that they had "crept into our houses, our closets and even bed chambers, curtains,

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p.55.

⁴⁸*Ibid*, p.56.

cushions, chairs and atleast beds themselves were nothing but calicos or our native stuffs".⁴⁹

The British in order to foster their industries had to enact a number of laws in 1700, 1720 and 1721 to prohibit the influx of these goods from this region of Tamil Nadu.⁵⁰ The restrictions that were imposed on them had greatly curtailed these industries in the study region of Thanjavur district. The impact of the enactment of the British laws implied a severe setback on the textile trade and also the cotton industries in Kumbakonam and other towns in the Thanjavur areas during the period under study.

In addition to this, the industrial revolution totally upset the textile trade in this region. It also affected the economic status of the people in the study region. Due to lack of demand, the patronage was withdrawn and finally the textile industry very much declined in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.

Besides, during the study period, Thanjavur region witnessed a lot of political chaos and confusions as well as showed instability among the native rulers. The internal feuds and conflicts and also British domination greatly hampered the free growth of textile industry. There were occasions when this textile industry was completely suspended due to political turmoils and incessant wars in Thanjavur district. This was

⁴⁹P. Subramanian, "The Textile Industry in the Tamil Country in the 19th Century: A Critical Study", *Tamil Civilization*, Tamil University, Thanjavur, Vol. 5, No. 4, Dec. 1987, p.35.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p.35.

evidenced from the Maratha rulers in the study region in the year 1771. This war waged against Thanjavur Maratha rulers by the Britishers resulted in the annexure of Vallam, Deivanur, Koilady and Elangadu.⁵¹

In addition to this, a close study of commercial despatch from England will testify to the fact that the third Mysore war (1792) had greatly upset the weaving industry in the study region. The Company's annual investment of piece goods which was 16 lakhs of Pagodas (56 lakhs of rupees) in 1790, was only 12 lakhs in 1796 owing to the war which had greatly disrupted the internal trade production.⁵²

The East India Company governed Thanjavur as a district of Madras Presidency from 1799 to 1858. The period of governance by the East India Company saw a fundamental change from a relatively self sufficient, still prosperous small kingdom with significant manufacturing exports, to a virtual monopoly of the region within a worldwide colonial system, exporting rice and labour.

In the first decade of the 19th century, the East India Company restored the export of textiles that had been disrupted by its wars. Britain's rising industrialist had begin to exclude the Indian textiles from the British market as early as 1720, but until 1812, the East India Company reexported them to Europe.

⁵¹K. Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur, Mysore*, 1969, pp.55-56.

⁵²Commercial Despatch to England, dt 22nd March 1797 and 20th February. 1798.

In 1813, however, the industrial bourgeoisie was strong enough in Parliament to remove the East India Company's monopoly trading rights and by the use of tariffs, virtually to end its imports of Indian manufacturers to Europe. As a result, the British Resident reported in 1823 that misery and death prevailed in all the districts of the Madras Presidency and hundreds of thousands of weavers were dying of hunger and poverty.

After the fourth Mysore war, the English East India Company became paramount and subsequently internal trade gained momentum in this region as well as Tamil Nadu as a whole. The report of external commerce (1805) reveals that there was trading activities between the natives and the British and as a result, the piece goods worth about rupees 29,99,721 were exported to European countries, particularly to England.⁵³

In Thanjavur district every industry had its own guild to regulate and promote its trade. Particularly, the guild system was very strong among weavers owing to their unity and huge investment made in their trade. However, the main difficulty with regard to this community was the uncertain condition of their industry. They were the first to be affected by any war or calamity. The Company, which was very oppressive, favoured them so long it needed their labour and goods. After the industrial revolution, Thanjavur district became a market for the machine made products of Great Britain and consequently Company's trade in this study region dwindled. Their factories were closed down

⁵³ Report of External Commerce, Madras, 1805, pp.1-11.

one by one and finally the board of trade which was responsible for the Company's trade was also abolished in 1824. With this, the weaving industry in Kumbakonam and other areas in Thanjavur district was reduced to a great straight. The foreign investments on Indian cotton goods ceased and subsequently the predominance of the textile industry became a thing of the past in the study region.

Nagapattinam Trade

The trade of Nagapattinam deserves a more detailed description because Nagapattinam was not only concerned with Thanjavur district but also with other districts of Tamil Nadu. The various classes of exports and imports at the port of Nagapattinam is briefly discussed during the period under study.

The major articles exported from Nagapattinam were grains, tobacco, groundnuts, cotton and silk piece goods to Ceylon, Penang, Singapore and strait settlements.⁵⁴

Groundnut was grown largely in Mannargudi and Pattukkottaitaluks of Thanjavur district. The export of groundnut was of recent origin. Groundnut trade was largely carried on by Europeans.

The export of tobacco was larger than from any other Coromandel ports, of which about half was shipped unmanufactured

⁵⁴M.Adbul Rahim, *"History of Nagapattinam and its surroundings : From 16th Century"*, unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Madras University, Madras, 1971, p.120.

and about half already made up into cigars and which was chiefly received from Tiruchirapalli.⁵⁵

Of the imports, the most noticeable were pulses. Pulses were grown in a comparatively small extent in South India and naturally they had to be imported.⁵⁶

Nagore Trade (Exports and Imports)

Nagore was the chief trading mart, where about 30 merchants from the town carried on trade in every part of India throughout the year. The staple products of export were piece-goods and paddy.⁵⁷ The imports were numerous. Nagore being the centre of the Thanjavur district, all articles of foreign trade were brought in here.

The quantity of cotton exported from Nagore for three consecutive years (i.e. 1808-1811) is given in the following table:

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.102.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.103.

⁵⁷ Thanjavur District Records, Nagore Factory : A) Correspondence of the Commercial Resident in the year, 1795, Vol.3325, pp.65-66.

TABLE : VI -3
STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY OF COTTON EXPORTED FROM
NAGORE DURING 1808 - 1811

Year	Ports		
	Nagore and Nagapattinam.		
	Candies	M	Ss
From 1st May 1808 to 30th April 1809	717	13	20
From 1st May 1809 to 30th April 1810	775	1	18
From 1st May 1810 to 30th April 1811	137	16	3
Total	1630	11	1

Source:

Nagore Factory Records, Vol.No.3335, April, 1811, p.47.

For the first two years, the export of cotton was maintained at almost the same level. However in 1809, there was a steep decline in cotton's export.⁵⁸ It suggests that trade in Thanjavur never remained at the same level. Thanjavur district during 1750-1813 witnessed the ups and downs in trade and commerce due to the reasons discussed above.

⁵⁸ Nagore Factory Records, Vol.No.3335, April, 1811, p.47.

The merchants were extremely dissatisfied at the extensive investments of the East India Company "as it is with difficulty they can procure the assortments of cloth which were most suitable to the eastern trade".⁵⁹ But the reduction of customs was viewed with great satisfaction as it led to the prosperity of the town and the benefit of the Company. The Company's investment was chiefly provided in the Thanjavur district and in the adjoining villages. Any increase in the investment was not looked upon with any disfavour.⁶⁰ The Beach Masters in these sea ports of Nagore and Nagapattinam deserved more encouraging emoluments.⁶¹

B. CUSTOMS AND OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

During the Medieval period, the chief source of income other than land revenue was from customs. The customs duties were, like the land revenue, collected by the king's officials and judging by the large amount of trade that was carried on at different ports in the coromandel coast of Thanjavur region they must have been huge.

The customs and other sources of revenue comprised of 'sawyer' or the inland transit duties, sea customs collected from the imported and exported articles, 'abkari' from toddy and

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.67.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.68.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.69.

arrack shops, tributes from the chieftains, professional taxes from the artisans and fines from the criminals.

Next to the land revenue, the 'sawyer' or the inland transit duty was the important source of income to the district. For the convenience of collections of transit duty, the Marathas divided the department into fourteen 'choukis'. These were established at various centres in and around Thanjavur district. They are as follows : i) Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai) ii) Kumbakonam iii) Thirucalanchery iv) Neelavally v) Thirumarugal vi) Thirucadayur vii) Sannamangalam viii) Kollamangudi ix) Darasuram x) Coranadu xi) Solempettai xii) Baradacherry xiii) Sirkali (Sirkazhi) and xiv) Ferruvangadu⁶².

The 'aminas' managed the choukis. The 'monigar' acted as the head 'chowkidar'. For every article of consumption, even for the common necessities or day to day needs of life, they collected inland transit duty. The articles intended for the use of the district and the pagodas were exempted from taxes. The government conferred the right of collection of the 'sawyer' on the highest bidders.⁶³

⁶²Alexander Grant, Letter to Edward Saunders, Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence dt.15th May, 1798, Vol.3234, p.3.

⁶³Ibid., p.3.

The following table shows the Land Revenue and Revenue from Customs Sources :

TABLE : VI -4

TAX ASSESSMENT FROM ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT IN 1773
(IN STAR PAGODAS)

Administrative Divisions	Land Tax	Customs Taxes	Total
	(1)	(2)	(1 + 2)
1. Kumbhakonam (Kumbakonam)	476,727	36,364	513,091
2. Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai)	365,452	20,457	385,909
3. Mannarkoyil (Mannarkudi)	609,721	19,361	629,082
4. Tiruvaiyaru (Thiruvaiyaru)	416,072	40,683	456,755
5. Sirkali (Sirkazhi)	194,182	11,818	206,000
6. Pattukottah (Pattukottai)	--	--	219,545
Total			2,410,382

Source :

Fort St. George Records, 7 December 1773, pp.325-331.

Notes :

1) A General account of the kingdom of Thanjavur showing the names of administrative divisions, as well as, the number of villages, extent of land bearing produce, quality of produce, land tax, customs etc., of the whole revenues per annum.

2) With a Star Pagoda being reckoned at 2 pons and 2 fanams.

The Thanjavur Maratha principality was divided into six administration divisions. They are as follows (i) Kumbakonam (kumbakonam), (ii) Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai), (iii) Mannarkoyil (Mannarkudi), (iv) Tiruvaiyaru (Thiruvaiyaru) (v) Sirkali (sirkazhi) and (vi) Pattukottah (pattukottai). The total of land tax and customs tax assessed on each of these areas in Thanjavur district during the year 1773 is as stated above in table V- 3.

In five of the six provinces, an attempt was made to arrive at a detailed account of the revenue economy. With the land tax, mentioned above in the table V-4 referring to taxes on crops other than rice. The rent, land-Tax and customs taken together account for between five and ten percent of the tax on rice. In Kumbakonam, it accounted for 80,000 pons. In Mayavaram, for 45,000 pons. In Mannarkudi, for 42,600 pons. In Thiruvaiyaru, for 89,500 pons. In Sirkali, for 15,000 pons plus an additional 5,000 pagodas in the last instance for the customs collected at the port of Thirumullaivasal.⁶⁴

⁶⁴Fort St. George Records, 7 December 1773, pp.325-331.

The clear exception to this procedure was the relatively dry and poor in Southern area of Pattukottai for which no details are available in terms of a listing of villages or of tax-paying land and its produce. Further, the tax collected from Pattukottai was on the basis of a tribute. The area was heavily contested with a number of Marava clans, with whom the Thanjavur Maratha rulers had long problematic relations.⁶⁵

Other Sources of Revenue

Foreign travellers on crossing the boundary of the kingdom had to pay a *theervai* or tax. During the Pratap Singh reign (1739-1763), he issued a proclamation regarding the collection of toll from foreign nationals. According to that proclamation a foreigner who came on foot paid five *pagodas*, if he rode on a horse he paid more than five *pagodas*. An European, who came on a palanquin paid a special tax.⁶⁶ The Armenians, the Moors the Japanese and the Malabaris who crossed the borders of Coleroon, also paid a tax. In the Thanjavur Fort, the exaction was even more severe. The inhabitants paid a tax for every article of consumption that passed on to the Fort.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Politics of Fiscal Decline: A reconsideration of Maratha Thanjavur: 1676-1799", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32,2, 1995, pp.192-214.

⁶⁶C. K. Muthunathan, *The Maratha Administration in Thanjavur District*, Unpublished Ph.d Thesis, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai.

⁶⁷C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha rulers in the Carnatic*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, pp.366 - 367.

To begin with, the rulers left the renters unchecked, the amount to be collected was not fixed. Regulations were framed in later years but they were ignored due to internal disorders and external aggressions. There was lot of negligence of trade and commerce, due to obnoxious exactions under various pretexts. In the *choukies* the officials did not keep any account. This irregularity became a catalyst to induce the renters to exact as much as possible from all the commercial articles that crossed the boundaries of the Thanjavur Kingdom. Naturally this had its adverse impact on trade.⁶⁸

Next to the internal transit duty, the sea custom formed an important source of revenue. The country exported ghee, tamarind, oil, paddy and cloth to the Malabar Coast and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and imported betelnut from Ramnad, palmyra articles from Jaffna and cashewnuts from Madura. The total income from the small ports which were under the control of the Marathas was 3647 *pagodas* for the year 1780. But here too there was no fixed rate, for at times the rate of custom rose to twelve per cent on articles that passed the town.⁶⁹ The Portuguese, the French and the Danes possessed the important ports like Nagapattinam, Karaikkal, and Tranquebar respectively. From Nagapattinam the

⁶⁸Charles Harris, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Thanjavur District Records, Vol.3201, dt. 7 July 1800, p.555.

⁶⁹F. R. Hemingway, Op.Cit, p.200.

government received 500 *pagodas*, from Karaikkal 1500 *pagodas* and from Tranquebar 1000 *pagodas* a year as rent from the Europeans who held them.⁷⁰

Abkary Tax

The *abkary* revenue consisted of revenue collected from arrack, toddy and foreign liquors. The government did not include the collection from opium in this list. In the year 1796 the Maratha government received a sum of 84 *pagodas* (1344 *chackrams*) from toddy shops. Normally a renter owned a maximum of twelve shops and paid the amount in twelve instalments. the government fixed the rate per *chembu* (A Bronze vessel measuring about one litre) of arrack at one and a half *panams*. In the government operated shops the managers received direction from the government about the price. Usually they collected eight *panams* for a *chembu* of arrack. The manager of the shop received one *panam* as his remuneration and remitted the rest to the treasury.⁷¹

The following table shows the tax collection from salt, sea customs, *abkary* etc. in Thanjavur district:

⁷⁰B. S. Baliga, *Thanjavur District Handbook*, Madras, 1957, p.93.

⁷¹Alexander Grant, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, dt. January 1798, pp.5-6.

TABLE : VI -5

TAX COLLECTION FROM SALT, SEA CUSTOMS, ABKARY etc.,
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1800 TO 1804

Average Collections	
	Five years <u>1210</u> to <u>1214</u> 1800 1804
	Rupees
Salt	4,622
Sea Customs	29,262
Abkary	13,994
Stamps	--
Total	47,878

Source :

Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dt. 21st May 1855, Revenue Department, No.1325, p.115.

It was first to be observed that 7 3/4 lakhs of the increase have occurred in the extra Revenues, and were clearly due in the main part of administration under which new branches of taxation have been opened, such as the Salt Monopoly in 1805, and the stamps and Abkary in 1808, while the Sea Customs and other

branches of revenue were placed on an enlarged and well defined.⁷² In support of this view the average collections under the above specified branches of Revenue at the commencement of British rule and during the last quinquennial period in the Collector's statement are mentioned above in the Table :VI-5.

The following table shows the land tax and extra sources from customs, salt, abkary etc. in Thanjavur district:

TABLE : VI -6
LAND TAX AND EXTRA SOURCES FROM CUSTOMS, SALT, ABKARY ETC.,
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
(FROM 1801 TO 1805)

Fusly	Year	Land Revenue	Extra Sources	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1211	1801	31,27,714	1,54,755	32,82,469
1212	1802	26,63,257	1,14,045	27,77,302
1213	1803	23,58,761	1,04,268	24,63,029
1214	1804	33,31,028	1,83,540	35,14,568
1215	1805	31,00,301	2,65,148	33,65,449
Average		29,16,212	1,64,351	30,80,563

Source :

Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st May 1855, Revenue Department No.1325, p.114.

⁷² Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dt. 21st May 1855, Revenue Department, No.1325, p.115.

Colonel Cotton's statement of the Thanjavur Revenues having increased 20 lakhs, or from 30 to 50 lakhs per annum, requires also some examination. It may be assumed that Colonel Cotton alluded not only to the land Revenue, but also the extra sources of Revenue; such as Salt, Sea and Frontier Customs, Stamps, Abkary, Moturpah, etc. The actual Collections under all heads commenced in every year from Fusly 1210 (1800 A.D.). The Fusly or Revenue year commenced in July A.D.1800, and ended in July A.D 1801.

The Fusly year 1210 was not included in the above table, it was omitted due to the increase in the land revenue by one-fifth the Collector and improperly raised the Government share of the produce, an error which was corrected in the subsequent Fusly (i.e., 1211) by the Revenue Collectors of Thanjavur for the first 5 years from 1801 to 1805.⁷³

The average total Revenue of this period may therefore be assumed at 31 lakhs, and if the average of the last five years of Colonel Cotton's was examined, it will be found to be above 48 lakhs.⁷⁴

⁷³Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st May 1855, Revenue Department No.1325, p.114.

⁷⁴Ibid., p.114.

sundries or Miscellany

The presents and levies collected from the subordinate chieftains, and the poligars formed the tribute. They became permanent in most of the cases. The Maratha government at Thanjavur levied professional tax on all merchants and artisans.⁷⁵ This tax was called the *palapattaday*. The *chetty-magama* and *chetty-pugady* were taxes collected from the *chettis* who were engaged in commerce and oil pressing. A tax called *tampattagar* booty was collected from all brass smiths, who sold the articles during different festivals. These government collected *kavalporuppu* from all the *kavalcaras* for occupying the *kaval* office.⁷⁶

All the revenues, including land revenue collected by the government are given below in the table :VI-7.

⁷⁵Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement Discovered in Thanjavur, Madras, 1804, p.62.

⁷⁶Charles Harris, Letter to William Petrie, Thanjavur District Records, Vol.3201, dt.23 June 1800, pp.19-21.

TABLE : VI -7
COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMP DUTIES ETC.,
IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1801 TO 1813

Year/ Fusly	Sayer collec- tion or Transit of Custom Duties	Abkary collec- tion or Excise	Stamp	Sundry small farms, etc.	Hou- se Tax	Loom Tax	Total of Extra Sources T o t a l
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1801) 1211)	86,000	12,000	--	20,000	--	7,000	1,50,000
1802) 1212)	47,000	11,000	--	14,000	--	7,000	1,10,000
1803) 1213)	37,000	12,000	--	10,000	--	6,000	1,00,000
1804) 1214)	1,69,000	23,000	--	6,000	--	6,000	1,80,000
1805) 1215)	1,27,000	21,000	--	5,000	--	6,000	1,70,000
1806) 1216)	9,000	24,000	--	10,000	--	7,000	1,60,000
1807) 1217)	4,000	25,000	--	8,000	--	7,000	2,10,000
1808) 1218)	1,16,000	30,000	--	22,000	--	7,000	3,80,000
1809) 1219)	1,76,000	33,000	37,000	15,000	--	7,000	5,10,000
1810) 1220)	1,85,000	30,000	30,000	16,000	--	8,000	5,60,000
1811) 1221)	1,71,000	33,000	24,000	16,000	--	8,000	5,10,000
1812) 1222)	1,92,000	31,000	26,000	11,000	--	10,000	5,40,000
1813) 1223)	2,14,000	29,000	33,000	13,000	--	9,000	6,30,000

Source :

Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dt.
21st May 1855, Revenue Department, No. 1325, pp.115 - 117.

The administration of customs and other sources of revenue characterised by multifarious taxes with different denominations and unchecked exactions put the merchant class into difficulty. Fearing the ruthless exactions they did not take any initiative to augment the commercial prosperity. The decline of trade and commerce naturally had its adverse impact upon the economy of the state. Thus the failure of the government to put the administration of customs on a sound footing and to relate the prosperity to the commerce and industry with the merchant class ended adversely leading to the downfall of trade and commerce.⁷⁷

The decline in trade and commerce could be analysed with the help of the taxes collected by the government during the period of study. This is one of the main methods through which the economic activity between 1750-1813 could be analysed. All the revenue collected for some of the years of the period of study are given below in the Table:VI-8.

⁷⁷ Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dt. 21st May 1855, Revenue Department, No. 1325, pp.115 - 117.

TABLE : VI -8
 ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF THE LAND AND EXTRA REVENUE IN
 THANJAVUR DISTRICT FROM 1800 TO 1814

A.D.	Fusly	Land	Extra	Total	Remarks
		Revenue	Source		
		Rs.	Rs.		
					Table continued
1800	1210	44,07,434	2,58,630	46,66,064	In 1800 the land
1801	1211	1,27,714	1,54,755	32,82,469	revenue was increased
1802	1212	26,63,257	1,14,045	27,77,302	one-fifth by an extra
1803	1213	23,58,761	1,04,268	24,63,029	portion of the gross
1804	1214	33,31,028	1,83,540	35,14,568	produce being taken.
Average		31,77,639	1,63,047	33,40,686	
1805	1215	31,00,301	2,65,148	33,65,449	In 1805 the Salt
1806	1216	28,17,137	1,58,966	29,76,103	Monopoly was introdu-
1807	1217	35,55,624	2,14,333	37,69,957	ced (i.e,Regulation I
1808	1218	35,95,146	3,77,511	39,72,657	of 1805).The Abkary
1809	1219	33,18,364	5,12,709	38,31,073	and Stamp Revenues
Average		32,77,314	3,05,733	35,83,047	were formally estab-
					lished by Regulations
					I and IV of 1808.
1810	1220	30,30,622	5,56,807	35,87,429	The Land Customs
1811	1221	30,33,940	5,08,075	35,42,015	were modelled by
1812	1222	32,74,271	5,41,729	38,16,000	Regulation.I of 1812.
1813	1223	34,76,320	6,26,130	41,02,450	
1814	1224	34,22,813	6,52,580	40,75,393	
Average		32,47,593	5,77,064	8,24,657	

Source :

Revenue Board Office, Fort St. George, dated 21st May, 1885.

The above table shows that there were fluctuations in the collections of all types of revenues after 1800. Through this table it could be established that trade and commerce activities also fluctuated during the same period.

The following table shows the salt collection in Thanjavur district from 1801 to 1813. Prior to 1801 data was not available.

TABLE : VI -9

SALT COLLECTION IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
FROM 1801 TO 1820

A.D.	Total	Salt Collection
Fusli	Rs.	Rs.
<u>1801</u>)	4,000	26,000
1211)		
<u>1802</u>)	5,000	30,000
1212)		
<u>1803</u>)	5,000	34,000
1213)		
<u>1804</u>)	5,000	35,000
1214)		
<u>1805</u>)	68,000	38,000
1215)		
<u>1806</u>)	76,000	33,000
1216)		
<u>1807</u>)	121,000	49,000
1217)		Table continued

<u>1808</u>)	147,000	57,000
1218)		
<u>1809</u>)	193,000	52,000
1219)		
<u>1810</u>)	212,000	75,000
1220)		
<u>1811</u>)	191,000	65,000
1221)		
<u>1812</u>)	203,000	68,000
1222)		
<u>1813</u>)	241,000	87,000
1223)		

Source :

Thanjavur District Records, 1749 - 1835, Vol.3262 dt. 13.6.1808, p.17.

The following table shows the produce from all sources during Rajah Tulzaji's reign (1763-1787) in Thanjavur district:

TABLE : VI- 10
PRODUCE : (INCLUDING ALL TAXES) IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
DURING RAJAH TULZAJI'S REIGN (1763-1787)

In the year 1776	--	Rs.33,60,696
In the year 1777	--	Rs.29,93,903
In the year 1778	--	Rs.27,80,788
In the year 1779	--	Rs.35,05,831
In the year 1780	--	Rs.25,67,589

Source:

Thanjavur Committee Report, 1807, Madras, p.87.

With reference to these figures (in 1778 the Maratha Raja Tulzaji granted to the British the territory known as Nagore settlement), the total revenue collection including taxes from all sources, of which for fusli year 1209 i.e. 1799-1800 was nearly Rs.1,50,000 i.e. a lakh and a half of rupees.⁷⁸

Raja Tulzaji, after the restoration of Thanjavur in 1776, brought the aggregate of produce upto 14,789,898 kalams on a cultivated area of 88,550 velis i.e. 578,664 acres which gave 167 kalams per veli or 25 1/4 per acre. Regarding this total quantity, the Committee observed that this was the highest produce which has ever been estimated and which probably the Thanjavur Maratha's territory ever yielded.⁷⁹

The following table shows the revenue collection from all sources including land tax, salt, customs, abkary in Thanjavur district:

⁷⁸Thanjavur Committee Report, 1807, Madras, p.87.

⁷⁹Ibid., p.87.

TABLE : VI - 11

REVENUE COLLECTION FROM ALL SOURCES IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
 FROM 1800 TO 1814
 (IN FIVE YEARS AVERAGES)

Year	Collection in lakhs	
1800	-- 46 1/2	} 30 LAKHS FOR FIVE YEARS AVERAGES FROM 1800 TO 1804
1801	-- 33	
1802	-- 27 3/4	
1803	-- 24 1/2	
1804	-- 35	
1805	-- 33 1/2	} 36 LAKHS FOR FIVE YEARS AVERAGES FROM 1805 TO 1809
1806	-- 29 3/4	
1807	-- 37 3/4	
1808	-- 39 3/4	
1809	-- 38 1/4	
1810	-- 36	} 38 LAKHS FOR FIVE YEARS AVERAGES FROM 1805 TO 1809.
1811	-- 35 1/2	
1812	-- 38	
1813	-- 41	
1814	-- 40 3/4	

Source : Board of Revenue, 28th para, Madras, 1807, pp.219-220.

The external trade of Thanjavur was quite important. Thanjavur was an exporter of rice to other parts of India to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The long coastline washed by the Bay of Bengal on the East and the part that turned westwards from Point Calimere and washed by the Palk Straits contained a number of harbours of commercial importance. The most famous of these was Nagapattinam, with historical connections, where the Portuguese were allowed to built a settlement by the first Nayak Sevappa. This settlement grew in extend, as the Portuguese took advantage of the internal preoccupations of the Nayak. By the beginning of the seventeenth century it had become a fully Portuguese town where they exercised administrative and commercial rights. The town was captured by Portuguese in 1658 and owned by right of conquest until the English seized it in 1781. The Dutch had extensive interests in Thanjavur trade. Besides the large establishment and brisk trade carried on at Nagapattinam, they had factories at Adhirampattinam and Thirumullaivasal. The Danes settled in Tranquebar on the Carnatic coast in 1620 with the permission of the Nayak and had a fort and a factory there. They carried on trade here for a very long time and held the palace till 1845 when it was brought over by the British. The French established a settlement at Karaikkal, also on the Carnatic coast, in 1737.⁸⁰

⁸⁰S. Arasaratnam, "Politics and Society in Tamil Nadu: 1600 - 1800 A.D., A View in Historical Perspective", *Proceedings of the Third International Tamil Conference*, Paris, 1970, .pp.182 - 188.

The Europeans carried on a rich and varied trade in Thanjavur. It was a place where they could secure provisions in abundance for their other settlements. The Dutch bought a great deal of their requirements in rice for Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The main attraction was textiles. The Cauvery delta had a number of weaving villages and this accounts for the concentration of European settlements off the coast. They were largely located at Nagapattinam where the Dutch gave a business to many. There was also a flourishing sale of imported goods - metals such as copper, zinc and lead, and spices from Southeast Asia. In the seventeenth century, Europeans desired to settle in Thanjavur and were constantly negotiating with Nayaks for trading privileges. The fact that there were not more of such settlements are due to the naval dominance of the Dutch in these waters and the pressures they were able to bring to bear on the Nayaks. After the Maratha dynasty came to power, they were able to follow more independent policies and encouraged free trade.⁸¹

Thanjavur had been the centre of brisk trade with Southeast Asia and the Far East carried out by Tamil merchants of South Carnatic ports. This continued in the Vijayanagar period and Tome Pires talks of traders from Gujarat, Malabar, Bengal and Coromandel as among those that frequented Malacca. At this time the Muslim element begin to predominate among these sea-farers. The Muslims of Nagapattinam and Nagore districts play an

⁸¹Ibid., p.190.

increasingly dominant role in the Southeast Asian trade in the seventeenth Century and eighteenth Century while the Tamil Hindu traders appear to drop off and probably concentrate their activities on brokerage. The Muslims of this area are called Chiolias, probably to denote their country of origin and were found at this period in Pasai, Aceh and Malacca where they held positions of influence in the courts of the Sultans. Their trade continued well into the 19th Century when, with the founding of Singapore and Penang, their country craft were still sailing the seas, carrying articles of trade and immigrant labour to these ports. A proper study of these Muslim communities of Thanjavur, with documented histories of some families, will be of value to an understanding of the commercial history of that period. The Carnatic coast was one of the areas that naturally attracted these new comers, providing as it did a number of havens over a long coastline, a rich and populated hinterland for the sale of goods and centres of production for articles exported to Europe and other parts of Asia. It must be noted that this only supplemented the customary internal and external trade of the Carnatic, with its traditional markets in other parts of India, the middle east, Ceylon (Sri lanka) and Southeast Asia. The enhanced activity on the coast, the expanded potential of the export market, the opportunities that offered for enterprise and business shifted the focus of economic activity to the coastal

districts - a feature that is common to other parts of India besides the Carnatic, Thanjavur and Madura coasts.⁸²

The testimony of Mr. Petrie, a servant to the British East India Company, to a select committee of the company at Madras in 1782 graphically describes Thanjavur's downfall. He stated that Thanjavur, when he first saw it in 1768 was presenting a position of flourishing and best cultivated economy.

"Thanjavur was formerly a place of great foreign and inland trade; it imported cotton from Bombay and Surat, raw and worked silks from Bengal, sugar, spices, etc., from Sumatra, Malacca, and the eastern island; gold, horses, elephants, and timber from Pegu, and various articles of trade from China. It was by means of Thanjavur that a great part of Haidar Ali's dominions and the north-western parts of the Maratha empire were supplied with many European commodities, and with a species of silk manufacture from Bengal, which is almost universally worn as a part of the dress by the natives of Hindustan.

The exports of Thanjavur were muslins, chintz, handkerchiefs, ginghams, various sorts of longcloths, and a coarse printed cloth, which last constitutes a material article in the investment of the Dutch and the Danes, being in great demand for the African, West Indian, and South American markets.

Few countries have more natural advantages than Thanjavur; it possesses a rich and fertile soil, singularly well supplied with water from the two great rivers Cauvery and Coleroon, which, by means of reservoirs, sluices, and canals are made to disperse their waters through almost every field in the country; to this latter cause we may chiefly attribute the uncommon fertility to Thanjavur the face of the country is beautifully diversified, and its appearance approaches nearer to England than any other part of India that I have seen. Such was

⁸²Ibid., p.191.

Thanjavur not many years ago, but its decline has been so rapid, that in many districts it would be difficult to trace the remains of its former opulence.

At this period (1771)....the manufactures flourished, the country was populous and well cultivated, the inhabitants wealthy and industrious. Since the year 1771, the era of the first seige, until the restoration of the Raja (1776), the country having been during that period twice the seat of war, and having undergone revolutions in the government, trade, manufactures, and agriculture were neglected, and many thousands⁸³ of inhabitants went in quest of a more secure abode.

The Thanjavur decline began between 1749 and 1799 when the British annexed the district as part of their empire in India. The period was one of war and destitution as the British and French companies fought for commercial and territorial hegemony throughout the subcontinent. Through their subjugation of the native rulers, they squeezed revenue for the villagers to pay for ever more destructive military campaigns, company profits, and the salaries and remittances of their employees.

The British first actually invaded Thanjavur in 1771 along with the Nawab of Arcot, in order to compel its Raja to pay 70 percent of his revenue as tribute to finance recent and future British wars. In 1773 the Nawab invaded again and conquered the kingdom with British help. the modern fall of Thanjavur seems to have dated decisively from this experience. Its cities were plundered, its villages ravaged by revenue collections that amounted to 59 percent of the gross produce. Thanjavur's

⁸³William Petrie, Letter to Charles Harris, Thanjavur District Records, Vol.3201, dt.23 June 1800, pp.19-21.

peasants and slaves were made destitute and its leisure classes, artisans, government servants, and traders reduced to penury as the district's surplus product became diverted into British fortunes and wars.⁸⁴

The succeeding chapter broadly discusses about the Urban Centres in Thanjavur District during the period between 1750 and 1813 in detail.

⁸⁴ Charles Harris, Letter to William Petrie, Thanjavur District Records, Vol.3201, dt.23 June 1800, pp.19-21.

CHAPTER - VII

**URBAN CENTRES IN THANJAVUR
DURING 1750 TO 1813**

The trend that characterised the economy of Thanjavur district had a lot of impact in the urban centres. The long period of decline was sustained in the second half of the eighteenth century. The dwindling market rather than incentives to improve appears glaringly during the period of study. The district's politico-military elites were not actively participating in the trade and commerce activities as they were very involved in various political wars.

In the earlier chapters a discussion on various factors such as political, social, economical and commercial is given which caused the decline of the trade especially of cotton textiles. The export of cotton textiles formed a major feature prior to 1750 A.D., but this major factor which was affected from 1750 onwards. By the end of the eighteenth century, the British had emerged as the political rulers and they made Thanjavur as a market place for their goods rather than develop local textiles and other handicraft industries. The traditional urban centres of Thanjavur district, which depended on the export of its textiles and other products, declined rapidly as a consequence.

PORT TOWNS

The period after 1750 saw a major trend in the economic activity of the urban centres in Thanjavur district. The emergent rulers not willing to have the craftsmen and traders continued their prosperous business during the period under

study. More over, the incessant wars and famine conditions hampered the growth of textile industry. The commercial despatches from England mentioned that the company's annual investment of piece goods was 16 lakhs of pagodas(i.e. 56 lakhs of rupees) in 1790 which had come down to 12 lakhs in 1796.¹

Even, Arasaratnam supported the above argument and further elaborated that a "deliberate colonial policy" followed by the British,² "had altered the conditions of production in the handloom textiles" and transformed the relationships between the producers and the merchant middlemen called as "Nattwars".³

The condition of the weavers began to decline along with the decrease in trading activities. Port towns in Thanjavur district like Nagapattinam, Nagore, Karaikkal and Tranquebar which wereserved by this trade were thrown into deplorable conditions. The inhabitants of the port towns, for example a group of "Kaikolars", who experienced the declining trend to a large extent began to migrate to other parts of the Tamil areas.⁴ The wage rates of the weaving community during the second half of the

¹ P.Subramanian, "The Textile industry in Tamil country in the 19th century: A critical study", *Tamil Civilisation*, Vol.5, No.4, December 1987, p.35.

² S. Arasaratnam "Weavers, Merchants and Company : The Handloom Industry in South Eastern India 1750 - 1790", *IESHR* , Vol XVII, No.3, p.257. Also see, S. Arasaratnam, *Maritime Commerce and English Power in South East India, 1750-1800*, Variorum, 1996.

³ *Ibid.*, p.257.

⁴ *Ibid .*, p.270.

eighteenth century did not show any marked increase.⁵ After 1770s, the weavers' bargaining position had gone down, and moreover the "Nattwars" were trying to impose strict control on them.⁶ In addition to that the hierarchical administrative system of the European Company put pressure on the weaving community to act according to their wishes.⁷ Under this system the Resident of the Company would have a continuous supervision over the weavers.⁸ The poor weavers, once entered the agreement with the European Companies, had to obey their orders till the end of the contract.⁹ After the end of the Fourth Mysore war, the investment of the British recovered from the shock of the political turmoil of the period. But, the government was yet to make a definite economic policy which would raise the status of Thanjavur district.

The deplorable conditions prevailing during the second half of the eighteenth century made the weavers and other communities

⁵ *Ibid.* ., p.270.

⁶ S. Arasaratnam, *Maritime Commerce and English Power in South East India, 1750-1800*, Variorum, p.71-72.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.72.

⁸ Tarasing Banerjee, "The investment Policy of the East India Company, in Madras in 2nd half of the Eighteenth century", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 30th session, 1968, pp.285,286.

⁹ S. Arasaratnam, *Op.Cit.*, pp.285-286.

to sell off their lands and leave the port towns.¹⁰ Consequently there was a change in the social composition of the land holdings during the study period. In 1805, among the landlords, Brahmans were numbered to 17,149, non-brahmans including Christians were 43,442 and Muslims were 1,457.¹¹ The non-brahmans mainly consisted of Vellalars, Naidus, Kallars etc. Muslims, who were settled as merchants in port towns and also in the inland trading centres began to look at the advantage of the condition of second half of the eighteenth century and bought the land from particularly weaving communities.¹²

Extra sources of Revenue and Urban Centres

The Thanjavur district derived revenue from various sources¹³ namely viz., sayer, sea Customs, salt tax, loom tax, house tax etc.. The rates of the customs were fixed at the choukies (customs post) on all goods, different commodities keeping in view of the distance from where goods have been brought. These duties were rented out annually. The whole district of Thanjavur was divided into five custom areas known as Subhas, which were later subdivided and were given to "under-renters". In 1795 and

¹⁰ Kathleen Gough, *Rural Society in Southeast India*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 424-425.

¹¹ T. Venkatasamy, *A Manual of the District of Thanjavur Madras*, Vol.I 1883, part-I p-408.

¹² Kathleen Gough, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 425-426 and also T. Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, p.408.

¹³ The various sources of revenues have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter VI.

1796 the customs revenue collected at the port towns(excluding "inland" customs) was Rs. 2,55,267.¹⁴ The sea customs (including inland duties) in the same year yielded the revenue of Rs. 3,467¹⁵ which went to the treasury of Maratha rulers. The other taxes such as house tax, loom tax, etc. amounted to Rs. 31,052. However, the collection of extra sources of revenue was meticulously carried out from 1800 onwards. The rate of collection did not remain same, as there were other factors which had greater impact on Thanjavur district.

The fluctuations in the collection of different type of taxes indicates the trend of the urban centres. The taxes and the land revenue that were collected after 1801 exhibits the fluctuations in the economy of urban centres.¹⁶ The statistics of different taxes are given below.

¹⁴ T. Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 408-409.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

¹⁶T. Venkatasamy ., *Op.Cit* ., p.408.

TABLE: VII -1
COLLECTION OF EXTRA SOURCES OF REVENUE IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
FROM 1800 TO 1813

Year	Total Self Revenue	Total Sea Customs	Sayer Collection or Transit of Customs Duty	Abkay Collection	Stamp Duty	Sundries Small Farms	Loom Tax
1801	4,000	26,000	86,000	12,000	-	20,000	7,000
1802	5,000	30,000	47,000	11,000	-	14,000	7,000
1803	5,000	34,000	37,000	12,000	-	10,000	6,000
1804	5,000	35,000	1,69,000	23,000	-	6,000	6,000
1805	68,000	38,000	1,27,000	21,000	-	5,000	6,000
1806	76,000	33,000	9,000	24,000	-	10,000	7,000
1807	1,21,000	49,000	4,000	25,000	-	8,000	7,000
1808	1,47,000	57,000	1,16,000	30,000	-	22,000	7,000
1809	1,93,000	52,000	1,76,000	33,000	37,000	15,000	7,000
1810	2,12,000	75,000	1,85,000	30,000	30,000	16,000	8,000
1811	1,91,000	65,000	1,71,000	33,000	24,000	16,000	8,000
1812	2,03,000	68,000	1,92,000	31,000	26,000	11,000	10,000
1813	2,14,000	87,000	2,14,000	29,000	33,000	13,000	9,000

Source:

Report on the Direct and Indirect Effects of the Coleroon Anaicuts in Thanjavur District, Madras, 1855, pp. 149-150.

The above table VII-1 shows that salt collection, sea customs, sayer collection, transmit duty, abkary taxes, loom tax and sundry tax show a clear indication of fluctuations in the collection of revenue. Though politically there was stability after 1800, the economy of Thanjavur district was yet to recover from the devastating effects of the preceding anomic in the second half of the eighteenth century.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

By the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a tendency to share the village lands by the emerging groups like Muslims, Christians and Vaduga (people coming from Northern parts of Tamil areas). All the land holdings were divided into different systems. By 1805, 38% of the villagers were categorised as 'arudikkarei',¹⁷ (divided share) system.

The penetrating European merchant capital pushed the local peasants and land lords away from their own land holdings.¹⁸ This increasingly powerful influence was due to the breakdown of the village communities and the system of "arudikkarei".¹⁹ The influence of the company could be seen from the way the renters

¹⁷ Arudikkarei - It means a form of Mirasi tenure in which lands were held in severalty and subject, consequently, to no periodical distribution.

¹⁸ Kathleen Gough., *Op.Cit.*, p.410.

¹⁹ T. Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, p.408.

collected revenue form different villages. For example, the British East India Company's Collection of revenue by the renters in Devikotta is given in the following table.

TABLE : VII - 2

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE FARM OF DEVICOTTA FOR 9 YEARS
FROM 1763 TO 1771

To the year	Revenue collected by the Company's Renders and the Amindars			By the Choudrumdar's			By the whole Inamdars and 1/2 inamdars		
	Pago- das	Fana- ms	Kala- ms	Pago- das	Fana- ms	Kala ms	Pago- das	Fana- ms	Kala ms
1763	12421	15	17	199	21	--	2064	38	64
1764	10869	9	96	174	34	40	1683	7	26
1765	6421	30	25	121	23	60	979	27	1
1766	7022	40	20	106	15	60	1025	33	54
1767	7021	33	66	138	13	40	1284	6	77
1768	12969	24	79	180	3	--	1770	28	33
1769	16583	7	18	330	31	40	2126	18	10
1770	11377	21	17	228	21	--	1462	14	75
1771	13396	34	5	352	30	15	1752	21	70
Pagodas	98184	6	43	1832	26	15	14079	29	10

Source:

Thanjavur District Vol.No.3389, General No.21672, p.21.

At the mouth of the river Coleroon the Europeans had been settled and this place was called as "Tivukotta" (i.e., Devicotta) and in the second half of the eighteenth century was entirely in ruins and its very sight has been lost to view. Devicotta played a considerable part in the land revenue collection during the Marathas regime and also the Britisher's rule in Thanjavur. This was evidenced from the above mentioned table. Besides, Devicotta played an active role in strengthening the relationship between the Thanjavur Maratha kingdom and the English East India company.

The above table VII-2 highlights the revenue collected by the Company renters and amindars. Though the years between 1763 and 1771 were the period of stagnation in the economy, the revenue collected by the renters indicates the oppression inflicted on the peasants. So peasants had no other option but to migrate to urban areas in search of livelihood. But, the collected revenues were not utilised to develop the urban centres in Thanjavur district. Instead, the revenue capital was remitted to England.²⁰ Thus, the penetration of the Europeans is evident from the above table. Apart from this, some of the Europeans

²⁰ S. Arasaratnam, *Op.cit.*, Variorum, 1996, p.80.

owned land the profits of which was utilised to develop themselves. The above factors affected the urban centres in Thanjavur district.

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TOWNS

Although the urban centres in Thanjavur district depended on different sources of strength, they did not serve as a single function centre to the exclusion of others. For example: Thanjavur town, Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai), Nannilam, Thiruthuraipoondi, Mannargudi and Pattukottai were the urban centres which depended on various factors that sustained them. Apart from the political patronage the towns had stronger connections with the "Hinterlands" around them. Some of the above urban centres were acting as administrative divisions(subas) and were attached with a few smaller towns. The above administrative categorisation and smaller towns are given in the following table VII-3.

TABLE: VII-3
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THANJAVUR DISTRICT

No.	Subah	Towns attached
In 1801		
1.	Mayavaram	(i) Mayavaram, (ii) Komal (iii) peralam (iv) Tirunallur (v) Pillur (vi) Sirkazhi (vii) name not legible (viii) velur (ix) Tirupandal kilmugham (eastern division (x) Tirucampalli and (xi) Tadalangudi
In 1801		
2.	Mannargudi	(1) Mannargudi (ii) Ayakkaranpulam (iii) Kankuduttavanidam (iv) Kalappal (v) Kacchanam (vi) Vikrapandiyam (vii) Thirukanamangai (viii) Siruvamani (ix) Sattanoor and (x) Tiruvarur.
In 1805		
3.	Pattukottai	(i) Tiruvadi (ii) Marttur (iii) Nannilam (iv) Papavinasam (v) Pattukkottai (vi) Tiruvarur (vii) Kumbakonam (viii) Kilvelur (ix) Kuthalam (x) Mayavaram (xi) Mannargudi (xii) Talakkadu

Source:

T. Venkatasamy, A Manual of the District of Thanjavur, Madras, Vol.I, 1883, pp.420-422.

The above administrative divisions served the purpose of the collection of revenue as well as the administration of justice under the Maratha rules. Originally, the Subedars combined the functions of military with that of the collection of revenues. Such arrangements were changed by the British after 1800. These political and administration urban centres were depending on the economic surplus of the "hinterlands". Whatever imports arrived in these towns were traded in the market areas of the urban centres. However, the relationships between the "hinterland" and urban centres had undergone changes.

The hinterland could not produce the surplus, which thrived on the economy of the urban centres. The declining Maratha political power did not extend the needed patronage to sustain the economy of these urban centres.²¹ In addition to that there were no employment opportunities to the soldiers, civil servants, artisans and domestic servants in these towns due to the political chaos. Migrations to these urban centres had come down drastically because of the decreasing trend in the employment opportunities. More over, the political centres declined as a result of reduction in the proportion of the army of Maratha rulers. This was imposed by the British as they were striving to assume the administrative charges of Thanjavur district gradually. So, the population of political towns decreased along

²¹ Dharmakumar, "Regional Economy 1757-1857", Dharmakumar(ed.) *The Cambridge Economic History of India Vol.II C.1757- C.1790*, New Delhi, 1994, p.357.

with the rapid decline of political powers of the rulers. For example, the towns of Mayavaram, Mannarkudi, Papavinasam, sirkazhi and Pattukottai in 1778-1789 had the population of 1,42,017, 2,72,679, 2,20,679, 87,556 and 79,000 respectively.²² The factors discussed above made these urban centres to decline and their population numbers came down to 71,850 in Mayavaram, 1,49,427 in Mannarkudi, 1,49,427 in papavinasam, 32,169 in sirkazhi and 66,000 in Pattukottai.²³ This trend continued till the end of eighteenth century.²⁴ This unstable situation of political centres hampered the capitalist development in them. Consequently, the investment in crop production came down in all these urban centres. This declining trend reduced the potentialities of the political urban centres to becoming into industrial and commercial centres.

The following table shows the declining trend in crop production in Thanjavur district.

²² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Politics of Fiscal Decline: A Reconsideration of Maratha Thanjavur, 1676-1799", *IESHR.*, 32,2(1995), New Delhi, pp.193-205.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-207.

²⁴ Dharmakumar, *Op.Cit.*, p.363.

TABLE :VII - 4

PADDY (GROSS) PRODUCTION OF PADDY IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
FROM 1800 TO 1820

Fusly	A.D.	Gross Produce in Kalams	
1210	1800	1,37,66,489	
1211	1801	1,14,23,566	
1212	1802	65,56,491	
1213	1803	77,61,947	
1214	1804	1,01,36,428	
1215	1805	1,12,50,011	
1216	1806	86,80,840	
1217	1807	1,11,20,623	
1218	1808	1,13,15,269	
1219	1809	1,12,40,690	
1220	1810	1,02,31,938	
1221	1811	1,02,44,095	
1222	1812	1,15,88,812	
1223	1813	1,18,97,079	
1224	1814	1,20,09,938	
1225	1815	1,15,42,410	
1226	1816	1,11,42,870	
1227	1817	1,15,60,725	
1228	1818	1,14,12,055	
1229	1819	1,16,45,229	
1230	1820	1,17,65,595	
TOTAL		22,82,63,130	
Average for 21 years		: 22,82,63,130	= 1,08,69,672.85
(i.e., 1800-1820)		21	
Fusly	1210)	1,37,66,489
	1800 A.D.)	
Fusly	1230)	1,17,65,595
	1820 A.D.)	
Total)	2,55,32,084

Source :

Collections Jummabandy Report for fusli 1241, Thanjavur District, p.77.

The following table shows the government share of land revenue in Thanjavur district during the period between 1776 and 1796.

TABLE : VII - 5

GOVERNMENT SHARE OF LAND REVENUE IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT
FROM 1776 TO 1796

Fusly	Year	Government Share	Price per		
			Rs.	A	P
1186	1776	56	0	9	0
1187	1777	56	0	5	7
1188	1778	56	0	5	1
1189	1779	56	0	7	6
1190	1780	54	0	4	9
1191	1781	62	0	15	8
1192	1782	56	0	10	7
1193	1783	56	0	13	2
1194	1784	56	0	11	3
1195	1785	58	0	7	4
1196	1786	59	0	6	7
1197	1787	58	0	6	7
1198	1788	55	0	11	6
1199	1789	55	0	9	4
1200	1790	55	0	8	3
1201	1791	55	0	10	0
1202	1792	55	0	11	3
1203	1793	55	0	10	2
1204	1794	56	0	7	0
1205	1795	56	0	5	0
1206	1796	56	0	5	5

Source :

Public Sundries, Vol.86.A, 1798-1889 (Committee on
Thanjavur).

Notes : 1) Kalam was a volume and the measure made up of 8 maracals, but present measurement is very slightly vary from this and one kalam is equal to 12 maracals in Thanjavur district.

2) Fanams referred to in Column.3 may be fanams, which were sub-divisions of Chakrams, the Thanjavur currency. The revenue figures were shown in star pagodas in the original source i.e. public sundries, Vol.86.A, 1798-1800 - Committee in Thanjavur quotes that 1 star pagoda = 44 fanams.

The rate of tax during this period as indicated in the above table was very high. According to Venkatasamy "... inhabitants were in perfect obedience and paid a large proportion of the produce to the circar".²⁵ The same period i.e., 1776 to 1799 experienced wars, devastations and depopulation which culminated in the annexation of Thanjavur district to the British Dominion.²⁶ Even then, the Government did not give the needed remission to the ryots and land holders. The Commissioner of different Subah's in Thanjavur district stated that the remission granted by the Thanjavur rulers appeared to be just equalising the state of taxation. However, it should be considered that the rates

²⁵ T. Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit*, P.478.

²⁶ Kathleen Gough, *Op.Cit.*, P.411.

sanctioned on different types of lands were almost equal. And affected the interest of the landholders in dry areas.²⁷

The exaction of land revenue from Thanjavur district was so high that even during the period of wars, the collection of revenue stood at Rs. 8,100,300 plus Rs. 9,300,300 in special payments in 1775, whereas the highest revenue collected in the previous years was Rs. 5,750,000 in 1761. This shows the oppression inflicted on peasants and other land holders.²⁸ This high rate of extraction of revenue continued till the end of eighteenth century. The following table support the above argument and shows the rate of taxes prevailed during the Amarsing's reign.

²⁷ T. Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, pp.478-479.

²⁸ Kathleen Gough, *Op.Cit.*, P.226.

TABLE: VII - 6

RATES OF TAX ON RICE PRODUCTION IN DIFFERENT SUBHAS
(ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION) IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT

Rates of Varam Percent	Mannargudi Subha			Mayavaram Subha			Pattukkotai Subha		
	V	M	C	V	M	C	V	M	C
From 88 to 60 inclusive.	172	15	-	305	11	75	69	11	87½
at 60	165	5	-	69	-	-	70	8	12½
From 60 to 55	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
at 55	203	6	75	-	-	-	-	-	-
From 54 to 50	275	-	-	20	12	-	-	-	-
at 50	6187	17	25	572	2	25	2866	1	25
From 48 to 45	465	3	-	69	2	50	-	-	-
at 45	2170	2	-	3192	9	25	-	-	-
From 44 to 40	1244	-	75	21	14	25	-	-	-
at 40	8533	11	-	16024	14	75	-	-	-
From 33 to 20	55	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

'V' - Signifies 'VELI'

'M' - Signifies 'MA'

'C' - Signifies 'CULI' (KULI)

Source:

T. Venkatasamy, *A Manual of the District of Thanjavur*,
Madras, Vol.I, Part-I, 1883,p-480.

The above rates existed a year before the British took the administrative charges of Thanjavur district. Generally, payment of taxes was commuted in money. On the whole, payments in money was regarded as grievance, because the price of the paddy would be fluctuating depending on the market conditions.

The factors discussed in detail indicates the changing relationship between the hinterlands and urban centres. These changes also transforms the conditions in urban centres. Thus, the declining economy indicates the deplorable conditions of the urban centres during the study period in Thanjavur district. The political factors on the other hand were the most transient and vulnerable of all the factors. It means that the shifting political conditions would have an effect on urban centres in changing their fortunes. This was because the political factors unlike the religious or the economic factors was capable of encouraging and patronising the urban centres. Consequently once the political authority became weak, the urban centres would feel its impact. The weakening of the Maratha rule gave space for the British to strive for the political power. During this period of political instability, the urban centres in Thanjavur district began to decline.

Religious Towns

Though the political and economic factors were vulnerable during the period of study, religious condition was more or less appeared to be stable. The faith of the people and their

traditions of visiting holy places remained constant during the first two decades of the study period. The pilgrim centres in Thanjavur district could be graded, according to their popularity, into local, regional and national importance. There was no change in the gradation of these religious centres. However some of the famous religious centres like Thanjavur, Kumbakonam, Thiruvaiyaru etc. began to decline after 1770s.

The invasions from the northern areas, for example, of the Nawab of Arcot and Mysore rulers caused a social and cultural dislocation. The occupation of highways by the military people decreased the number of travellers between the towns in Thanjavur.²⁹ Pilgrimage centres in Thanjavur also did not attract people due to the incessant wars that ravaged the district. Consequently the religious centres declined and the activities in these towns became less and less. For example, the armies of Arcot Nawabs disturbed the areas in and around Vallam, Elangad, Thanjavur, Nagore and eventually the arrival of pilgrims in these centres began to decline after 1770s.³⁰ On the other hand, the population of these towns started to migrate to other places. In Kumbakonam, which was one of the famous religious centres, religious activities went down and continuous migration took

²⁹ T. Venkatasamy, *Op.cit.*, pp.409-411.

³⁰ K.Rajayyan, *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur, Mysore*, 1969, pp.3-37.

place after 1770. In 1779 and 1780, Kumbakonam consisted of 2,57,040 population which came down to 1,65,643 in 1788 and 1789.³¹

URBAN SOCIAL SYSTEM

The social structure and their relations did not change at once. Even prior to 1750 A.D., the arrival of different religious group had an impact on the system of social stratification in Thanjavur district. The areas around where the settlements of these groups took place, resulted in the flexibility of the hitherto existed rigid customs and traditions. The hierarchy of ranks and social roles transformed gradually. Thanjavur district consisted of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and other lower castes, who had social roles to be performed. However there was a change in the status and roles of the different castes, for example, the Brahmans, who were known as the priestly class and as teachers were enjoying hundreds of acres of lands before and during the period of study.³² Some of the artisan communities changed their profession and became who later were dominant in the social structure of the urban areas.

³¹ Sanjay Subrahmaniyam, *Op.Cit.*, pp.185-213.

³² T. Venkatasamy, *Op.Cit.*, p.408.

In addition to that Muslims and Christians bought the rich wet lands in many villages and joined the higher status along with the other dominant castes.³³

In the urban social order, the Marathas, the Nayakan and the Muslims were mainly associated with the military and administrative jobs. They were paid in the form of assignments of lands and some times in cash also. These ruling classes also patronised trade, internal as well as external to collect more revenue to the government in the form of customs duty. These ruling elites maintained control over their respective choukis.³⁴ Thus, there appears a mixture of different religious groups in the administrative hierarchy. The social categorisation is not too simple in order to understand the social gradations in urban society. All the groups belonging to the upper classes could not be placed on equal footing. Though there was a decline in the social and economic positions of upper Hindu castes, they still maintained dominant position when compared to the newly arrived religious groups. The ruling Marathas were accommodated in the upper positions on par with the Brahmans and Kshatriyas. In the middle category, there were professional groups like Chetties, moneylenders, traders, petty land holders and officials. The

³³ Kathleen Gough, *Op.Cit.*, p.425.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.426-429.

decline in the economy of urban centres did not allow these groups to expand. However, the caste criteria always remained as a dominant factor for determining one's inclusion either in upper or middle classes.

In the lower castes, there were Pallans, Paraiyans, Koliars, Chakkilians, Vettians and Kuravans. All these caste groups mainly depended on services they rendered to the upper castes. This position did not change during the study period.

The services castes, particularly weavers, cobblers, washermen, carpenters, smiths and artisans could not make their positions better. The decline in the trade and handicrafts dictated the positions of the services castes, which resulted in the creation of new labour classes in the urban society. There was a significant change in the social structure of the urban centres during the period of study. The division of labour particularly in textiles and shoe industries, created several professional groups which assumed the status of separate castes named after their professions. Thus, there was an inter-mixture of different castes which weakened the earlier social stratification and created changes in social relations in urban centres.³⁵

The period between 1750 and 1813 saw some performance changes in the conditions of urban centres in Thanjavur district. The earlier political rule was weakened at the time the British

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.429-433.

strove to fill up the political space left by the Maratha rulers. The invasions of Nawab of Arcot's army and the armies of Mysore rulers brought a devastation over the urban centres which resulted in the decline of their economic and social conditions. The process set in by these conditions clearly pointed out the positions of different social groups and status in urban centres. There was a transformation of roles played by different social groups in the social and economic system of the urban centres. The declining trade and commerce resulted in the dislocation of many trading groups and eventually led to the deceleration of port towns. These declining trends transformed the relations between the urban centres and the hinterlands. The declining village economy changed the fortunes of urban centres which had strong links with them. The lack of political patronage also caused the pathetic conditions in urban centres. The above discussed factors also brought changes in religious towns during the period of study. Thus, the period between 1750 and 1813 shows the declining trend in economic, social, political and religious factors in urban centres. In the succeeding chapter an attempt would be made to present the concluding remarks on the whole study from 1750 to 1813 A.D.

CHAPTER - VIII

CONCLUSION

The study draws certain broad conclusions from the evidence presented in the earlier chapters. These evidences provide the basic trends during the period of study. It is noteworthy that the statistical data presented in the different chapters indicate major changes between 1750 and 1813. In fact the results arrived corroborate the broad changes occurring all over India during the eighteenth century.

A comprehensive account of the entire work so far made is presented here. This work is the result of intensive research on different aspects, such as socio-political and economic conditions of Thanjavur district which contributed to the differential conditions of urban centers in this district. This particular subject did not attract the attention of many scholars and hence much work has not been done.

The present study mirrors the trends with reference to the urban centers. It also highlights the changing agrarian economy and also the stress and strain it had faced during the period under study. More over, the conditions of urban centers reflect the transformation in both agriculture and industry. Such transformation laid the basis for changing conditions in urban centers during the period under study. Thus, the process of changing conditions assured greater importance in the study area i.e., Thanjavur, due to the rapid strides made by the colonial power during the same period.

The present work concentrates on urban centres in Thanjavur district. One of the main reasons for the fluctuations in urban centers in the region under study was due to the political and economic instability between 1750 and 1813. Thanjavur was the famous capital for the Cholas, the Nayakas and the Marathas. But from 1750 onwards the district faced with unstable conditions which transformed its glory into decline.

The study covers a distinct phase of history in which the declining Maratha rule gave space to the British to bring in political and administrative changes in Thanjavur district. During this particular phase, Thanjavur changes its fortune very rapidly. All the urban centres in this district were affected by these changes inflicted by the declining following Maratha rule as well as the ascending European domination.

In the pre-colonial period the district of Thanjavur thrived on different sources of strength. The political stability encouraged the economic surplus of the district. The spurt in economic activity made the political-military elites to involve in trade and commerce activity which eventually led to the growth of Thanjavur during the early Medieval times. Migrations from the northern parts as well as from the new areas helped to increase the space of towns in Thanjavur district. Thus, the district of Thanjavur presents a changing picture during this period and it would be interesting to have a glimpse into the major fluctuations in urban centres during this phase of study.

In order to summarise the political background of the Thanjavur district, the following notable points are highlighted here. The early Chola emperor of the Sangam age, Karikala lost his legendary grandeur. So, the first Chola kingdom fell into a dark age in the late Third century A.D. In Sixth century A.D. it re-emerged as a tributary province of the Tamil Pallavas of Kanchipuram. It was several centuries later that Vijayalaya established a small kingdom around Thanjavur which developed into a gigantic empire under his successors. So, the Chola regained their independence about 850 A.D. and reached the heights of their expansion in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For about two centuries they commanded tribute from all the kingdoms south of the Tungabhadra and at times extended their sway north to the Ganges and south to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), to Burma (Myanmar) and Indo-china, and to the Sri Vijaya empire of Malaya (Malaysia) and Indonesia. Thanjavur's modern bureaucracy, many of its great temples and most of its towns and villages were established in this period.

The imperial Chola empire declined in the Twelfth century and Thanjavur was conquered by the Pandya kingdom of Madurai in 1290 A.D. Later, Thanjavur became a tributary to the rising Tamil Pandya kingdom in the early Thirteenth century. In the early Fourteenth century, Thanjavur was briefly attacked by the Muslim rulers from the Delhi Sultanate. After various ups and downs in the fortune of the district, Thanjavur was invaded by

the Vijayanagar empire in about 1340 A.D. In the year 1365, Thanjavur became a feudatory to the Telugu empire of Vijayanagar.

By 1534, the Chola dynasty had disappeared. The vast and the mighty Chola kingdom, reduced to the limits of the present district, came under the rule of Nayakas. In 1620s Nayakas were appointed as governors by the Vijayanagar rulers. The Nayakas, however, declared their independence from Vijayanagar in 1642.

When the Nayaka empire declined, Thanjavur was again conquered, this time by Maratha armies from Bijapur and a Maratha ruler was installed in 1674. In 1680, the Maratha king declared his independence from Bijapur. Thanjavur was invaded by Mughal armies in 1691 and its Maratha king became a tributary of the Mughal empire, except for brief invasions by Muslims from South Arcot (the south western most extension of the Mughal empire) in the 1690s and 1770s and from Mysore in 1781. The Maratha dynasty held Thanjavur until its annexation by the British East India Company. The kingdom was, however, feudatory to the Nawab of Arcot from the 1690s and indirectly to the East India Company till its annexation. Thanjavur was thus a small, dependent kingdom paying booty and tribute to larger powers for most of this period.

By 1749, some institutions resembling feudal lords and others influenced by capitalist markets and the concepts of private ownership of the means of production had begun to

penetrate the irrigated region of Thanjavur district, from different parts of India and Europe.

In the year 1749, Thanjavur was occupied by the Britishers. It was the first interference of the British in Thanjavur and was reduced by the British East India Company in 1771. The ruler of Maratha dynasty of Thanjavur, King Serfoji.II (1799-1832), handed over the Thanjavur territory to the British. After Thanjavur's annexation in 1799, the British pensioned the Maratha royal family. After the cessation of Thanjavur to the British, the Marathas kept the fort as their residence and an estate for their support. Thanjavur was later annexed to the British empire under the "Doctrine of Lapse" (The last Maharaja of the Maratha Kingdom left an heiress but no heir and there was a dispute over the abolition of the Kingship) in 1855 by Lord Dalhousie. This was declared very arbitrarily by the British and the Marathas extinct took place in the same year.

The socio-economic conditions in Thanjavur district on the basis of statistical analysis suggests a period of decline of urban centres. Politically the central domination was declined. This could be seen in the presence of various political powers in and around the Thanjavur district. The Nawab of Arcot attempted to annex the Thanjavur district. He attempted to ruin the existing vibrant economy of Thanjavur district. There was a decline in production activity. In 1780, the paddy production was 11,909,085 kalams and in 1790 it was reduced to 9,119,863 kalams in Thanjavur district. There was a decline in total revenue

collection between 1775 and 1780. In 1775-1776, the total revenue collection was 960,199 (star pagodas), but in 1779-1780, it was just 733,597 (star pagodas). It was clearly indicated that there was a steep down fall in revenue collection in Thanjavur district during the period under study. The collection of paddy produced also came down from 200,000,00 Kalams in 1740s to 150,000,00 Kalams in 1800s. The agricultural production throughout the 1770s and 1780s was poor because of the devastation caused by the Nawab of Carnatic. The Nizam's invasion was also largely responsible for the declining trends in the economy of Thanjavur district.

In 1781-5, Haider Ali, the Muslim Governor General of Mysore, assisted by the French and the Dutch, made a thrust to oust the British from South India. In his campaigns against Thanjavur, Haidar's armies devastated the northern part of the district. Twelve thousand children were deported to Mysore and tens of thousands of Tanjoreans were massacred. Most of the people left fled into jungles in nearby districts. For those who remained in Thanjavur, the destruction of irrigation channels and agriculture brought about a severe famine in 1783-4. Haider's government reportedly collected 62 percent crops during his four-year campaign.

The normal production of crops was not restored until the end of the century. Even during the period of Haidar's occupation, from 1776 until 1799, the Raja's puppet government collected the revenue equivalent to 54 percent to 62 percent of

the gross produce of paddy lands. Seventy percent of this (amounting to Rs 2,450,000 in 1776) went to the East India Company as "peace contributions", tribute and liquidation of the Nawab's private debts to the company servants.

In addition to the above reasons, famines also attacked the district during the years 1773-1774 and 1802-1803. On the other hand, British were trying to assert themselves politically and economically. Due to these factors Marathas began to lose their control on their territory. During the study period, there were fluctuations in the collections of revenue and the production of grain. All these factors led to the decline in population from 1,058,424 to 655,271. There might be deaths due to the famines or there might have been large scale migration to other places because of the political chaos and instability.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw a steep decline in Thanjavur's population. Thanjavur city was reported to have 100,000 people in the late 1770's, even after the Nawab's invasion, a figure did not reach again until 1951. Judging from the grain output and the size of cities, the district's population may have been about 1.75 to 2 million. With Haidar's invasion it dropped phenomenally. Although some people returned afterwards from exile, the district was reported to have only 83,753 households (perhaps about 500,000 people) in 1802, and only 901,333 people at the first census of 1823. It reached 2,245,029 by 1901 and 2,983,761 by 1951, and that too since

because agriculture was developed at the expense of industries. Thanjavur's municipality, indeed, had only 57,870 as late as 1901, although, under the patronage of the pensioned Raja, it had 80,000 in 1838.

The Europeans carried on trade in various urban centres in Thanjavur. In these places they were able to secure provisions in abundance for their other settlements. The Dutch bought a great deal of their requirements in rice from here and exported it to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The major commodity of trade was textiles. The Cauvery delta had a number of weaving villages and this accounts for the concentration of European settlements on the coast. They were largely located at Nagapattinam from where they exported the goods to other places. There was also sale of imported goods - metals such as copper, zinc and lead, and spices from Southeast Asia. In the seventeenth century, Europeans desired to settle in Thanjavur and were constantly negotiating with Nayakas for trading privileges. The fact that there were not more of such settlements is due to the naval dominance of the Dutch in these waters and the pressures they were able to bring to bear on the Nayakas. After the Maratha dynasty came to power, they were able to follow more independent policies and encouraged free trade.

Thanjavur had been the centre of brisk trade with Southeast Asia and the Far East carried out by Tamil merchants of South Carnatic ports. This continued in the Vijayanagar period and

Tome Pires talks of traders from Gujarat, Malabar, Bengal and Coromandel as among those who frequented Malacca. At this time the Muslims began to predominate among these sea-farers. The Muslims of Nagapattinam and Nagore districts play an increasingly dominant role in the Southeast Asian trade in the seventeenth Century and eighteenth Century while the number of Hindu traders appear to drop and they probably acted as middlemen.

The Muslims of this area were called as Chiolias, probably to denote their country of origin and were found at this period in Pasai, Acheh and Malacca where they held positions of influence in the courts of the Sultans. Their trade continued well into the nineteenth Century when, with the founding of Singapore and Penang, their country craft were still sailing the seas, carrying articles of trade and immigrant labour to these ports. A proper study of these Muslim communities of Thanjavur, with documented histories of some families, will be of value to an understanding of the commercial history of that period.

The fluctuations in the fortune of Thanjavur district occurred between 1749 and 1799, after which the British annexed the district as part of their empire in India. The period was one of war and destitution as the British and French companies fought for commercial and territorial hegemony throughout the subcontinent. Through their subjugation of the native rulers, they squeezed revenue from the villagers to pay for ever more destructive military campaigns, the salaries and remittances to their country.

The cities of Thanjavur were plundered, its villages ravaged by revenue collections that amounted to 59 percent of the gross produce after 1770s. Thanjavur's peasants and slaves were made destitute and its leisure classes, artisans, government servants, and traders reduced to penury as the district's surplus product got diverted into British fortunes and wars.

Out of different dominant factors that were responsible for the decline of Thanjavur, political, economic and commercial factors played prominent role. The religious faith of the people and their traditions remained unchanged for centuries. Though there were different religious groups occupied in various urban centres, the social customs and conventions continued unhindered. However, there was a flexibility in social taboos as the population consisted of different religious groups. The religious centres like Thanjavur, Kumbakonam, Velankanni and Nagore raised to the status of important pilgrimage centre and attracted the people from far off places. However after 1770s, the religious centres declined due to the political and economic factors.

The other dominant factors, such as the economic, commercial and political were not so fixed and secure as compared to that of a religious factor. A change in the political rule, the fall of commercial trade, a fall in the crop production were some of the factors that affected the growth of the Urban centres. These changes existed during the period of study.

The system of economy in urban centres was revived. The relations between the urban centres and hinterland changes rapidly after 1770s. The newly emerged groups such as the European, the Muslims began to control the land. Some of the old cities sold their lands to the above said newly emerged groups. Among the social castes that sold their land, weavers appeared to be very prominent. Since the trade and commerce declined in coastal urban centre, these communities shifted their residence and settled in faroff places. The migration of servicing castes led to the fall in the textile as well as handicraft trade. These deplorable conditions of servicing castes made them to shift to the towns where they were employed as labourers. Hence there emerged a new low class which placed itself between the earlier dominant classes and the oppressed classes. The emergence of this new social class blurred the rigid social stratification and also the social relations. Consequently, the urban centres witnessed the rise of slum areas in the next (i.e., nineteenth) century.

The emergence of new elite groups in the rural areas led to the imbalances in the production of crops. The rice production had gone down till the years 1790, after which it fluctuated from 1791 to 1813 A.D. The commercial crops occupied the space created by the fall in rice production. However, all these crops could not sustain the urban centres, as they were not produced to the optimum level where the profits accrued from them could support the urban centres. There was a gradual decrease in the

economic support from the hinterlands to the urban centres. Apart from this the invading armies, the famines, the decrease in the population made the conditions of these centres pathetic.

The expansion of the new elites into the hinterlands had other effects also. The Company officials who owned the lands prospered themselves. The fall of rate of land revenue and other taxes was the best example which pointed out that the newly emerged groups tried to hide the production of crops. During these years, the Company officials restricted control over textile production in the maritime centres and dealt primarily with the local handlooms and other powerful groups. The Company also had the political will and the army which could tackle the problems of hinterlands and they utilized for the above purpose. Though these means, the officials had effective control over the rural elites and this factor allowed them to amaze the wealth, both from land revenue and textile procurement. Both the military officials and the civilians joined hands to increase their fortunes, which was not utilized to invest in these local areas but was remitted to their motherland(i.e. Britain). Thus the urban centres declined in want of support, both in kind and cash.

The above factors were also responsible for the fall of the hitherto once dominant classes. The Brahmans, the Kallars, the Maravars, the Vadugas, the Marathas , and the other Kshatriya groups were socially dominant prior to 1750. Their position was

dislocated due to the influence of different factors, viz., the decreasing political control of native rulers, the declining economy, the arrival of other social groups, etc. The new social groups i.e., the Christians, the Muslims and the Sankritized communities and others, threatened the rigid social customs and the position of the earlier dominant castes. Some of the Pallars, the Pariahs and other oppressed groups shifted to the urban areas and brought changes in the former social stratifications. The new labour classes were scrambling to create a position for themselves in the social hierarchy. In this way, the once rigid social customs and traditions became flexible and made changes in the social stratification as well as social relations.

Thus the period, 1750-1813, is important for understanding the changes affected by the political, social, economic and trade and commercial factors in the urban centers of Thanjavur district. The nature of the impact was such that all the urban centres began to decline after 1770s and it continued till 1813. The fluctuating economy of Thanjavur district caused great harm to the urban centres till 1800 after which these centres tried to overcome this trend. This could not be achieved till the latter half of nineteenth century. However, it was again a different situation which has to be studied within the framework of colonialism. Thus the fortunes of urban centres changed during the period of study in accordance with the impact of different factors operating at that time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. (A) OFFICIAL RECORDS

Annual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, 2 vols,
Madras, 1885.

Board of Revenue Proceedings 1750-1813.

Board of Revenue Proceedings and Miscellaneous 1800-1815
(for Reports on External Commerce), (Munro to Board of
Revenue, 15th Aug. 1807).

Board of Assumed Revenue Records relating to the Thanjavur
country for the year 1790, 1791, 1792 and Index to
proceedings 1799.

Board of Revenue Records, Miscellaneous 1750-1813.

Board's Consultations from 1798 to 1858 (Manuscripts).

District Records of Madras Presidency.

English Factory Records.

Fort St. George Records

(i) Letters from Fort St, George.

(ii) Letters to Fort St. George.

(iii) Revenue Consultations (RC).

(iv) Public Consultations (PC).

(v) Public Despatches from England (P from England).

(vi) Public Letters from England (P to England).

Fort St. George, Records of Diary and Consultation Book,
1685, 1687, 1688, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1694, 1697, 1699,
1700.

French Records presented in the Archives Coloniales at
Pondicherry.

Guide to the Records of the Thanjavur District 1749-1835 (8
volumes).

India Office Records (Series)

- (i) Charters and Treaties.
- (ii) Dutch Records, Hague Transcripts.
- (iii) Factory Records.
- (iv) Factory Records, Miscellaneous.
- (v) Madras Despatches.

Military Department Sundries 1750-1835 (Vol. 86).

Mayor's Court Records.

Manuscripts and papers preserved in the Madras High Court comprising Will books for 1735, etc. Register of Records of the Mayor's Court from 1731, Register of Records of the Court of Appeals from 1755, Minute Book of the Town Hall Court from 1740, Register of Records of Miscellaneous Proceedings of the Town Hall Court from 1761.

Modi Records in Tamil language, Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras and Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji Saraswathy Mahal Library (TMSSML) at Thanjavur and Tamil Nadu State Archives (TNSA) at Madras.

Mayor's Court Records 1750-1800.

Political Department Sundries (No.1), 1769-70.

Public Department Consultations 1750-1835.

Public Department Consultation Fort St. George, 13-8-1779, 04-07-1769, 19-01-1775, 16-01-1775, 23-01-1775.

Public Department Sundries 1750-1835 (Vol. 38B).

Records of Educational Census, Madras, 1817.

Records of charters granted to the East India Company-1774.

Revenue Department Sundries 1750-1813.

Secret Department Sundries 1750-1835.

Selections from the old District Records of Thanjavur 1782-1883, printed by the Foreman Press, 1970.

Selections from the Records of the Thanjavur Collectorate, Thanjavur Records (Vol.I and Vol.II), Publication:1770.

(B) OFFICIAL REPORTS

Administrative Report of the Madras Presidency.

Administrative Report of the Municipal Commissioner for the city of Thanjavur.

Ananda Ranga Pillai: Diary, Volumes: I, II, IV, VI & XI.

Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy (Madras).

Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India (both at Madras and Hyderabad) (Original Sources: Inscriptional).

Annual South Indian Epigraphy (Madras).

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.

Calendar of a volume containing notifications from 1779 to 1824 issued by the Danish Administration at Tranquebar (Danish Records Series) Government Press, Madras, 1908.

Chandrasekaran, T. An Alphabetical Index of Tamil Manuscripts. Mackenzie's Collections, Vol.III, parts I and II. Government Manuscripts Library (Madras, 1951).

Chandrasekaran, T. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts, Oriental Manuscripts Library (Madras, 1951). Dodwell: The Madras Despatches 1744-1755.

Ecclesiastical Letters.

Epigraphy of India (in 36 Volumes).

First Second and Third Reports of the Select Committee appointed by the Court of Directors on the Export Trade from Great Britain to the East India (with appendices), London, 1793. (See also: Military Department Sundries, Vol. 86).

Inscriptions [Cholas, Arikamedus, corpus of Tamil Brahmi inscriptions etc.,] Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu and South Indian Inscriptions (S.I.I) at Madras and Thanjavur and an Inscription from Thanjavur temple gives a long list of commercial products, S.I.I, Vol. III, No. 4.

Maclean, G.D. Standing information regarding the Official Administration of Madras Presidency in each Department in illustration of the Yearly Administration Reports, 2nd Edition (Madras, 1879).

Mackenzie Manuscripts in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, (Vol.III). History of Kaveripoompattinam in Thanjavur District.

Mackenzie Manuscripts in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, (Vol.IV)-The Mahratta Raja's of Thanjavur.

Madras Courrier for 1790.

Madras Gazetteer for 1795.

Madras Almanacs 1801-1850.

Modi Manuscripts - TMSSML at Thanjavur.

Oriental Historical Manuscripts of Thanjavur by Taylor Press, 1905.

Raja of the Thanjavur, (5 Volumes), TMSSML, Thanjavur.

Reports of the Commission of 1798.

Reports of the Raja Considered 1777.

Reports of copies of papers relative to the restoration of the Sankaranarayana Kalyanam, a Tamil Manuscript in the TMSSML at Thanjavur.

Report of the Thanjavur Commissioners (1799-1835), Thanjavur District Press, 1905.

Reports of Seige of Madras 1757-58, Capture of Pondichery, 1761, Mysore war 1767-68 and the Thanjavur Campaign 1771-73.

Thanjavur Affairs, (The events in Thanjavur are described in Thanjavur Affairs, a Collection of Papers in TMSSML at Thanjavur. Besides William Hickey (1872), Nightingale (1985), Burke are the other sources).

Thanjavur District Administration Reports.

Thanjavur District Census Hand Books, 1951-1991.

Thanjavur District Statistical Hand Books.

Thanjavur Papers: 1789, vol.2-3, part. 3, deals the Financial Commitments of Thanjavur and the papers of 1771-1773 deals the funds raised by the Rajah of Thanjavur (These are available in TMSSML at Thanjavur and TNSA at Madras).

The Correspondences 1750 -1813.

The Despatches 1750 -1813.

William Taylor, Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language, Vol.I, First Edition (Madras, 1835).

(C) CENSUS AND GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Agricultural census, Thanjavur District: Director of Agricultural census, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Annual Statistical Abstract of Tamil Nadu (Various years), Department of Statistics, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census Reports of India (1881-1991).

Census of India-Regional Division of India-A Cartographic Analysis (Occasional Papers Series) No.1, vol. XX, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census of India-District Census Handbook, Thanjavur District census Handbook, series, No.20, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census of India-Village and town directory, Department of census Operations, Part. XIII-A, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census of India-General Population of Tables, Series No. 20, Part II-A, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census of India-Primary Census Abstract, Series No 20, Part II-Department of Census operations, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census of India-Demography and Vital Statistics (Tables) Vol.IX, Part-1-B (II), Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Census of India-Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities in Different Regions and levels and Trends of Urbanisation, Occasional paper-1 1986.

Industrial Profile of Tamil Nadu (Various years), Department of Statistics, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Statistical Atlas of Madras Presidency, Department of Statistics, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

Tamil Nadu : An Economic Appraisal (various years),
Evaluation and Applied Research Department, Government
of Tamil Nadu, Madras.

II. NAME OF ENCYCLOPAEDIA
[Abbreviations are given in brackets]

(A) ENGLISH

Encyclopaedia Americana (EA).

Encyclopaedia of Asian History, (EAA), New York, 1988.
(prepared under the Auspices of the Asian Society).

Encyclopaedia Britinica (EB).

Encyclopaedia International, Canada, 1982.

Encyclopaedia of Religion, New York, 1987.

Executive Library Encyclopaedia, London.

International Encyclopaedia of Social Science, (IESS),
USA, 1972.

Lexicon Universal Encyclopaedia, Newyork, 1984.

New Caxton Encyclopaedia, London, 1977.

New Illustrated Columbia Encyclopaedia, New York, 1979.

New Standard Encyclopaedia, Chicago.

(B) TAMIL

Tamil Encyclopaedia.

Tamil Lexicon (Madras University, 1982).

III. NAME OF GAZETTEERS, HANDBOOKS AND MANUALS

A Manual of the Revenue settlement Department (Madras,
1952).

Baliga, B. S. Thanjavur District Handbook (Madras, 1957).

Baliga, B. S. Studies in The Madras Administration (Madras,
1960).

Cox, A. F. A Manual of North Arcot District (Madras, 1887).

Hamilton. East India Gazetteer.

Hemingway, F.R (1906). Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Government Press, reprint in 1915 and the supplementary Gazetteer Published in 1933 (Madras 1933).

Hunter, Sir William. Imperial Gazetteer of India (New Delhi, 1981).

Maclean, G.D Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency, 3 Vols. (Madras, 1885).

Nelson, J. H., The Madura Country: A Manual (Madras, 1868).

Rao, J. Lakshmikanta. A Manual of the Madras Revenue Settlement (Madras, 1887).

Venkatasamy, T. (1857), A Manual of the District of Tanjore in the Madras Presidency, Government Press Vol.I. 1983).

Sturrock. Madras District Manual, (Madras, 1885).

SECONDARY SOURCES

IV. (A). BOOKS

Abraham, C.M. *Growth and Structure of Urban settlements in Tamil Nadu*, Giri Raj Gupta (ed.), *Urban India* (New Delhi, 1983).

Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami. *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* (Calcutta, 1923).

Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami. *South India and her Mohammeden Invaders* (Madras, 1921).

Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami. *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India* (Madras, 1930).

Ambirajan, S. *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India* (Cambridge, 1978).

Anderson, N. *Our Industrial Urban Civilization* (Bombay, 1964).

Anonymous, *Kaveripoompattinam: A Guide* (Madras, 1974).

Appadurai, A. *Economic Conditions in Southern India A.D. 1000-1500*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Madras, 1936).

Appadurai, A. *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case* (New York, 1981).

- Arasaratnam, S.** *Merchants Companies and Commerce on the Coromandal Coast* (New Delhi 1986).
- Arasaratnam, S.** *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century* (Delhi, 1994).
- Arunachalam, S.** *The History of Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast, Historical Series No.8, Annamalai University* (Annamalai Nagar, 1952).
- Auber, Peter.** *Rise and progress of the British Power in India* (London, 1837).
- Baden-Powell, B.H.** *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India* (New Delhi, 1986).
- Baker, C.J.** *An Indian Rural Economy 1880 - 1955; The Tamil Nadu Countryside* (Delhi, 1984).
- Bala, Raj.** *Trends in Urbanisation in India: 1901-1981* (New Delhi, 1986).
- Balendu Sekharam, Khandavelli.** *The Nayakas of Thanjavur* (Hyderabad, 1975).
- Baliga, B.S.** *Studies in Madras Administration 2 vols* (Madras, 1960).
- Banerjee, S.** *The Spatial Dimension of Urbanisation in Relation to Development Planning in India* (New Delhi, 1969).
- Banga, Indu.** *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950* (New Delhi, 1992).
- Banga, Indu. and J.S. Grewal, (eds.),** *Studies in Urban History,* (Amritsar, 1978).
- Basham, A.L.** *The Wonder that was India* (London, 1954).
- Basham, A.L.** *Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta, 1964).
- Basu, B.D. Major.** *Rise of Christian Power in India Vols. I and II,* published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.
- Basu, Dilip, K. (ed.),** *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial port cities in Asia* (University of California, Berkeley, 1983).
- Bayly, C.A.** *Rulers Towns men and Bazaars : North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Bayly, C.A.** *The New Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge University, London 1988).

- Beaglehole, T.H.** *Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras 1792-1818.* (Cambridge, London 1966).
- Beteille, Andre.** *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Thanjavur Village,* University of California (Berkeley, 1971).
- Beteille, Andre.** *Studies in Agrarian Social Structure* (Delhi, 1974).
- Bhattacharya, B.** *Urban Development in India since Pre-Historic Times* (New Delhi, 1979).
- Bhattacharya, Dhires.** *A Concise History of the Indian Economy 1750* (New Delhi, 1979).
- Bhole, V.** *Housing and Urban Development in India* (New Delhi, 1987).
- Bose, Ashish.** *India's Urbanisation 1901-2001* (New Delhi, 1980).
- Bruce, John.** *Annals of the East India Company 1600 to 1707/8,* 3 volumes, 1810.
- Buchanan Hamilton, F.** *A Journey From Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar,* 3 Volumes, *Buchanan's Journey* (London, 1807).
- Cambridge, R.O.** *Account of the War in India between the English and French on the Coast of Coromandel 1750-1760,* 1761.
- Capper, John.** *The Three Presidencies of India-A History of the Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions* (London, 1853).
- Casie Chitty, Simon,** *The Castes, Customs manners and Literature Of the Tamils,* (Madras, 1934).
- Chandra, Bipan.** *Modern India* (New Delhi, 1985).
- Charlesworth, Neil.** *British Rule and the Indian Economy* (London, 1982).
- Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal.** *Coins and currency systems in south India C.A.D. 225-1300* (New Delhi, 1977).
- Chaudhuri, K.N.** *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 1978).
- Chaudhuri, K.N.** *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean : An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985).

- Chaudhuri, K.N. and C.J. Dewey (eds.),** *Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History* (Delhi, 1979).
- Chitnis, K.N.** *Socio Economic Aspects of Medieval India* (Poona, 1927).
- Coomaraswami, T.S. Mudaliyar.** *The Revenue Code applicable to Madras Presidency, 1802-1887* (Madras, 1887).
- Cotton, J.J.** *List of Inscriptions on tombs or Monuments in Madras* (Madras, 1905).
- Danvers, F.C.** *Report on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies*, 1892.
- Danvers, F.C.** *The Portuguese in India*, 2 vols. 1894.
- Dasgupta, A.** *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat C.1700-1750*, (Weisbaden, 1967).
- Dasgupta, A and N. Pearson (eds.),** *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800* (New Delhi, 1987).
- Day, C.R.** *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 1891.
- Desai, T.B.** *Economic History of India under the British 1757-1947* (Bombay, 1972).
- Duff, James Grant.** *A History of the Marathas* (edited by J.P. Guha), Second Print (New Delhi, 1978).
- Duff, Grant** *History of the Marathas*, Vol. I.
- Dutt, B.B.** *Town-Planing in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1930).
- Dutt, R.C.** *The Economic History of India Under Early British Rule from the Rise of British Power in 1757 to the Accession Queen Victoria in 1837* (New Delhi, 1976).
- Dyos, H.J.** *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968).
- Ehrenfels, V.R.** *Ancient South India and her Culture Contacts* (Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, reprint, 1952).
- Elliot, W.** *Coins of Southern India* (Strassbourg, 1897).
- Feldbaek, O.** *Indian Trade under the Danish Flag 1773-1808*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies (Copenhagen, 1969).
- Fenger, J.F.** *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (A.S.I. Library, Madras).

- Firminger.** *Affairs of the East India Company, Fifth Report, 3 Vols., Reprint of the 1917 Edition (New Delhi, 1984).*
- Foster, William.** *The English Factories in India 1634-1636 (Oxford, 1911).*
- Foster, William.** *Court Minutes of the English East India Company (Oxford, 1913).*
- Furber. H.** *Rival Empires of Trade in the orient 1600-1800 (Minneapolis, 1976).*
- Ghosh, Alak.** *The City in Early Historical India (Simla, 1973).*
- Ghosh, S.L.** *Urban Morals in Ancient India (Calcutta, 1930).*
- Ghurye, G.S.** *Cities and Civilisation (Bombay, 1962).*
- Glanman, K.** *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740 (The Hague, 1958).*
- Gopala, S.** *Peeps into Saraswathi Mahal with a short account of History of Thanjavur (Thanjavur, 1973).*
- Gough, Kathleen.** "The Social Structure of a Thanjavur Village" M.N. Srinivas (ed.), *India's Villages (Calcutta, 1980).*
- Gough, Kathleen.** *Rural Society in Southeast India (Cambridge, 1981).*
- Gough, Kathleen.** *Rural Change in Southeast India 1950s to 1980s (Delhi, 1989).*
- Gough, Kathleen.** *Caste in a Thanjavur Village in E. R. Leach (ed.) Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan (Cambridge, 1960).*
- Gupta, I.P.** *Urban Glimpses of Mughal India: Agra the Imperial capital in 16th and 17th centuries (Delhi, 1986).*
- Gupta, I.P.** "Urbanisation in Gujarat during the Seventeenth Century", J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Studies in Urban History (Amritsar, 1978).*
- Gupta, Surindranath.** *British the Magnificent Exploiters of India (New Delhi, 1979).*
- Hall, Kenneth, R.** *Trade and State Craft in the age of the Colas (New Delhi, 1980).*
- Hamilton, C.J.** *The Trade Relations Between England and India 1600-1896, First Published 1919, Reprint (New Delhi, 1975).*

- Hanumappa, H.G.** *Urbanisation Trends in India: Case Study of a Medium Town* (New Delhi, 1981).
- Hickey, William.** *Thanjavur: Mahratta Principality in South India* 1st and 2nd Edition Combined, (Madras, 1872).
- Jaffer, S.M.** *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* (New Delhi, 1979).
- Jaffer, S.M.** *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* (New Delhi, 1979).
- Jagadish Ayyar, P.V.** *South Indian Shrines* (Madras, 1920).
- Jayaraman, R.** *Saraswathi Mahal: A short History and Guide* (Thanjavur, 1981).
- Jones, S.** *Two Centuries of Overseas Trading: The Origins and Growth of the Inchcape Group*, Macmillan (London, 1986).
- Kanakasabhai, V.** *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago* (Madras, 1966).
- Kanwarlal,** *Holy Cities of India*, (Delhi, 1961).
- Kosambi, D.D.** *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (London, 1965).
- Karishma, Noboru.** *South Indian History and Society, studies from Inscriptions A.D. 850-1800* (New Delhi, 1984).
- King, Anthony, D.** *colonial Urban Development, Cultural, Social Powers, and Environmental* (London 1976).
- Kumar, R.P.** *Research Periodicals of Colonial India* 1780-1947 (New Delhi, 1985).
- Kosambi, D.D.** *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay, 1956).
- Kumar, Dharma.** *Land and Caste in South India* (London, 1965).
- Kumar, Dharma. (ed.),** *The Cambridge Economic History of India C.1757-1970, Vol. II* (Cambridge, 1982).
- Lewis Mumford,** *The city in History: Its Origin, its Transformation and its prospects*, (New York, 1951).
- Love, H.D.** *Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800, 3 Vols.* (London, 1913).
- Ludden, David.** *Peasant History in South India* (New Jersey, 1985).

- Mahalingam, T.V.** *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* (Madras, 1940).
- Mahalingam, T.V.** *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* (Madras, 1951).
- Mahalingam, T.V.** *South Indian Polity* (Madras 1955).
- Mahalingam, T.V.** *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History* (Madras, 1969).
- Mahalingam, T.V.** *Meckenzie Manuscripts, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2* (Madras, 1976).
- Mahadevan, I.** *The Ancient Name of the Arikamedus Suryanarayanasastris centenary volumes* (ed) N. Subramanian (Madurai, 1970).
- Majumdar, R.C., V.G.Dighe and Kulkasnee (eds.)**, *The History and Culture of the Indian people, Vol. VIII, The Maratha Supremacy* (Bombay, 1977).
- Malleson, General, G.B.** *History of the French in India* (Madras, 1893).
- Maloney, Clarenee.** *Archaeology in South India: Accomplishments and perspects in Essays on South India, Burton Stein (ed.)*, (New Delhi, 1976).
- Marx, Karl and Engles.** *On Colonialism* (Moscow, 1976).
- Mcculloh, J.R.** *A Dictionary Practical, Theoretical and Historical of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (London, 1869).
- Michell, George.** *The Hindu Temples* (New Delhi, 1977).
- Minakshi, C.** *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas* Madras University (Madras 1977).
- Mishra, R.P. (ed.)**, *Million Cities of India* (New Delhi, 1978).
- Mizushima, T.** *Nattars and the Socio-Economic Change in South India in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries*, (Tokyo, 1986).
- Mookherjee, R.K.** *Indian shipping and Maritime Activity* (Bombay, 1957).
- Mudaliar, Chandra.** *State and Religious Endowments in Madras* (Madras, 1976).
- Mudaliar, G.** *A Note on the Permanent Settlement* (Madras, 1940).

- Mukherjee, Nilamani.** *The Ryotwari system in Madras 1792-1827* (Calcutta, 1962).
- Mukherjee, Ramakrishna.** *Rise and Fall of the East India Company* (Bombay, 1973).
- Mumford, Lewis.** *City in History* (London, 1961).
- Nainar, S.M.H.** *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India* (Madras, 1942).
- Nainar, S.M.H.** *Sources on the History of the Nawabs of Arcot, 5 Vols.* (Madras, 1952-55).
- Nataraja Achari. G. Thanjavur Plate Art and Artisian,** English Translation by R. Ramaseshan (Thanjavur, 1986).
- Naqvi, Hameeda Khatoon.** *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India 1556-1803* (Bombay, 1968).
- Naqvi, Hameeda Khatoon.** *Urban Centres and Urbanisation under Great Moghuls 1556-1707* (Simla 1972).
- Omprakash.** *The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623, A Collection of Dutch East India Company Documents Pertaining to India* (New Delhi, 1984).
- Panchanathan, A.** *A Guide Book to Saraswathy Mahal* (with illustrations) Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library, Thanjavur Mahal Series, No.201 (Thanjavur, 1993).
- Pannikar, K.M.** *Geographical Factors in Indian History* (Bombay, 1955).
- Parkinson. C.N.** *Trade in the Eastern seas 1793-1813* (Cambridge, 1937).
- Patwardham R.P. and H.G. Rawlinson.** *Source Book of the Maratha History* (Calcutta, 1978).
- Piggot, Stuart.** *Some Ancient Cities of India* (Calcutta, 1945).
- Pigot, Lord.** *Narrative of the Government of Madras 1776 and 1778,* (London, 1780).
- Pirenne, H.** *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, 1925).
- Prakasarao, V.L.C.** *Urbanisation in India: spatial Dimensions* (New Delhi, 1983).
- Prasad, O. Prakash.** *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval India C.A.D. 600-1200* (New Delhi, 1989).

- Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kualalumpur, Malaysia, April, 1966-By International Association of Tamil Research (IATR); Vol. I (Madras, 1966).
- Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Madras, 1968).
- Proceedings of the Third International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Paris, 1970).
- Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Ceylon-Srilanka, 1974).
- Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Madurai, 1981).
- Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Kualalumpur-Malaysia, 1987).
- Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Mauritius, 1989).
- Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras-by IATR (Thanjavur, 1995).
- Qaisar, Ahsanjan.** *India Response to European Technology and Culture 1498-1707* (New Delhi, 1982).
- Quinn, J.A. and B.N. Puri.** *Cities in Ancient India* (Meerut, 1966).
- Rajalakshmi, R.** *Tamil Polity* (Madurai, 1983).
- Rajayyan, K.** *A History of British Diplomacy in Thanjavur*, (Mysore 1969).
- Rajayyan, K.** *South Indian Rebellion the First War of Independance 1800-1801*, (Mysore, 1971).
- Rajayyan, K.** *Administration and Society in the Carnatic 1701-1801* (Tirupati, 1966).
- Rajayyan, K.** *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamil Nadu* (Madras, 1974).
- Rajayyan, K.** *History of Tamil Nadu 1565-1965* (Madurai, 1978).
- Ramachandran, C.** *East India Company and the South Indian Economy* (Madras, 1980).
- Ramachandran, R.** *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India* (Madras, 1989).

- Ramaswami, N.S. *Political History of Carnatic Under the Nawabs* (New Delhi, 1984).
- Ramaswamy, Vijaya. *Textile Weavers in Medieval South India* (New Delhi, 1985).
- Ranade, M.G. *Rise of Maratha Power* (Bombay, 1990).
- Ranga Pillai, Ananda. *The Private Diaries of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (in 12 Volumes), Series Edited by F.G. Price, H.Dodwell (Madras, 1904-28).
- Rangacharya (ed.) *A topographical list of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vols. 1-3* (Madras, 1919).
- Rao, A. Narain. *The Revenue Refreshes* (Madras, 1871).
- Rashid, Abdur. *Society and Culture in Medieval India* (Calcutta, 1969).
- Ratnagar, Shereen. *Encounters: The westerly Trade of the Harappa Civilization* (Delhi, 1981).
- Ray, Amita. *Village, Towns and Secular Buildings in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1964).
- Raychaudhuri, Tapan and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India C.1200-C.1750, Vol.I* (Cambridge, 1982).
- Reissman, Leonard. *The Urban Process, Cities in Industrial Societies*, (Illinois, 1964).
- Riesenberg. *The Medieval Town* (New York, 1958).
- Rothermund, J. *Asian Trade and European Expansion in the Age of Mercantilism* (New Delhi, 1981).
- Sadasivan, D. *The Growth of the Public opinion in Madras Presidency 1800-1909* (Madras, 1974).
- Sarada Raju, A. *Economic Conditions of the Madras Presidency 1800-1850*, (Madras, 1941).
- Sardesai, G.S. *New History of the Marathas, Vol.I* (Bombay, 1957).
- Sardesai, D.R. *British Trade and Expansion in South East Asia 1830-1914* (Bombay, 1977).
- Sastri, K.R.R. *South Indian Guilds* (Madras, 1925).
- Sastri, Nilakantha, K.A. *The Cholas, University of Madras, Historical Series, 2 Vol.* (Madras, 1955).

- Sastri Nilakantha, K.A. *Foreign Notices of South India* (Madras, 1939).
- Sastri Nilakantha, K.A. *Sources of Indian History with Special Reference to South India* (Bombay, 1964).
- Sastri, Nilakantha, K.A. *A History of South India* (Madras, 1976).
- Sathianadhan. *History of Education in Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1894).
- Sathianadhan. *The Nayakas of Madurai* (Madras).
- Sen, S.P. *The French in India, 1763-1816* (New Delhi, 1971).
- Sewell, Robert and Krishnaswamy (ed), *Historical Inscription of South India* (Madras, 1932).
- Sewell, Robert. *Chronological Tables for Southern India* (Madras, 1881).
- Sewell, Robert. *sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India* (Madras, 1884).
- Sharma, R.S. *Maratha History re-examinaed 1295-1707* (Bombay, 1944).
- Sharma, R.S. *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (Bombay, 1960).
- Sharma, R.S. *Special Changes in the Early Medieval India C.A.D. 500 - 1200* (Delhi, 1969).
- Sharma, R.S. and Vivekanand Jha (eds.), *Indian Society: Historical probings* (in memory of D.D. Kosambi), (New Delhi, 1977).
- Sharma, R.S. *Urban Decay in India C.A.D. 300-1000* (New Delhi, 1987).
- Sharma, Y. D. *Early Historical Cities* (New Delhi, 1964).
- Shaw, John. *Charters relating to the East India Company* (Madras, 1887)
- Singh, M.P. *Town, Market, Mint and port in the Mughal Empire* (New Delhi, 1985).
- Singh, R.L. and K.N. Singh. *Readings in Rural Settlement Geography*, National Geographical Society of India (Varnasi, 1975).
- Sircar, D.C. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi, 1966).

- Sircar, D.C. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi, 1985).
- Sivaraja Pillai, K.N. *The Chronology of the Early Tamils* (Madras, 1932).
- Sivaramamurti, C. *The Frescoes of the Cholas* (Madras, 1934).
- Sivaramamurti, C. *Royal conquests and cultrual Migrations in South India and the Deccan* (Calcutta, 1955).
- Sivaramamurti, C. *The Chola Temples* (New Delhi, 1992).
- Sjoberg, Gideon. *The Pre-Industrial City: Past and Present* (New York, 1960).
- Somasundaram, J.M. *The Great Temple at Thanjavur* (Madras, 1935).
- Steele, F.A. *Socio-Religious History of India* (New Delhi, 1984).
- Srinivasachari, C.S. *History of the Cities of Madras* (Madras, 1939).
- Srinivasachari, C.S. *A History of Gingee and its Rulers*, Annamalai University (Annamalai Nagar, 1943).
- Srinivasan, C.K. *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, Annamalai University (Annamalai Nagar, 1944).
- Srinivasan, C.R. *Report of the Rice Production and Trade in the Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1934).
- Stein, B. "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India" in *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), University of Wisconsin, (Madison, 1969).
- Stein, B. *The State and the Agrarian order in South India: A Historiographical Critique Essay on South India*, Stein, B. (ed.), (New Delhi, 1976).
- Stein, B. *Peasant State and Society in Medieval India* (Delhi, 1980).
- Subbrayalu, Y. *Political Geography of the Chola Country* (Madras, 1973).
- Subrahmanyam, S. *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in Bay of Bengal 1500-1700* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Subramanyam, S. *The Political Economy of Commeree Southern India 1500-1650* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Subramanyam, S. (ed.), *Merchants and the State in Early Modern India* (New Delhi, 1990).

- Subramanian, K.R. *The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur* (Madras, 1988).
- Subramanian, N. *History of Tamil Nadu*, Cudal Publications, 3Vols. (Madurai, 1983).
- Subramanian, N. *Sangam Polity: The Administration and Social Life of the Sangam Tamils* (Madras, 1966).
- Suresh. B. Pillai. *The Raajaraajeeswaram at Tancaavuur*, International Association of Tamil Research (IATR) Publications (Madras, 1966).
- Sundaram, G. *Age of Karikala* (Madras, 1913).
- Sundaram, K.V. *Urban and Regional Planning in India* (New Delhi, 1977).
- Swaminathan, A. *Social and Cultural History of Tamil Nadu* (Madras, 1984).
- Tatachari, K.T. *Gangai Konda Cholapuram: An ancient Chola capital* (Madras, 1912).
- Thakur, V.K. *Urbanisation in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1981).
- Thapar, Romila. *History of Ancient India* (Delhi, 1975).
- Thompson, J.W. and E.N. Johnson. *Social and Economical History of Middle Ages*, 2 Vols (New York, 1959).
- Toynbee, Arnold. *Cities on the Move* (London, 1970).
- Trigger, Bruce. "Determinants of Urban Growth in the Pre-Industrial Society", J. Ucho Puth Tringham and G.W.D. Peter (eds.) *Man settlement and Urbanism*, (London, 1973).
- Turner, Roy (ed.), *India's Urban Future* (Berkely, 1969).
- Valentia, Viscount George. *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon and the Red sea Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806* (London, 1809).
- Venkatarama Ayyar, K.R. *Medieval Trade Craft and Merchant Guilds in South India* (Trivandram, 1947).
- Venkataramanayya. *The origin of South Indian Temple*, University of Madras (Madras, 1930).
- Venkata Subramaniam, *Environment and Urbanisation in Early Tamilakam*, Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1988.
- Vridhagirisan. *The Nayakas of Thanjavur*, Annamalai University (Annamalai Nagar, 1942).

- Walt, G.** *The Commercial Products of India* (London, 1908).
- Warmington, E.H.** *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India.* 2nd Edition (Delhi, 1974).
- Washbrook, David.** *Political Change in a Stable Society: Thanjavur District 1880 to 1920.* C.J. Baker and D.A. Washbrook (eds.), *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change* (Delhi, 1975).
- Watson, I. Bruce.** *Foundations for Empire, English Private Trade In India 1659-1701* (New Delhi, 1980).
- Weber, Max.** *The City* (London, 1960).
- Weinstein, J.** *An Analysis of Urban Ecological Structure in India* (Madras, 1974).
- Wijetunga, W.M.K.** *South Indian Corporate Commercial Organisation in South and South East Asia, First International Conference seminar of Tamil Studies* (Kualalumpur, 1966).
- Wilks, Mark, Hammick, Musray (eds.),** *Historical Sketches of South Indian History* (New Delhi, 1980).
- Wilson, H.H.** *The Meckenzie collection : A Description of the Oriental and other Articles illustrative of the literature, History, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India* (Madras, 1882).
- Wirth, Louis.** *on Cities and Social Life* (London, 1969).

IV. B. ARTICLES

- Alamis, Shah Manzur.** 'Masulipatnam-A Metropolitan Port in the 17th Century', *Islamic Culture*, April 1959.
- Appadurai, Arjun.** 'Right and Left Hand Castes in South India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (hereafter *IESHR*), Vol. 11, No. 2 and 3, 1974.
- Appadurai, Arjun.** 'Kings, Sects and Temples in South India', *IESHR*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1977.
- Alvi, Hamza.** 'India : Transition from Feudalism Colonial Capitalism', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol.10, No.4, 1980.
- Anonymous.** 'Madras and Fort St. George, succinct Account of the city of', *Gentle Man's Magazine*, vol. XVII, 1747.

- Appadurai, Arjun and Carol Breckenridge.** 'The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (hereafter CIS), 10(2), 1976.
- Arasartnam, S.** 'Indian Merchants and their Trading methods C 1700, IESHR Vol. 3, 1966.
- Arasaratnam, S.** 'Coromandel Revisited: Problems and Issues in Indian Maritime History', *IESHR*, vol. XXVI, No.1, January-March 1989.
- Arasaratnam, S.** 'Dutch Commercial Policy in Ceylon and its effect on Indo-Ceylon Trade 1690-1750', *IESHR*, Vol. 4, 1967.
- Arasaratnam, S.** 'Trade and Political Dominion in South India 1750-1790: Changing British Indian Relationships', *Modern Asian Studies* (hereafter MAS), Vol. 13, 1979.
- Arasaratnam, S.** 'Weavers, Merchants and Companies: The Handloom Industry in South Eastern India 1750-1790', *IESHR*, Vol. 17, No.3, July-September 1980.
- Atchi Reddy, M. and A.K. Bagchi.** 'Standards of Living in the Madras Presidency 1750-1950' *Papers read at Seminar on Economic History of India*, Calcutta, July, 1988.
- Bassett, D.K.** 'British Country Trade and Local Trade Networks in Thai and Malay States', *MAS*, Vol. XXIII, 1989.
- Baker, Christopher.** "Tamil Nadu Estates in the Twentieth Century, *IES*, Vol.XI January-May 1976.
- Baliga, B.S.,** "Home Government and the end of the Policy of permanent settlement in Madras 1802-1818", *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, vol. XIX, 1942.
- Banga, Indu.** "Formation of a Regional State in Medieval India, A study of Punjab under Sikh rule", *IHC session 43*, (Kurukshetra, 1982).
- Brenning, J.J.** 'Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth Century Coromandel', *MAS*, Vol. 11, 1977.
- Bock, Brenda.** "Right left Division of South Indian Society", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.29, No.4, 1970.
- Champakalakshmi, R.** 'Growth of Urban Centres in South India: Kudamukku Paliyarai, the Twin Cities of the Cholas', *Studies in History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January-June 1979.
- Champakalakshmi, R.** 'Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India: A Review Article', *IESHR*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 and 4, July-December 1981.

- Champakalakshmi, R.** 'Urban Process in Early Medieval Tamil Nadu', *Urban History Association of India* (hereafter UHAI), *Occasional Paper Series* (hereafter OPS), 1982.
- Chandra, Satish.** 'Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Medieval India' *UHO, OPS*.
- Chatterjee, K.R.** 'The Joint Villages of South India and Communal Trade', *Journal of Andhra Pradesh Historical Research Society*, Vol. XIII, Part. 1, April 1941.
- Chattopadhyaya, B.D.** 'Trade and urban Centers in Early Medieval North India', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 1, Septem 197 1974. 74.
- Chaudhari, K.N.** 'Some Reflections on the Town and Country in Moghal India', *MAS*, Vol. 12, Part-1, 1978.
- Chaudhary, Radhakrishna.** 'Some Aspects of Feudalism in South India', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. LIII, No. 1, April 1975.
- Dasgupta, Ashin.** 'Studies in Madras Records: Trade in Straits', *Past and Present*, Vol. 75, 1956.
- Dasgupta, Ashin.** 'Madras Commercial Records: An experiment at Cuddalore', *Past and Present*, Vol. 75, 1956.
- De Loche, J.** 'Geographical Considerations in the Location of Ancient Sea Ports of India', *IESHR*, Vol. 20, 1983.
- Dharmakumar.** "Land Ownership and Equality in Madras Presidency 1853-54 to 1946-47", *IESHR*, vol. XII, No. 3.
- Dirks, B. Nicholas.** "Political Authority and Structural Change in early South Indian History", *IESHR*, vol. XIII, No.2, 1976.
- Dirks, B. Nicholas.** "The past of the Palayakaraa : the Ethono History of a South Indian little kings", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 41(4), 1982.
- Ganguli, Indrani.** 'Of Rajas and Prajas-Urban Leadership in Colonial Town', *UHAI, OPS*.
- Ghosh, Binay.** 'Colonial Beginnings of Calcutta: Urbanisation without Industrialisation', *Economic weekly*, July-December 1960.
- Grewal, J.S.** 'Urbanisation in Medieval India', *UHAI, OPS*, 1982.
- Gupta, Narayani.** 'Towers, Tanks and Temples: Some Aspects of Urbanism in South India in Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *UHAI, OPS*, 1983.

- Grewal, J.S. Presidential Address, IHC session 38, Bhubaneswar, 1977.
- Hasan, Nurul. 'The Morphology of a Medieval Indian City: A case study of Shahjahanabad in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century, UHAI, OPS.
- Hall, Kenneth, R. 'Price Making and Market Hierarchy in Early Medieval South India', *IESHR*, Vol. XIV, 1975.
- Hall, Kenneth, R. 'Peasant State and Society in Chola Times: A View From the Tiruvidaimarudur Urban Complex', *IESHR*, vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 & 4, July-December 1981.
- Kumar, Nita. 'Urban Culture in Medieval India', *UHAI, OPS*, 1985.
- Kumar, Ravindra. 'Role of Urban Society in National Politics', *UHAI*, 1986.
- Kumar, Ravindra. 'The Changing Structure of Colonial Society in Urban India', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. V, Nos. 1-2, July 1978.
- Leonard John, G. 'Urban Development Under the Raj: A case Study of Municipal Administration in 19th Century, South India', *MAS*, April 1973.
- Lewandowski Susan, J. 'Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras', *MAS*, Vol. 2, April 1977.
- Ludden, D. 'Agrarian Commercialism in Sixteenth Century South India', *IESHR*, Vol. 25, 1988.
- Maloney, Clarence. 'The Beginnings of Civilization in South India', *JAS*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, 1970.
- Mauro, F. 'Towards an International Model: European Overseas Expansion between 1500 and 1800', *Journal of Economic History Review (Second Series)*, Vol. 24, 1961-62.
- Menon, Saraswathi. 'Responses to Class and Caste Oppression in Thanjavur District 1940-52' Part - I, II and III, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 7, Nos. 6, 7 and 10.
- Misra, S.C. 'Urban History in India: Possibilities and Perspectives', *UHAI, OPS*, 1982.
- Misra, S.C. Presidential Address, IHC Session 29, Part-I, (Patiala, 1967).

- Murphy, Rhoads.** 'Tradionalism and Colonialism: Changing Urban Roles in Asia', *JAS*, Vol. 29, 1969.
- Murton, Brain.** "key people in the Country side : Decision makers in Interior Tamil Nadu in the late Eighteenth Century", *IESHR*, 10(2), 1973.
- Nagabhusnam, A.** 'Trade and Commerce in Western Deccan from 1000-1300', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (Calcutta 1963).
- Nagaswamy, R.** 'South Indian Temple - As an Employer', *IESHR*, vol. II, No. 4, October 1965.
- Naidu, B.V.N.** "Rural Economic Conditions in South India, 1800-90, *Indian Journal of Economics*, vol.X, 1935.
- Nield-Basu, Susan.** 'The Dubashes of Madras', *MAS*, Vol. 18, 1984.
- Nield-Basu, Susan.** 'Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *MAS*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1979.
- Panchanathan, A.** 'Thanjavur: The Historical Study' *The Journal of the Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library*, Thanjavur, 1984.
- Perlin, Frank.** "Proto-Industrialisation and pre-colonial South Asia", *Past and Present*, vol.98, 1983.
- Ramaswamy, Vijaya.** 'Notes on the Textile Technology in Medieval India with Special Reference to the South', *IESHR*, vol. XVII, No. 2, April-June, 1980.
- Ramaswamy, Vijaya.** 'Aspects of Women and Work in Early South India', *IESHR*, vol. XXVI, No. 1, January-March 1989.
- Rao, Naganatha, V. E.** 'Conjeevaram: A Temple Town', *The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, vol. 12, No.4, December, 1937.
- Rich, R.C.** 'Neglected Issues in the Study of Urban Service Distribution', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 16, 1979.
- Richards, J.F.** "Review of Burton stein's Article", *Journal of Asian Studies*, XLII, No.4. 1990.
- Richards, J.F.** "The 17th Century Crisis in South Asia", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.24, 1990.
- Richard, S. Kennedy.** 'The King in Early South India as Chieftain and Emperor', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 3, July 1976.

- Rudden, D. 'Religious Gifting and Inland Commerce in Seventeenth Century South India', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, (1977).
- Rukmani, R. "Urbanisation and Socio-Economic change in Tamilnadu, 1901-91", *Economic and Political Weekly*, December, 17-24, 1994.
- Sastri, Nilakantha, K.A. "Takuapa and its Tamil Inscriptions", *Journal of the Malayam Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 22 (1949).
- Sharma, R.S. 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 1, March 1974.
- Sharma, R.S. 'Iron and Urbanisation in the Ganga Basin', (Review Article) *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 1, March 1974.
- Sharma, R.S. 'Problems of Social Formations in Early India', Presidential Address, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Aligarh, 1975).
- Spencer, G.W. 'The Politics of Plunder: The Cholas in Eleventh Century Ceylon', *JAS*, Vol. XXV, May 1976.
- Spodek, Howard. 'Urbanisation India', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 6, No.3, May 1983.
- Staples, A.C. 'Indian Maritime Transport in 1840', *IESHR*, Vol. 7, 1970.
- Stein, Burton. 'The Economic Functions of a Medieval South Indian Temple' *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 19 (2), 1960.
- Stein, Burton. 'The State, the Temple and Agricultural Development: A Study in Medieval South India', *The Economic Weekly*, February 1961.
- Stein, Burton. 'Brahman and Peasant in South Indian History', *The Adyar Literary Bulletin*, Vol. 31-32, 1968.
- Stein, Burton. 'Temples in Tamil Country A.D. 1300-1750', *IESHR*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1977.
- Stein, Burton. 'State Formation and Economy Reconsidered', *MAS*, Vol. 19, 1985.
- Stein, Burton. 'Sixteenth Century India: Another View', *Studies in History*, Vol. V (1), 1989.
- Subrahmanyam, N. 'A Note on the Communication-lines and Transport in the Tanjore District', *The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, vol. 12, No. 4, December 1937.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Aspects of State formation in South India and South East Asia 1500-1650", *IESHR*, vol. 23, No. 4, (New Delhi, 1986).

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 'The Politics of Fiscal Decline: A Reconsideration of Maratha Tanjavur, 1676-1799', *IESHR*, vol. 32, No.2, 1995.

Subrahmanyam, S and Schulman, David. "The man who would be kings Politics of Expansion in Early 17th Century North Tamil Nadu", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol.24, Part 2, May 1990.

Sudhir, P. and Swarnalatha, P. "Textile Traders and Territorial Imperatives: Masulipatnam - 1750-1850", *IESHR*, vol. XXIX, No. 2 April-June, 1992.

Tirumalai, R. 'Studies in the History of Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai', *Madras University Archaeology Series*, (hereafter MUAS), University of Madras (Madras 1987).

Tirumalai, R. 'The townships of the Chola heart land', *MUAS*, University of Madras (Madras 1987).

Tirumalai, R. "Land grants and Agrarian Reactions in Cola and Pandya times", *Madras University Archaeological Series*, No. 6, University of Madras, (Madras, 1987).

Thudipara, Z. Jacob. 'Participatory Approach to Urban Development: Case Study of Indore Habitat Improvement Project', *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. LIII, No. 4, October, 1992.

Washbrooke, D. 'Progress and Problems: South Asian Economic and Social c. 1720-1860', *MAS*, Vol. 22, 1980.

Washbrooke, David. "Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India", *Modern Asian Studies*, 15(3), 1981.

Wright, H.R.C. 'The East India Company and the Native Economy: The Madras Investment 1795-1800', *Papers presented at the Second International Conference of Economic History*, Vol. 2, 1926.

TAMIL SOURCES

IV. A. BOOKS

[Mostly from Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library (TMSSML) at Thanjavur and Tamil University at Thanjavur]

Anonymous. Palayakkaravaralaaaru (Five Volumes), Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

- Nagaswamy, R.** Tarangampadi (Madras, 1987).
- Ramaiah, G.V.** Thanjavur Zilla Sarithiram (Thanjavur, 1927).
- Sathanathaier, R.** Tamilaham In the 17th Century, Oriental Manuscripts Library (Madras, 1956).
- The Thanjavur Art Gallery Guide Book** (Thanjavur, 1958).
- Vasuki, R.** Ananda Ranga Pillaiyin Arasiyal Sindanaigal (Madras, 1989).
- Venkatramayya, V.** Thanjai Marathiya Manner Kaala Samudhyamum Arasiyalum, Tamil university (Thanjavur, 1984).

IV. B. ARTICLES

- Nagaswamy, Ananda Ranga Pillai,** in *Amudasurabhi*, July-September, 1989.
- Ramathilakam, K. Dubash Kuppanna,** in *Mannar Serfoji Pirantha Naal Vizha Malar*, dt. 24-9-89, Thanjavur.
- Srinivasachari, C.S.** (Undated) Article. TMSSML, Thanjavur.
- Srinivasachari, C.S.** (Undated) The Nawab of Arcot's Debts and Their political Repercussions, TMSSML, Thanjavur.

[Collected papers from Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari published in various periodicals available at Thanjavur Maharaja's Serfoji's Saraswathy Mahal Library (TMSSML) at Thanjavur. Date and Journal of publication not specified]

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

V. A. THESES

- Abraham, M.M.** 'The Ayyavole Guild of Early Medieval South India', Unpublished M Phil Dissertation (New Delhi, 1978).
- Bouton, M. Marshall.** 'The Sources of Agrarian Radicalism, A Study of Thanjavur District, South India, Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, University of Chicago (Illinois, 1980).
- Govindaswamy, M.S.** 'The Role of Feudatories in Chola History', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

- Kidwai, Atiya Habeeb.** 'Characteristics and process of Urbanisation in Colonial India: A Case Study of Calcutta and its Hinterland 1872-1921', UnPublished Ph.D. Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University [(here after JNU), New Delhi, 1979].
- Ludden, David.** 'Agrarian Organisation in Tirunelveli District 800-1900 A.D, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania, 1978).
- Mustafa, Mohammed.** 'British Policy Towards Inam Settlements in Madras Presidency 1801-1871', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University of Hyderabad (Hyderabad, 1995).
- Nelid, Susan Margaret.** 'Madras: The Growth of a Colonial city in India, 1880-1940, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1977).
- Rahim, M. Abdul.** 'History of Nagapattinam and its Surroundings : from 16th century', Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Madras University (Madras, 1971).
- Ramaswamy, A.** 'Nayak Society Portrayed in Contemporary Tamil Literature, (in Tamil), Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Madurai Kamaraj University (Madurai, 1986).
- Ramaswamy, Vijaya.** 'The Weaver Communities of the Kanchipuram Region Circa A.D. 700-1700', Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, J.N.U, New Delhi.
- Rukmani, R.** 'The Process of Urbanisation and Socio-Economic change in Tamil Nadu, 1901-81', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Madras University (Madras, 1993).
- Seetha, N.S.** 'Thanjavur as a seat of Music during the 17th 18th and 19th centuries', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Madras University (Madras, 1968).
- Shah, Mihir.** 'Capitalist Development and Transformation of Agrarian Relations in Chingleput District 1780-1983', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, JNU, (New Delhi, 1984).
- Shahi, S** 'Urbanisation in Gujarat: A Geographical Analysis', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Gorakhpur University (Gorakhpur, 1981).
- Shivkumar** 'The Theory of Peasant Economy' Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Delhi University (Delhi, 1978).
- Subramaniam, C.N.** 'Aspects of the History of Agriculture in the Kaveri Delta C-850 to C-1600', Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, J.N.U. (Delhi, 1983).

Vanaja, R. 'The Madras Museum Collection of Punch Marked Coins - A Study', Unpublished M.Litt. Dissertation, Madras University (Madras, 1955).

Vasantha, Bai. 'Thanjavur Through the Ages', Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Madras University (Madras, 1974).

V. B. UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES

Abraham, M.M. 'Religion and Trade: Some Aspects of the Relationship between India, Burma and Sri Lanka C.A.D. 1070-1300', Unpublished Research Paper.

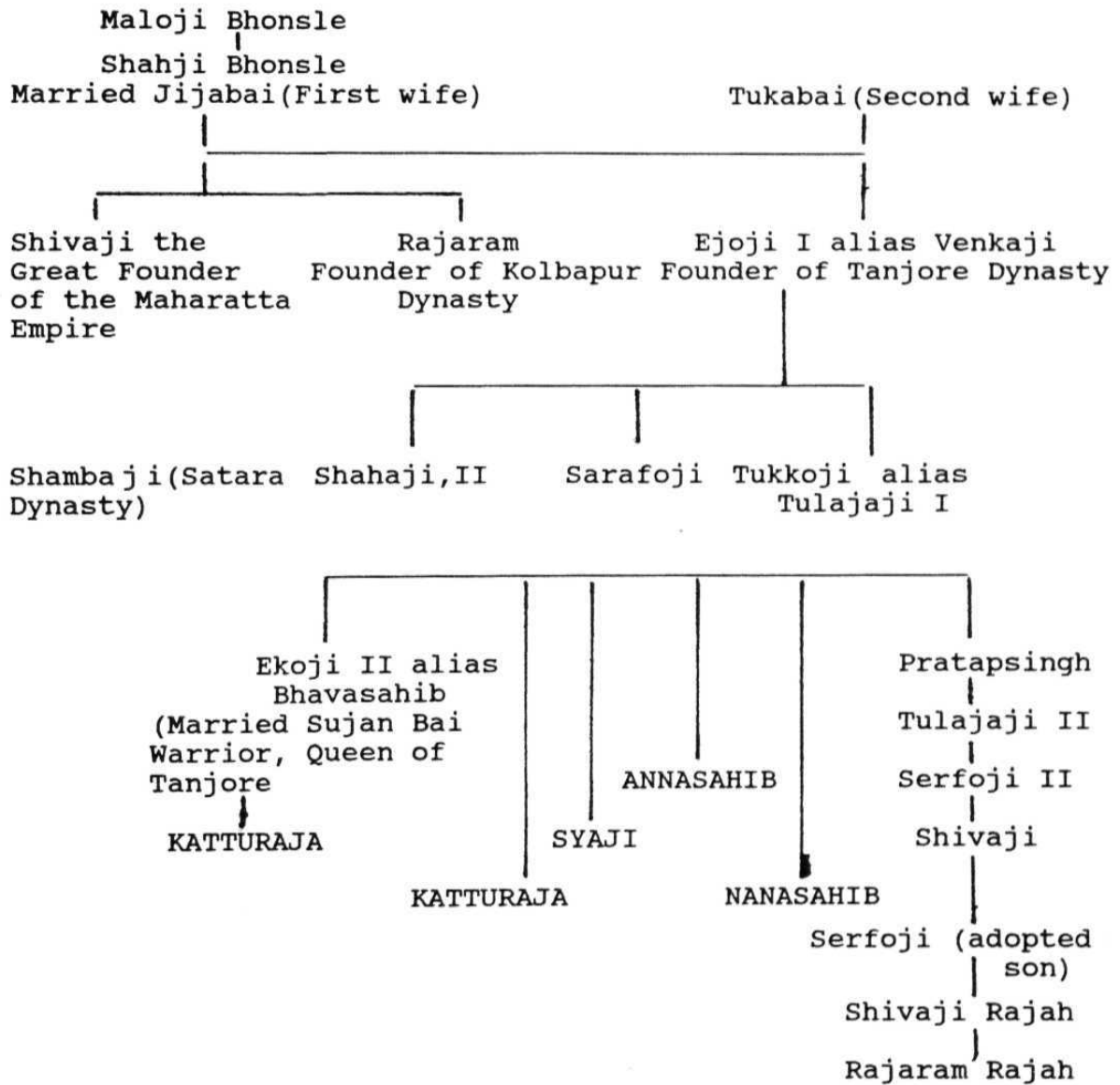
Rajendran, M. 'Mackenzie's Tamil Manuscripts: An Analysis', Madras University, Madras, 1984.

Rukmani, R. 'The Process of Urbanisation in an Agrarian Economy: A study of Thanjavur District of Tamil Nadu 1901-81', Madras Institute of Development Studies, (MIDS), Madras.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX - I

MARATHA KINGS OF THANJAVUR DISTRICT (A.D. 1674 - 1855)



APPENDIX - II

MARATHA KINGS OF THANJAVUR

Vyankoji or Aekoji I.....	1676.....	1684
Sahaji (I Son of Vyankoji).....	1684.....	1712
Sarabhoji (II Son of Vyankoji).....	1712.....	1728
Tukoji or Tulaji I (III Son of Vyankoji).....	1728.....	1736
Aekoji II or Baba Saheb (Son of Tukoji).....	1736.....	1737
Sujanaabai (Queen of Baba Saheb).....	1737.....	1738
Sayaji (Son of Baba Saheb).....	1738	
Katturaja.....	1738	
Pratapsingh (Another son of Baba Saheb).....	1739.....	1763
Tulaji II (Son of Pratapsingh).....	1763.....	1773
Nawab's Rule.....	1773.....	1776
Tulaja II.....	1776.....	1787
Amarsingh (Brother of Tulaja II).....	1787.....	1798
Sarabhoji II (Adopted son of Tulaji II).....	1798.....	1832
Shivaji (Son of Sarabhoji II).....	1832.....	1855

APPENDIX - III

COLLECTORS OF THANJAVUR

S.No.	NAME	From	To
1	CHARLES HARRIS	DEC - 1799	MAY - 1804
2	JOHN COTTON	MAY - 1804	OCT - 1804
3	J. WALLACE	OCT - 1804	APL - 1811
4	J. COTTON	MAY - 1811	FEB - 1814
5	JAMES HEPBREW	FEB - 1814	DEC - 1816
6	J. THACKERAY	DEC - 1816	SEP - 1817
7	JAMES HEPBREW	SEP - 1817	SEP - 1819
8	G.M. OGILVIE	SEP - 1819	FEB - 1820
9	J. COTTON	FEB - 1820	OCT - 1826
10	A. SINCLAIR	OCT - 1826	FEB - 1827
11	A. D. CAMPBELL	FEB - 1827	OCT - 1827
12	R. NELSON	OCT - 1827	OCT - 1827
13	A. D. CAMPBELL	DEC - 1827	JAN - 1828
14	R. NELSON	JAN - 1828	FEB - 1828
15	N. W. KINDERSLEY	FEB - 1828	JUL - 1839
16	S. SCOTT	JUL - 1839	AUG - 1839
17	H. C. MONTGOMERY	AUG - 1839	AUG - 1841

GLOSSARY

Usage of Tamil Words in Specific (Urban) Context of Thanjavur Region of Tamil Nadu.

Acharya	: Teacher.
Adhikari	: Supervisor of Servant.
Adimai	: Slave.
Adhinam	: Hindu Seminars, Monastery.
Adi-Dravida	: "Original Dravidian", the lowest Castes of Pallars and Parayars, Otherwise known as Scheduled or Exterior Castes of Untouchables.
Agambadiyar	: A caste of Peasants, formerly indoor servants of Rajas.
Agrahara	: Royal Donation of land or Village to Brahmans.
Agraharam	: Brahman street.
Ahimsa	: Non-violence.
Alvar	: Vaishnavite Saint of the Tamil Devotional Cult.
Ambalakkarrar	: Low-ranking Caste of Non-Brahman Cultivators and inland fishermen.
Angadi	: Shop-street or bazaar.
Anna	: One/Sixteenth of a rupee.
Ardhamandapa	: "Half-Hall", the smaller hall connecting the shrine and the large pillared hall (mandapa).
Asami	: Cultivator or tenant.
Ashraf	: Title or rank.
Ashrama	: Refuge, also the four stages of life.
Attuvari	: Tax on goats.
Balipitha	: Altar for the placing of offerings.
Bakthi	: Devotion.
Bidi	: Type of cheroot.
Brahman	: A priestly caste, ritually the highest in the Hindu social order.
Bramadeya	: Grant of land to Brahmans.

- Calam** : A Tamil measure of paddy and rice, with regional variations. In Thanjavur it was equivalent 63.69 lbs. avoirdupois.
- Chantippu** : Cross-road.
- Cheri** : A hamlet of the Adi-Dravida castes.
- Chetti/Chettiyar** : Merchant caste of South India.
- Choultry/Chattram**: Charitable building for feeding, housing and drinking water to the travellers.
- Chola / cola** : A dynasty of the Tamil country centered in Thanjavur, C.250 B.C. to the sixth century and ninth to thirteenth centuries.
- Devadai** : Goddess.
- Devadasi** : Dancing girls maintained in a temple to perform music and dance at ceremonies; later the word came to denote a caste.
- Desam** : A south Indian administrative territorial division.
- Dharma** : Duty, especially pertaining to members of a caste.
- Doab** : The area between two rivers.
- Dubash** : Literally 'two languages': Interpreter; translator.
- Eripatti** : Special land, the revenue of which is kept aside for maintaining irrigation tanks in South India.
- Garbha-griha** : 'Womb-House', the sanctum and sanctorium of the Hindu temple.
- Gopura** : The imposing temple - gateway.
- Gramam** : Village dominated by Brahman landlords.
- Hundi** : Indigenous bill of exchange.
- Idaiyar** : A Tamil caste of shepherds(herders).
- Idankai** : Tamil word, literally meaning 'left hand'; later a term denoting a group of associated castes of the left hand.
- Inam** : Gift -Land held free of revenue or at low rates of revenue.

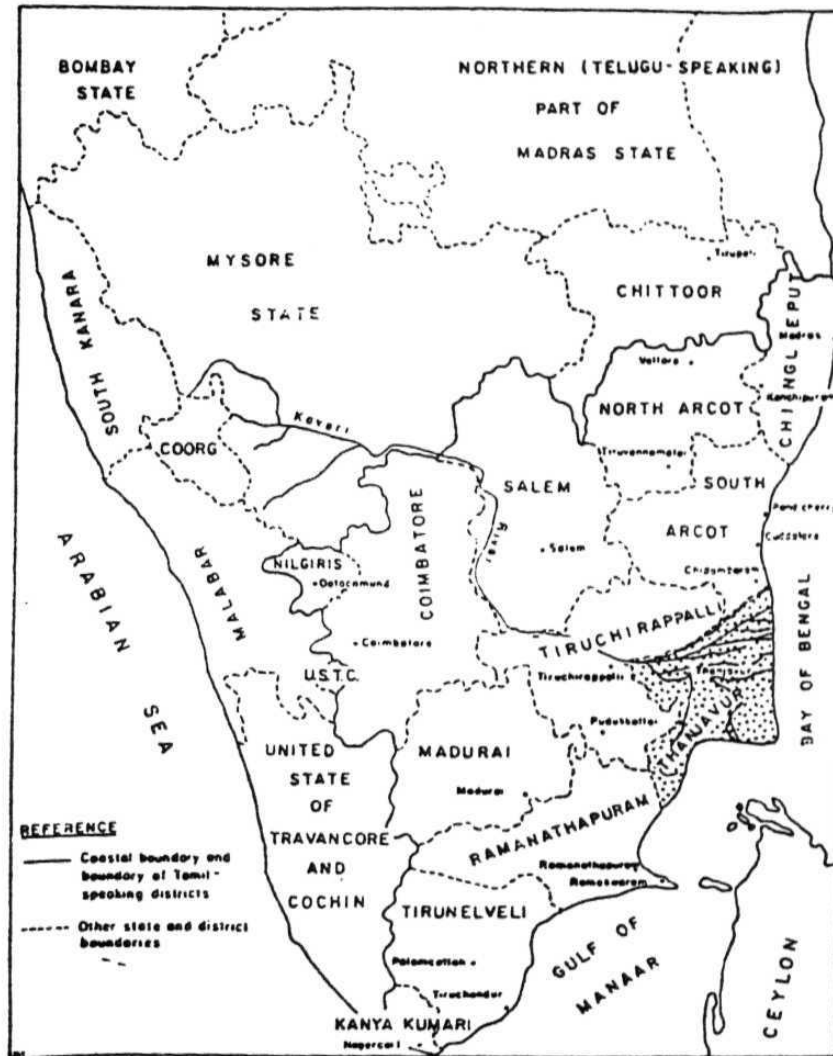
Jamabandi	:	Settlement of the amount of revenue upon an estate, village or district.
Jati	:	Caste or the Kind.
Kaikolar/ Kaikkila	:	Tamil weaving caste, also known as Sengunta Mudaliars.
Kalam	:	Threshing floor.
Kalam / Cullams	:	A dry machine usually of paddy amounting to half a bag and in the case of paddy weighing about 63.69 lbs equals 12 marakkals.
Kallar	:	Caste of cultivators and formerly, of highwayman and Cattle thieves.
Karnam / Kanakku pillai	:	Village accountant.
Kasu	:	A copper coin of small denomination, current in Tamil country.
Kasukara Chetty	:	A Tamil merchant caste.
Kavalkaran / Kavalkarar	:	Watchman.
Kaveri Chetty	:	A Tamil merchant caste.
Kayalar	:	A subdivision of Tamil Muslims of Coromandel.
Kilvaram	:	The lower share or local owner's share of the produce of land.
Koravan	:	Gypsy caste.
Kothiwal	:	Bankers, Merchant.
Kottam	:	An administrative unit.
Koliyan	:	A Tamil weaving caste formed of Paraiyans who took to weaving.
Kuthakai	:	A fixed rent tenure.
Labbai	:	A subdivision of Tamil Muslims of Coromandel.
Lakh	:	One Hundred thousand.
Lingam	:	Phallic Symbol: emblem of Lord Siva.
Maganam	:	Tamil word for province.
Maha jan	:	Merchant, Banker.
Mahal	:	Estate.
Maharajalila	:	A royal pose of sitting at ease.
Manai vari	:	House tax, prevalent in South India.

Maniagar	:	Administrative head of a province or district in Tamil Country.
Marakkayar	:	A subdivision of Tamil Muslims of Coromandel.
Mandapa	:	The pillared Hall.
Manyam	:	Plot of land granted tax free in return for services, usually within one village.
Marakkal	:	Dry measure, usually of paddy about four litres, one twelfth of a kalam.
Maratha	:	Person descended from immigrants or conquerors from Maratha.
Meenavar vari	:	Levy on fishermen.
Melvaram	:	The "upper share" or king's share of the produce of land: land revenue.
Miras	:	Hereditary right.
Mirasdar	:	Holder of miras lands, landlords.
Moffusil	:	The country; the provinces; areas in the country as opposed to the Principal station or town.
Mudaliyar	:	A title of honour and authority. A Tamil caste of landowners.
Munsif	:	Native Judicial official.
Nadar	:	Caste of toddy tappers.
Nadu	:	A Tamil term for a local territory demarcated for administrative purposes.
Nagaratthar	:	Term in classical Tamil literature for merchants; later came to be associated with a caste of merchants.
Nagarvasi	:	Cess levied on goods carried on cross roads
Narchanti	:	Cross-road.
Nawab	:	Title of rank.
Nayak	:	Title of former feudatories of the Vijayanagar empire.
Padmasana	:	A seated pose of ease with the legs crossed and soles turned up.
Paisa	:	One-fourth of an anna.

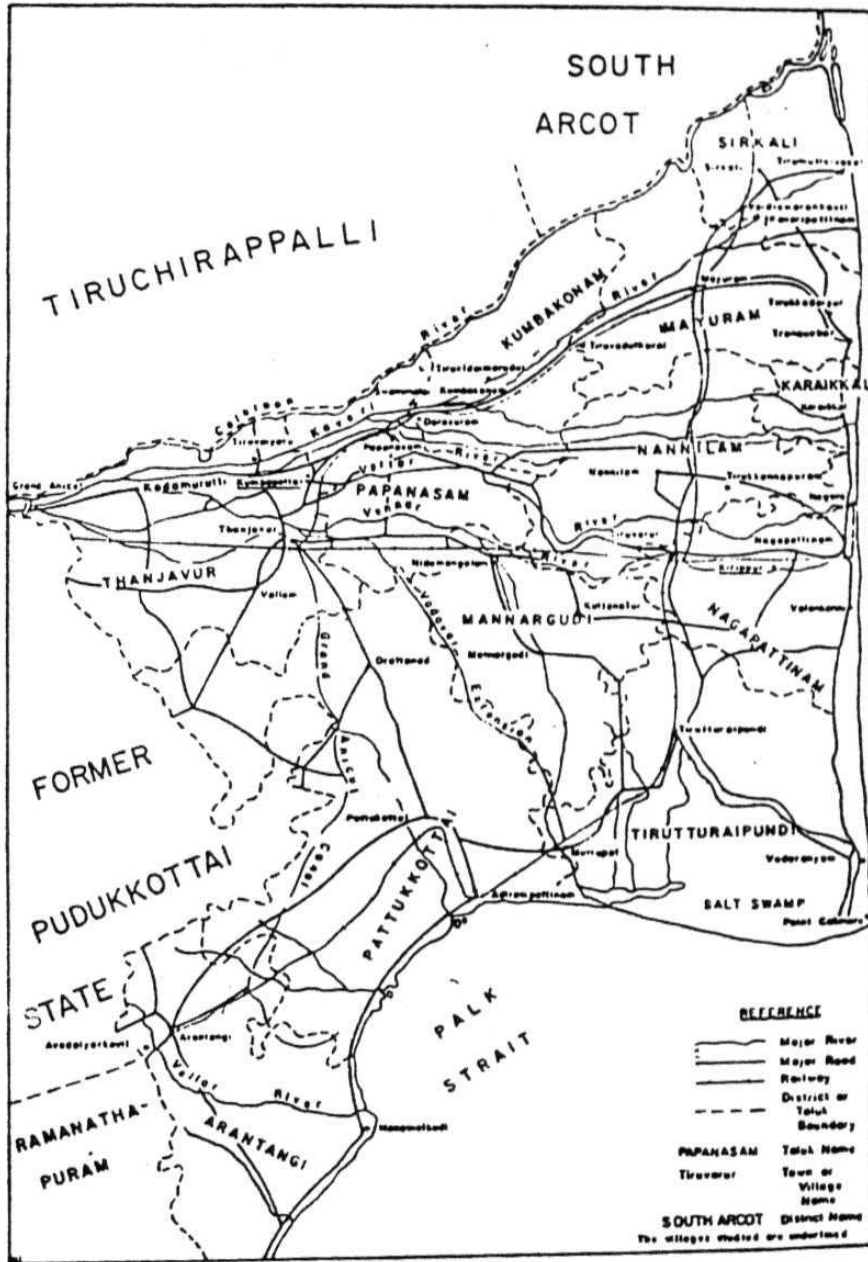
- Palaiyakarar/** : Petty chieftain in south India.
- Palagar/ Poligar**
- Pallar/Pallan** : A Harijan or "Untouchable" Caste of agricultural labourers in rice labourers.
- Pallava** : Tamil Dynasty of Kanchipuram that flourished in the sixth to ninth centuries.
- Panchalas** : Aggregate of five artisan and service castes.
- Panchanna** : The fifth or lowest major sub-division of Hindu Society. In Thanjavur, it is equivalent to the scheduled or "Untouchable" Castes.
- Paravar** : A Tamil caste of fisherman, pearl-divers, boatmen and other maritime occupations.
- Pariah** : Tamil labouring caste with untouchable status.
- Pariyari** : Barber.
- Pargana** : District: province; tract of country.
- Parppanar** : Brahmans.
- Patta** : Document given by collector of revenue to the revenue page stating terms on which the land is held and the amount payable.
- Pattadar** : Holder of a patta.
- Pattakdar** : A revenue farmer in the 1770s and 1780s.
- Patti** : Part of a village: division of land; ancestral branches of a landlord body.
- Pattidar** : Holder of a patti.
- Pattidari** : Joint ownership of a village.
- Pattunoolkarar** : Caste of Silk weavers, originally from Gujarat.
- Pillai** : Subcaste of Vellala, a Tamil agricultural caste.
- Pillaiyar** : Ganapati, the eldest son of Lord Siva and Parvathi.
- Podhu-Idam** : Platform built around banyan tree-usually a meeting place of assemblies.
- Pon** : Literally 'gold" (Tamil):A standard gold coin of the Vijayanagar empire and its successors, also known as varaha.
- Raj** : Principality; Kingdom.

Raja	: Chief; King.
Rawthar/ Rowther	: A subdivision of Tamil Muslims of Coromandel.
Salempore	: Plain white and dyed cotton cloth, a speciality of coromandel.
Sarkar/circar	: District, Government.
Seer/ Sir	: Land cultivated by the proprietor himself.
Seth/ shete	: Indigenous banker and money lender.
Swadeshi	: Of one's own country; native.
Tahsil	: Sub-division of district.
Tahsildar	: Revenue official in charge of a Tahsil.
Taluk/ taluq	: Sub-division of district.
Tharai vari	: A Tamil term meaning 'loom tax'.
Thesavalamai	: Customary law of the Tamils of Jaffna (North Sri Lanka).
Thirugu	: Iron-rod for controlling water supply.
Thony/ Dhony	: A one-to three-masted boat common on the Coromandel coast.
Upari	: Temporary occupant; tenant-at-will.
Ur	: Village Assembly.
Vaisya	: Third group in the varna hierarchy, consisting of many castes performing commercial and professional functions.
Valanadu	: Administrative Unit.
Valankai	: Tamil work literally meaning 'right hand': Later a term denoting a group of associated castes of the right hand.
Vanikar	: Tamil derivative of Sanskrit vanik, meaning 'merchant'.
Vellalar	: A Tamil agricultural caste.
Vimana	: The elevation of the shrine with super structure
Viragu vari	: Tax on fire wood.
Viyapari Chetty	: A Tamil merchant caste.
Vaishya	: The third of the four orders of varnas into which Hindu caste were traditionally divided. Commerce is the main traditional occupation of the group.
zamindar	: Landholder; a collector of revenue on behalf of the Government.

MAPS

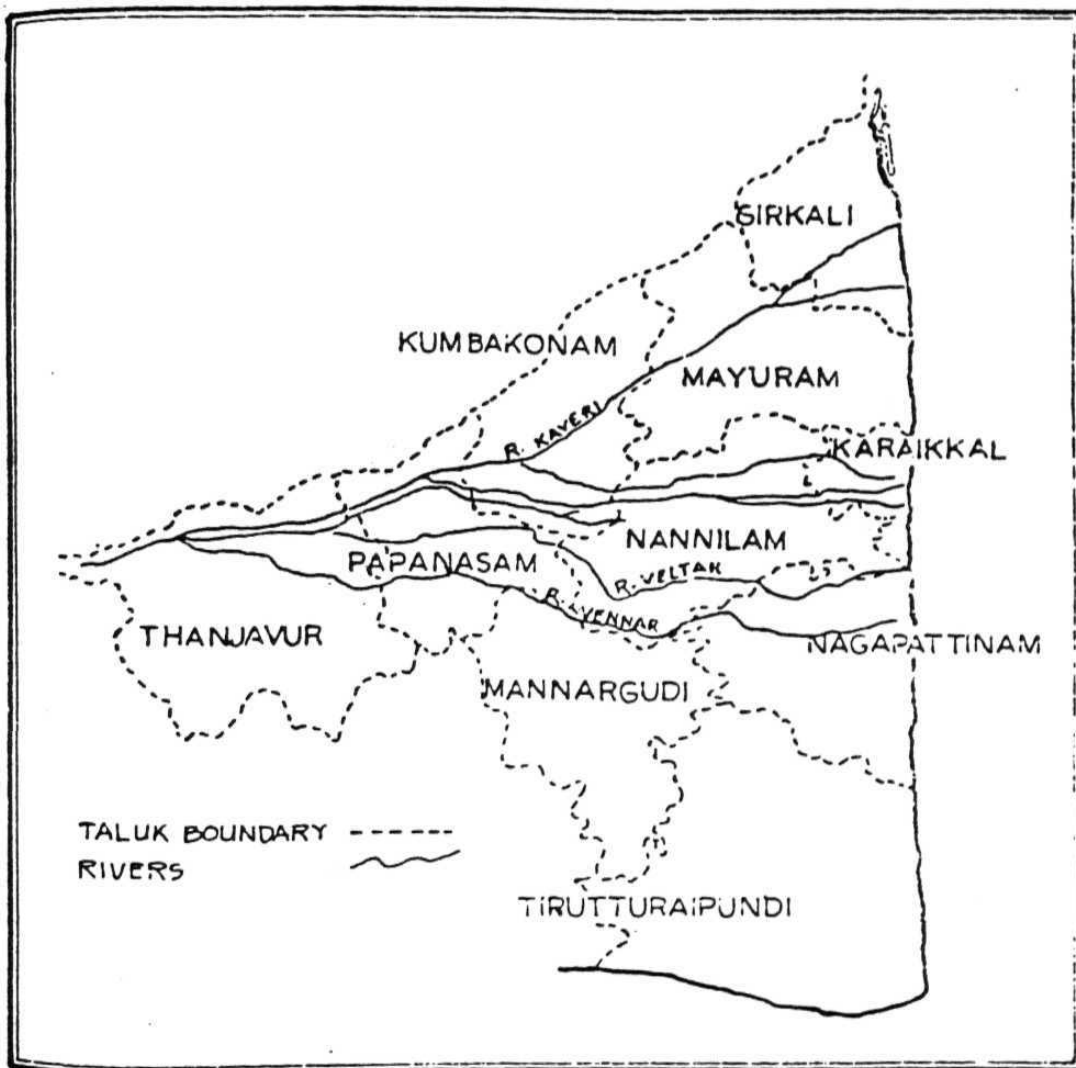


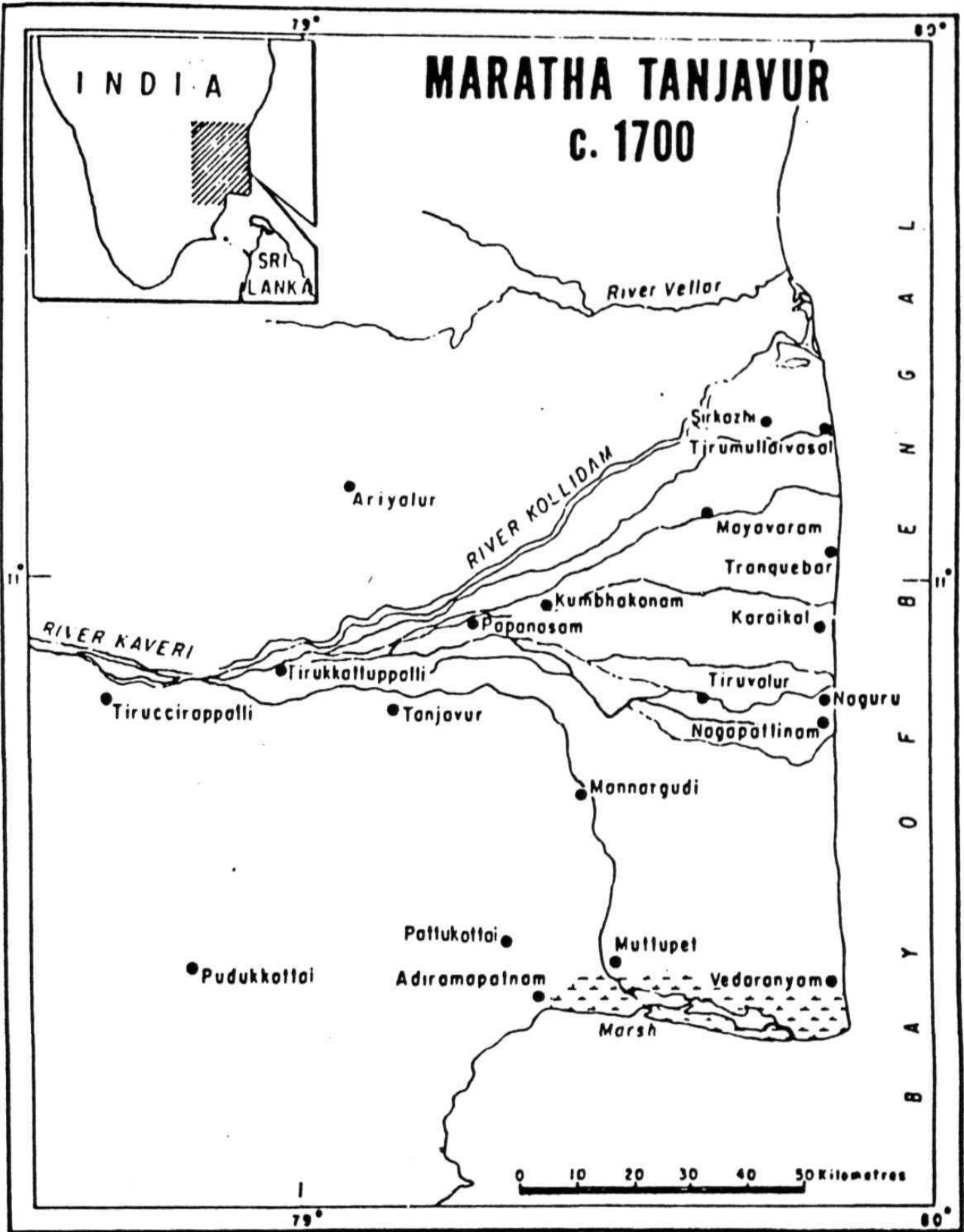
Map 1. Location of Tamil Nāḍu area and Thanjāvūr district, 1952.



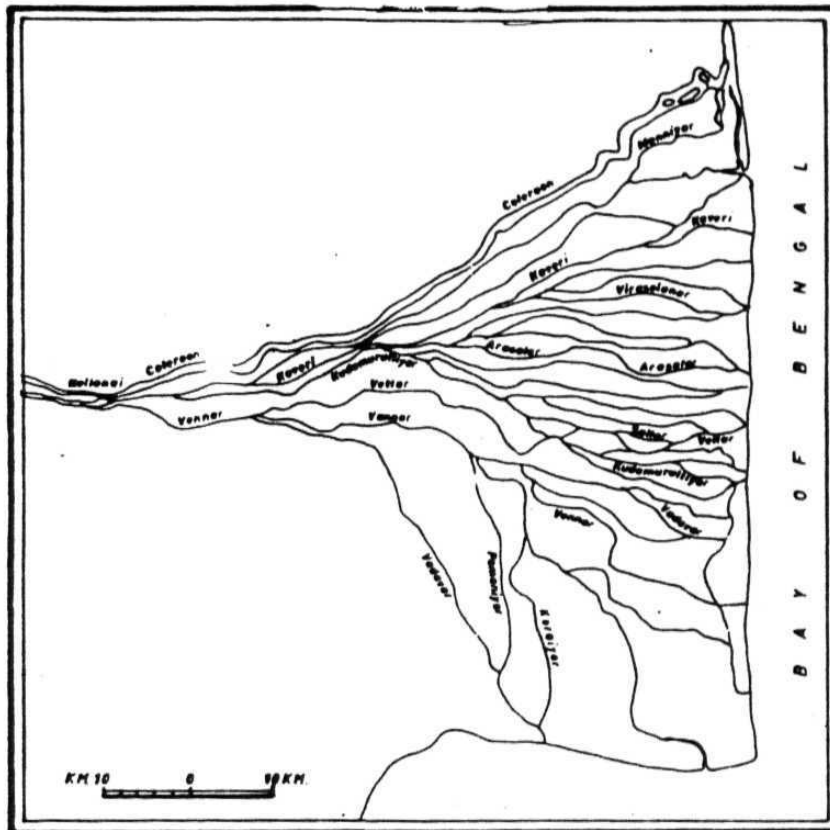
Map 2. Thanjavur district, 1952.

Cauvery Delta (Thanjavur District)

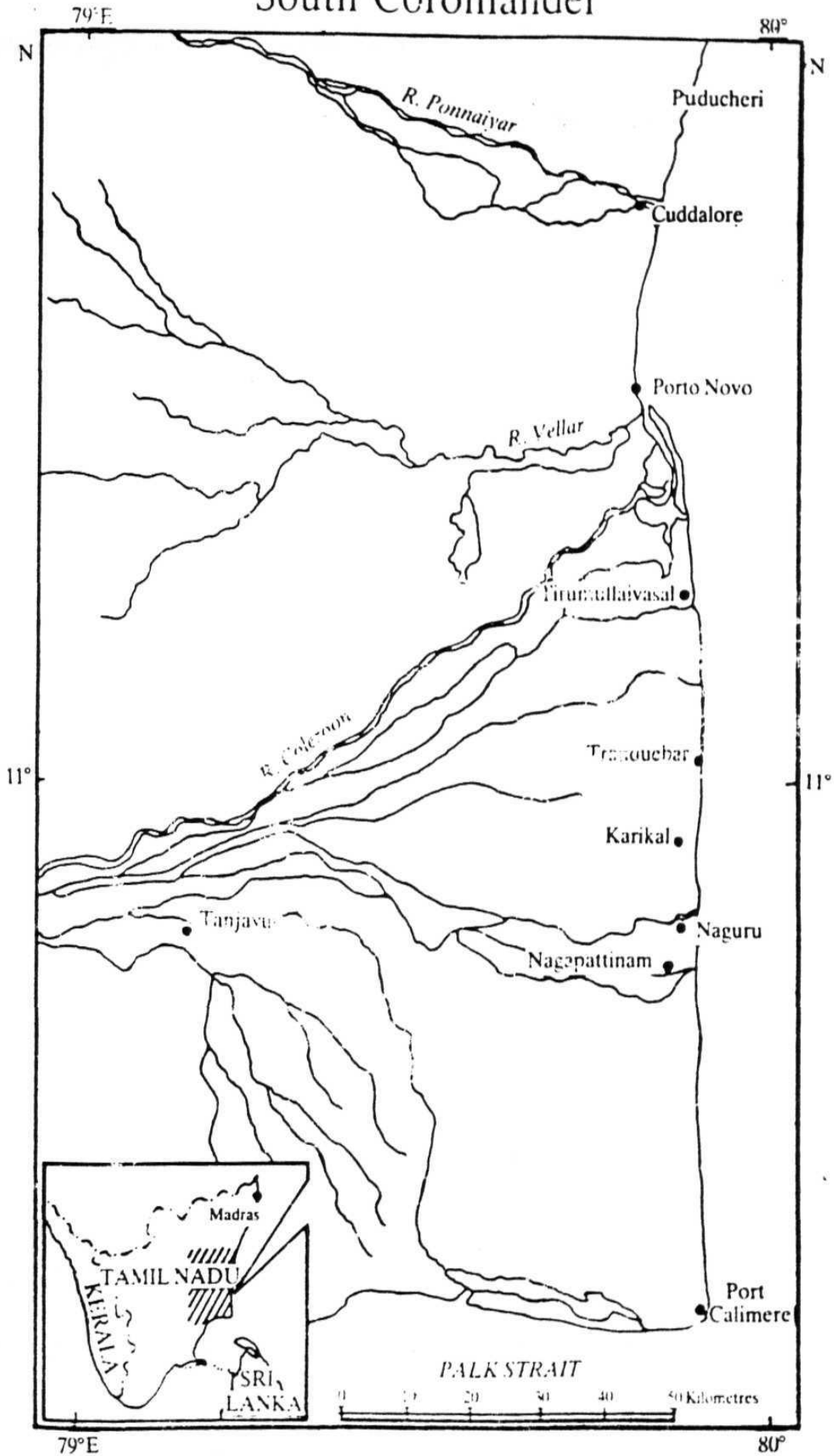




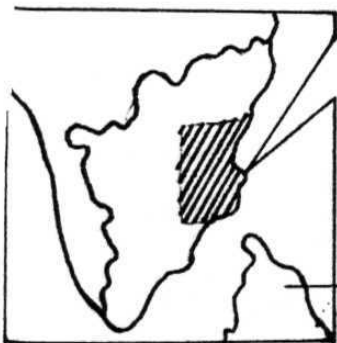
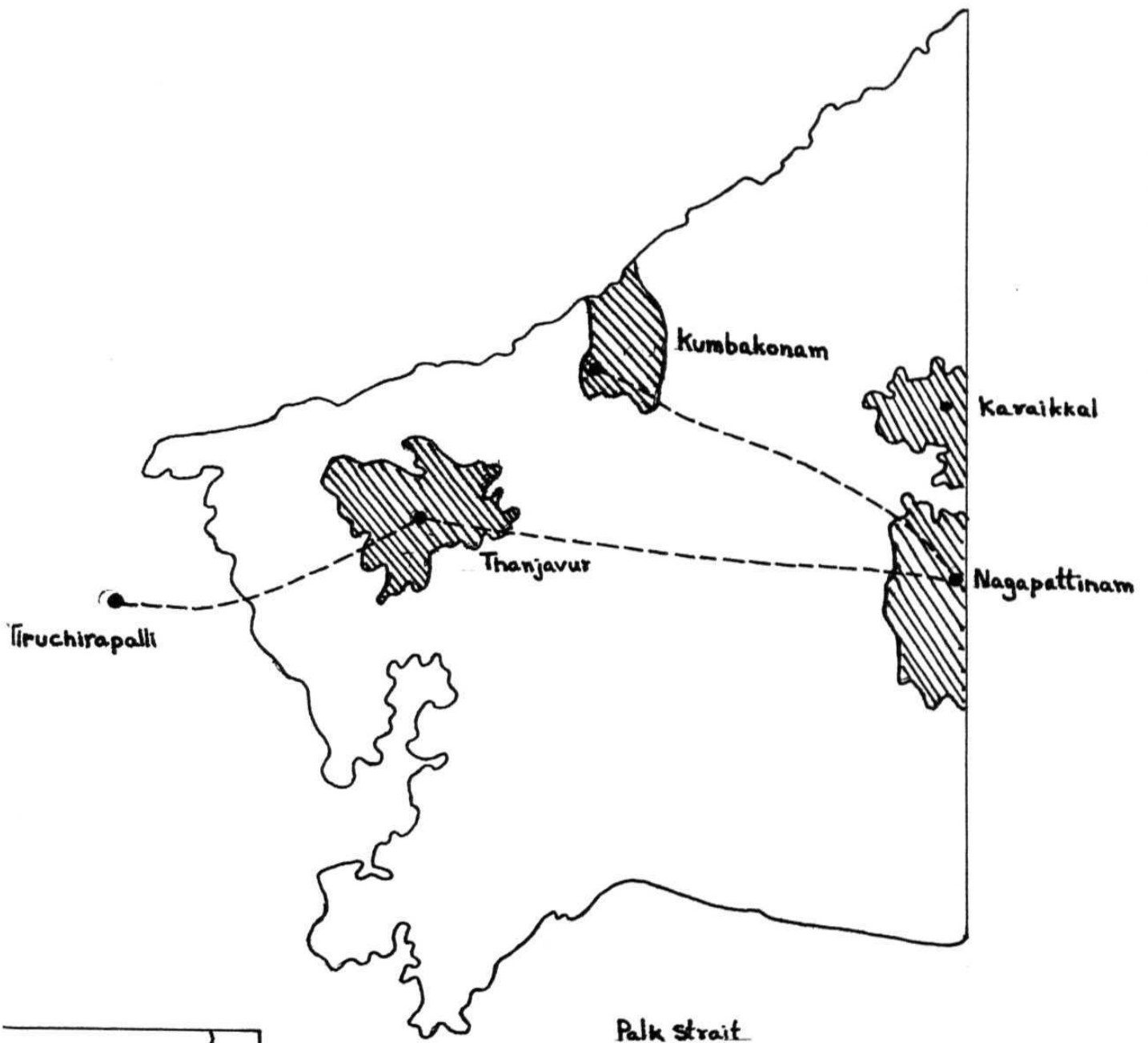
Rivers in Thanjavur District



South Coromandel



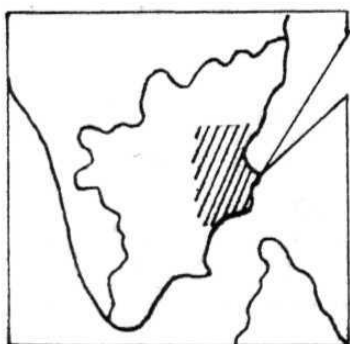
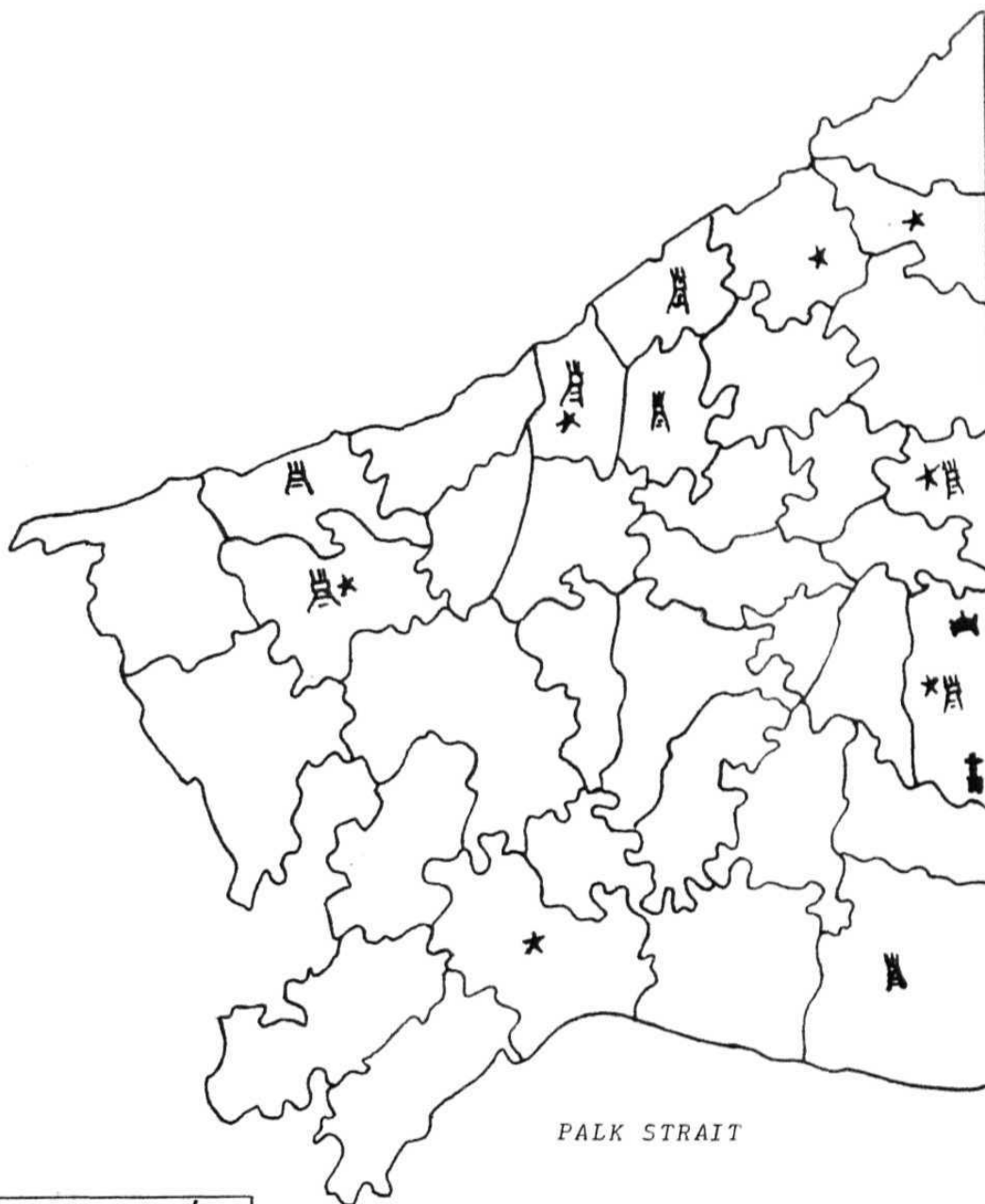
Some Important Weaving Centres and Trade Routes in Thanjavur District



Ceylon (Sri Lanka)

 Weaving areas

TEMPLE AND ADMINISTRATIVE TOWNS IN THANJAVUR DISTRICT



CEYLON
(SRI LANKA)

- ★ - ADMINISTRATIVE TOWNS
- 卐 - TEMPLE
- ✝ - CHURCH
- ⬛ - MOSQUE

PORTS AND RIVERS OF THANJAVUR DISTRICT
SOUTH OF COLEROON RIVER

