

# THE CŌLA STATE: POWER AND LEGITIMACY

R. Mahalakshmi

This course on the Cōla state is intended to introduce the student to the study of state formation and state structures in early medieval India, with special reference to peninsular India. It views the four centuries of Cōla rule (9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries CE) as representing the historical processes, which led to the emergence of a regional state of a magnitude rarely achieved in ancient and early medieval India and hence, as providing a significant model for the study of state structures in pre-colonial India.

- The first theme focuses on historiographical issues related to state formation, with particular emphasis on methodologies and analyses that have had a bearing upon the study of the state.
- We introduce in the second theme the dynastic history of the Cōlas, discussions on genealogies, military achievements and extra-political strategies that helped sustain this lineage group for over four hundred years.
- The third theme relates to economic structural arrangements initiated by the Cōlas, and its implications for the social formation that was in the making. We will discuss in detail the importance of the land grants, initiated a few centuries earlier in this region, the nature of land rights and control that were developing, and the state's initiative and/ or interest in supporting such structural changes.
- Theme four is concerned with social transactions necessitating accommodation of rival and newer claimants to power and social status given the developing economic contexts. The increasing visibility of certain specialized occupational groups in urban settlements, and the public space created by the temple for attracting service personnel will be two major foci of this study.
- Finally, the importance of ideological mechanisms in creating and/ or sustaining political structures will be discussed. We will focus in particular on the *bhakti* tradition and on temples as disseminators of brahmanical ideology, and its ramifications for political processes, in this regard.
- Our concluding theme focuses on questions of time and space that are taken as givens in historical writings, and the need to interrogate these critically particularly in the context of regional formations.

## READINGS

Primary Sources (**to be selected**):

*South Indian Inscriptions* - Relevant Volumes

*Epigraphia Indica* - Relevant Volumes.

T.N. Subramanian,	<i>South Indian Temple Inscriptions</i> (3 Volumes) Madras, 1953-55.
<i>Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State</i>	Relevant Inscriptions
T.V. Mahalingam	<i>Topographical List of Inscriptions of Tamilnadu and Kerala</i>
T. S. Sridhar, N. Marxia Gandhi	<i>Select Inscriptions of Tamilnadu</i>

### General:

- Abraham, Meera, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1988.\*
- Ali, Daud, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*, OUP, Delhi, 2006.
- Anderson, Perry, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, L.N.B., London, 1974.
- Appadorai, Arjun, and Carol A. Breckenridge, 'The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (CIS), 10, 2, 1976: 187-212.
- Bloch, Marc, *Feudal Society*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1961.
- Chakravarti, Ranabir, 'Book Review – The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in Early Medieval India', *The Medieval History Journal*, 5, 1, 2002.
- , 'Politics and Society in India', in D. P. Chattopadhyaya, General Editor, *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Vol. II, Part 1, *Life, Thought and Culture in India (c. AD 300 – 1000)*, Edited by K. Satchidananda Murty, Centre For Studies in Civilizations, New Delhi, 2002.
- Champakalakshmi, R., 'Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India', A Review Article, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 and 4, 1981: 411 – 426.
- , 'Introduction', *Studies in History*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1982.
- , 'Ideology and the State in South India', Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Memorial Lecture – 1, *A. P. History Congress*, XIII Session, Srisailam, 1989.
- , 'State and Economy: South India, Circa A.D. 400 – 1300', in Romila Thapar ed. *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1995.
- , *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation in South India (300 BC to AD 1300)*, Oxford University Press (OUP), Delhi, 1996.\*
- Chattopadhyaya, B. D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press (OUP), Delhi, 1994.\*

- , 'State and Economy in North India; Fourth Century to Twelfth Century' in Romila Thapar ed. *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1995.
- , 'Historical Perspective and its Distortion', *Studies in History*, 2002.
- , *Studying Early India*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2002.\*
- Chaudhuri, K. N., *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic and Political History from the rise of Civilization to 1750*, Cambridge University Press (CUP), Cambridge, 1985.
- Classen, H. J. M. and P. Skalnik, eds, *The Early State*, Mouton, The Hague, 1978.\*
- Classen H. J. M. and P. Skalnik ed., *The Study of the State*, Berlin, 1981.\*
- Dandekar, Ajay, 'Landscapes in Conflict: Flocks, Hero Stones, and Cult in Early Medieval Maharashtra', *Studies in History*, 7, 2, 1989: 301-324.
- Deloche Jean, *Military Technology in Hoysala Sculpture*, New Delhi, Sitaram Bhartiya Institute of Scientific Research, 1989.
- Derret, Dunken J., M., 'Law and Social Order in India Before the Muhammedan Conquests', *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)*, 7, 1964: 73-120.
- Dirks, Nicholas B., 'Political Authority and Structural Change in Early South Indian History', *Indian Economic and Social History Review (IESHR)*, 13, 2, 1976, 125-157.\*
- , *The Hollow Crown: Ethno History of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge, CUP, 1987.\*
- , *Castes of Mind Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2002 (2001).
- Eschmann, A., Hermann Kulke, and G. C. Tripathi, eds, *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1978.\*
- Fox, Richard, G., *King, Clan, Raja, and Rule*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971.
- Fox, Richard, G., (ed.), *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, Durham N. C., Duke University Press, 1977.
- Fussman, Gerard, 'Central and Provincial Administration in Ancient India: The Problem of the Mauryan Empire', *Indian Historical Review (IHR)*, 14, 1, 1987:43-72.
- Gopal, Krishna Kanti, 'Defining Feudalism in the Context of Early Medieval India', in Lallanji Gopal (ed.), *Kosambi Commemoration Volume*, Banaras Hindu University, 1977.
- Gopal, Lallanji, 'Samanta - Its Varying Significance in Ancient India', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS)*, 5, 1963, 21-37.
- Hall, Kenneth, R., *Trade and Statecraft in the age of the Cōlas*, New Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1980.\*

- , (ed.), *Structure & Society in Early South India Essays in Honour of Noboru Karashima*, OUP, Oxford, 2001.\*
- Heitzman, James, 'State Formation in South India, 850-1280', *IESHR*, 24: 35-61. (Reproduced in Hermann Kulke ed., *The State in India, 1000-1700*, Delhi, OUP, 1995.)
- , *Gifts of Power: Lordship in an Early Indian State*, Delhi, OUP, 1997.\*
- Inden, Ronald, 'Hierarchies of Kings in Early Medieval India', in T. N. Madan, ed., *Ways of Life: King, Householder and Renouncer*, New Delhi, 1982: 99-125.\*
- , *Imagining India*, London, Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Jha, D. N., 'Editor's Introduction', in D. N. Jha ed., *The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in the Early Medieval India*, Delhi, Manohar, 2000.
- , 'State Formation in a Peripheral Region: The case of Early Medieval Chamba', in D. N. Jha ed., *The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in the Early Medieval India*, Delhi, Manohar, 2000.
- 'Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique', Presidential Address, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 40<sup>th</sup> Session, Waltair, 1979.\*
- , ed., *Feudal Social Formations in Early India*, Chanakya, Delhi, 1987.
- , ed., *The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in the Early Medieval India*, Manohar, Delhi, 2000.\*
- Jha, Vishwa Mohan, 'Settlement, Society and Polity in Early Medieval Rural India', *Social Science Probings*, March, 1994 – December, 1995, XI-XII, 1996.\*
- , 'Feudal Elements in the Caulukya State: An Attempt at Relocation', in D. N. Jha ed., *The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in Early Medieval India*, Delhi, Manohar, 2000.
- , 'Historiography of the Economy of Early Medieval North India: The Second Phase', (Presidential Address – Historiography Section), *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress*, 26<sup>th</sup> Session, Anaparti, 2002.
- , 'Economy of North India', in K.M. Shrimali and R.S. Sharma (eds.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Volume IV, Part 2, Manohar, New Delhi, 2008.\*
- Kapur, Nandini Sinha, *State Formation in Rajasthan: Mewar during the Seventh – Fifteenth Centuries*, Delhi, Manohar, 2002.
- Karashima, Noburu, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions, A.D. 850-1800*, Delhi, OUP, 1984.\*
- , *Ancient to Medieval South Indian Society in Transition*, OUP, Delhi, 2009.\*
- Kulke, Hermann, 'Fragmentation and Segmentation versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History', *Studies in History*, Vol. IV, No.2, 1982.\*

-----, 'Introduction: The Study of the State in Pre – Modern India', in Hermann Kulke ed., *The State in India, 1000 – 1700*, Delhi, OUP, 1995.\*

-----, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processual Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India', in Hermann Kulke ed., *The State in India, 1000 – 1700*, Delhi, OUP, 1995.\*

Mahalakshmi, R., 'Historiography of the Pre-modern State in India' in Vyjayanti Raghavan and R. Mahalakshmi (eds.), *Colonization: A Comparative Study of India and Korea*, Academic Foundation Books, Delhi, 2015, pp. 57-76.

-----, 'Re-visiting the Political Economy of Pre-Modern Tamil Nadu', in DN Jha (ed.), *The Complex Heritage of Early India: Essays in Memory of R.S. Sharma*, Manohar, Delhi, 2014, pp. 555-84.\*

-----, 'The Historical Significance of the *Kalingattupparani*, a 12<sup>th</sup> Century Tamil Text', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 74<sup>th</sup> Session*, Indian History Congress, Delhi, 2014, pp. 205-211.\*

-----, 'Intimately Bound: Woman and Family in early Tamil History, c. 300 BCE – 1300 CE', in Ashish Saxena, ed., *Mapping Marginality and Social Justice*, Rawat Publication, 2013, pp. 219-37.

-----, 'Outside the Norm, Within the Tradition: Kāraikkāl Ammaiṃār and the Ideology of Tamil *Bhakti*', *Studies in History*, Jan-June 2000, 16:1, pp. 17-40.

-----, *The Making of the Goddess: Korraivai-Durga in the Tamil Traditions*, Penguin, Delhi, 2011.

Mahalingam, T.V., 'Society and Economy in South India', in K.M. Shrimali and R.S. Sharma (eds.), *A Comprehensive History of India, Volume IV, Part 2*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2008.\*

Nandi, R. N., 'Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India, Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 45<sup>th</sup> Session*, Annamalainagar, 1984.

-----, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600 – 1200*, New Delhi, Manohar, 2000.\*

Narain, A. K., 'The Kushana State: A Preliminary Study', in H. J. M. Classen and P. Skalnik, *The Study of the State*, Berlin, 1981.

Ramaswamy, Vijaya, 'Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India', *Studies in History*, 4, No. 2, 1982.

-----, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, OUP, Delhi, 1985.

Sahu, B.P., 'Ways of Seeing: History and Historiography of the State in Early India', in Brandtner, Martin, and Shishir Kumar Panda (ed.), *Interrogating History Essays for Hermann Kulke*, Manohar, Delhi, 2006.

- , 'Brahmanical Ideology, Regional Identities and Construction of Early India', *Social Scientist*, Vol.29, No.7/8( July-Aug., 2001).
- Seneviratne, Sudarshan, 'Kalinga and Andhra: The Process of Secondary State Formation in Early India', in H.J. M. Classen and P. Skalnik ed., *The Study of the State*, Berlin, 1981.
- Sharma, R. S., *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalization*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001
- , *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1991 (3<sup>rd</sup> edition).\*
- , *Indian Feudalism*, Delhi, Macmillan India Limited, 1980 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), rpt. 1998 (PB).
- , *Social Changes in Early Medieval India*, Delhi, Peoples Publishing House, 1969.\*
- , 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History', *Indian Historical Review (IHR)*, vol. I, no. 1, 1974.
- , 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, XII, Nos. 2-3, 1985; also in *Social Scientist*, XII, No. 2, 1984.\*
- , 'The Segmentary State and the Indian Experience', in D. N. Jha ed., *The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in Early Medieval India*, Delhi, Manohar, 2000.
- , 'Usury in Early Medieval Times', in Ranabir Chakravarti (ed.), *Trade in Early India*, OUP, Delhi, 2001.
- Shrimali, K.M., 'Money, Market and Feudalism' in Kesavan Veluthat and P.P. Sudhakaran (eds.), *Advances in History Essays in Memory of Professor M.P. Sridharan*, Professor M.P. Sridharan Memorial Trust, Calicut, 2003, pp. 95-132.
- , 'Appendix Society and Economy in South India', in K.M. Shrimali and R.S. Sharma (eds.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Volume IV, Part 2, Manohar, New Delhi, 2008.\*
- Singh, Upinder, 'Brāhmaṇa Settlements in Ancient and Early Medieval India', in Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *A Social History of India*, Volume 2, part 5, Pearson Education India, Delhi, 2009, p. 160.
- Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient and Medieval India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974.\*
- Spencer, George, W., *The Politics of Expansion: The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*, New Era Publications, Madras, 1983.\*
- , 'Heirs Apparent: Fiction and Function in Chola Mythical Genealogies', *IESHR*, 21, 4, 1984.\*
- Stein, Burton, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, OUP, 1980.\*
- , 'The Segmentary State: Interim Reflections', in Hermann Kulke (ed.), *The State in India, 1000 – 1700*, OUP, Delhi, 1995.

- Subbarayalu, Y., 'The Cōla State', *Studies in History*, Vol. IV, No. 2, July – Dec. 1982: 265 – 306.\*
- , *The Political Geography of the Chola Country*, ASI, Madras, 1974.\*
- , *South India Under the Cholas*, OUP, Delhi, 2011.\*
- Talbott, Cynthia, *Pre-colonial India in Practice*, Delhi, OUP, 2001.\*
- Thapar, Romila, *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millenium b.c. in the Ganga Valley*, OUP, 1984.\*
- , 'The State as Empire' in H.J. M. Classen and P. Skalnik ed., *The Study of the State*, Berlin, 1981.
- , 'Genealogy as a Source of Social History', *Ancient Indian Social History*, Orient Longman, 1979.\*
- , *The Past and Prejudice*, NbT, Delhi, 1979.
- Veluthat, Kesavan, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, Delhi, Orient Longman, 1993.\*
- , *The Early Medieval in South India*, OUP, Delhi, 2009.\*
- Yadava, B. N. S., *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, Allahabad, Cental Book Depot, 1973.