THE AKKACĀLAIP - PERUMPAĻĻI AT NĀKAPATTINAM

An Inscription on a Bronze Buddha Image in the collection of Art belonging to the family of John Rockefeller III

The Cūļāmaṇivarma Vihāram at Nākapaţţinam was established on the initiative of the Kings of Srī Vijaya. The work of construction which commenced in the reign of the Cōla King Rājarāja I (985 - 1016) was completed in the reign of his son and successor Rājendra I (1012 - 1044). This institution was also known as Rājarājaperumpalļi. It was endowed with lands by Rājarāja and the charter recording the land-grant was issued by Rājendra. The establishment of the Rājendra Cōla-perumpalļi in the subsequent period represented a decisive stage in the further development of the monastic complex at Nākapaţţinam. The two institutions are referred to in the copper plate charter issued by Kulottunga I (1070 - 1122). Some aspects of the history of the monastic complex at Nākapaţţinam have been discussed elsewhere, on the basis of the information recorded in the Cōla copper-plate inscriptions found at the Leyden Museum.¹

2. A large number of Buddha images in bronze have been unearthed at the site of the monastic complex, especially during the years 1856, 1926 and 1934.² These bronzes, some of which contain inscribed labels on their pedestals, are of considerable significance on account of their quality as works of art and as sources of historical information. A bronze Buddha from Nākapaṭṭinam is one of the priceless antiquities in the collection of Asian art belonging to Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III. When this collection was exhibited at the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo in October 1992, Professor Noburu Karashima of the University of Tokyo and his associates recognized Tamil letters on the pedestal of the Buddha image fron Nākapaṭṭinam. Several photographs of the inscription were taken by them.

^{1.} S. Pathmanathan, "The Cūlamanivarma Vikaram of Nakapattinam" (included in a volume which is to be published by the University of Uppsala).

². T.N. Ramachandran, "The Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum," *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, General Section, Vol. VII, No. 1, Madras, 1965.

Karashima and Subbarayalu deciphered the inscription and their report on its contents was published in an issue of the *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*.³ They have focussed attention on the unusual significance of this inscription for understanding some facets of the Buddhist monastic establishments at Nākapattinam, which have hitherto remained unknown. The inscription on the pedestal of the image, written in two lines in Grantha and Tamil characters of the 11th century, consists of three sentences. The text, which is entirely in Tamil, contains a brief description of the Buddha image on a lotus pedestal.

The text of the inscription as deciphered and translated by Karashima and Subbarayalu runs:

Text

- (1) irājendracōla perumpaļļi akkacālaip perumpaļļi ālvār kōyilukku tiruvutsavam eluntarula ālvar ivvalvarai eļuntaruluvittār cirutavūr nālāņkuņākara udaiyar.
- (2) svasti srī patineņ vishayattukkum akkasālaikaļ nāyakar.

Translation

- (1) "(This is) the <u>alvar</u> for a festival procession of the temple of Akkasālaip-perumpaļļi in Rājendracōla-perumpaļļi. This <u>alvar</u> was set up by Nālāngunākara-udaiyar of Cirudavūr."
- (2) "Let it be auspicious! (This <u>alvar</u> called) akkasalaikal nayakar is for all the "padinenvishayam".⁴
- 3. The decipherment of the text by Karashima and Subbarayalu is faultless. However, their translation and interpretation of the second and third sentences of the text do not seem to reflect adequately the true significance of the

³. Karashima Noboru and Y. Subbarayalu, "An Inscription on the Pedestal of the Bronze Buddha Image of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd collection: International Character of Nagapattinam Merchants during the Chola Period", *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, Vol. 3, (The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan) 1994, pp. 13-18.

⁴. They have been persuaded to assume that the last sentence in the text is a description of the Āļvār (Buddha). It may, however, be construed as denoting one who held the position of being an agent of the *Patinenvişaiyam*, although the word nāyakar would seem to have been applied as a designation of the Buddha in certain other instances.

expressions occurring in them. The words and concepts found in the text, which are archaic and obsolete, pertain to institutions and practices which have disappeared long ago. They are not easily intelligible even to specialists and cannot be interpreted solely with the aid of lexicography. Besides, the brevity of the text by itself could be a cause of ambiguity. Therefore, a critical examination of these items in considerable detail has to be undertaken, especially on account of the unusual significance of the contents of this monument for understanding some elements of the forgotten aspects of South Indian history and culture

In the text there are references to eight important items, namely:

- (1) Irājendra cōlap perumpalli
- (2) Akkacālaip perumpalli
- Ālvār Kovil (3)
- (4)Ālvār
- (5)Utsavam
- Nālānkuņākara Uttaiyār (6)
- Patinen Visaiyam (7)
- Akkacālaikal nāyakar (8)

An elucidation of all these expressions is necessary for arriving at a correct understanding of the text. In such an exercise one has to be on the side of caution as some of the words found in the epigraph could be explained in different ways. For instance each of the three words, alvar, utaiyar and nāyakar have a variety of meanings. The fact that they could be construed also as synonyms could create confusion. These could be explained properly only with the aid of authentic epigraphical glossaries and on the basis of usages and tradition

The word alvar occurs at three places in the text. In two places, the 4. bronze image of the Buddha is referred to as alvar. In the other place, the word is combined with kōyil to form the compound expression Ālvār kōyil, which means the temple of the Alvar. As the inscription refers to the image as alvar and describes a temple attached to a perumpalli (monastery) as ālvār kōyil, it is clear that the word alvar is applied in the text as a designation of the Buddha. In epigraphy the two forms alvar and alvar are used interchangeably. The

form $\bar{a}lv\bar{a}r$ is found in two 12th century Tamil inscriptions in Sri Lanka.⁵ An image of the Buddha is described as $Vairatt\bar{a}lv\bar{a}r$ in an inscription from Polonnaruwa while another one from Māṅkanāy in the Trincomalee district refers to the $\bar{a}lv\bar{a}r$ of $Veyka-V\bar{e}ram$.

The principal connotations of the word $\bar{A}\underline{1}v\bar{a}r$ are God, gods, supreme devotees, religious teachers and persons of great eminence. As a term of description it could be applied to those who attracted and brought under their sway and influence men and women through their charismatic qualities. The twelve principal leaders of the movement of devotional theism in South Indian Vaisnavism are generally referred to as $\bar{A}\underline{1}v\bar{a}r$. It is significant that the inscription concerned refers to the Buddha as $\bar{A}\underline{1}v\bar{a}r$. Here, an expression found in the local Vaisnava tradition is applied to designate the Buddha.

In the epigraph it is stated that the image of the Buddha was to be taken on festival processsion(s) at the temple of the Buddha (alvar kōyil). The expressions utsavam (festival) eluntarul (i) and kōyil are also significant as providing an indication of the extent to which the terminology found in the local Hindu tradition had been adopted to describe Buddhist practices and institutions at Nākapattinam. It would seem that the Hindu influence on Buddhism was not merely confined to the adoption of terminology but also extended to the realm of ideas and practices. This matter could be clarified only on the basis of further investigation in the future.

H.C.P. Bell, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report for 1909 (41 pages) Colombo, 1914, p. 27; K. Kanapathypillai, "Mānkanai Inscription of Gajabahu II", University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XX, No. 1 (135 pages), April 1962, pp. 12 - 14.

^{6. &}quot;One who is in deep meditation on the attributes of the supreme being,

^{2.} the ten Vaisnava canonized saints and

^{3.} the title of Buddhist and Jaina saints are said to be the connotations of this word. In *Avirōtiyālvar* and *Maittiriiyālvār* it is combined with words which have a Buddhist significance. *Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, Reprint 1982, p. 253.

5. The $\bar{A}\underline{l}v\bar{a}rk\bar{o}yil$ attached to the Akkacālaip-perumpaļļi may be considered as an image-house or pratimā-ghara. The fact that an institution called Akkacālaip-perumpaļļi was found at Nākapaţţinam is known exclusively from this inscription. As the inscription could be assigned to the late 11th century on paleographical considerations it may be assumed that it was established in the 11th century. The expressions Rājendracōlap-perumpaļļi Akkacalaip-perumpaļļi suggest that the Akkacālaip-perumpaļļi was affiliated to the Rājendracōlap-perumpaļļi as one of its component units. The name Akkacālaip-perumpaļļi is significant as providing some indication of the interaction between a community of people associated with the akkacalai and the monastic institutions at Nākapaţţinam.

In the Tamil tradition the word *akkacalai* has two distinct connotations; it means a "mint" or an "artisan manufactory." It may also be noted here that the streets occupied by the artisan communities in some towns are described as *Akkacālaip-perunteru* in inscriptions. The Akkacālaip-perumpalli at Nākapattinam seems to have been established and supported by artisans engaged in metal craft production, and named after them chiefly on account of that reason.

6. The second sentence in the epigraph, which runs: 'Ivvālvārai eluntaruluvittār Cirutavūr-Nalāņkuņākara uţaiyār' seems to provide some useful hints about some aspects of monastic organization at Nākapaţţinam. It describes the performance of some solemn act in relation to the Buddha image by the person called Cirutavūr Nālānkuṇākara uṭaiyār. This person was presumably from the locality called Cirutavūr and, as suggested by the description, a person of eminence and some consequence.

^{7.} There was a temple called Akkacalai-iśvaram at the coastal town of Korkai in the Pāndya Kingdom. Akkacālai-iśvaram uţaiyar of Korkai was, according to an inscription of the time of Kulottunga I (1070-1122), located at Korkai, otherwise called Maturāntaka-nallūr of Kuţanāţu in Uttamacōla vaļanāţu.

^{8.} The expression as found in Tamil texts has two meanings; "metal works" and "mint". *Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, Vol. I, p. 2.

⁹. The same could be said also of the Śaiva shrine Akkacālai-īśvaram at Korkai in the Tirunelveli district of the Madras Presidency in British India.

The compound expression $n\bar{a}l\bar{a}nkun\bar{a}kara$ $u_taiy\bar{a}r$ could be split into three words: $n\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$, kunakara(r) and $u_taiy\bar{a}r$. The word $n\bar{a}lam$, meaning "the fourth", is an adjectival form qualifying the nominal form $kun\bar{a}kara(r)$. The word $u_taiy\bar{a}r$, which is suffixed to the name $kun\bar{a}kara(r)$ in this text, has a variety of connotations. It means owner, lord, god, king, prince, chief or a venerable or respectable person. The presiding deity at all temples dedicated for the worship of Siva is consistently referred to as u_taiyar in $C\bar{o}1a$ and other South Indian inscriptions. It was also used as a royal epithet in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. u_taiyar was also the designation of local chieftains in the Tamil country. However, the precise meaning of the word as found in the epigraph under consideration could be understood only after the clarification of the significance of the compound expression $n\bar{a}l\bar{a}nkun\bar{a}kara(r)$.

In the case of Nālānkuṇākara(r) of Cirutavūr the expression *Uţaiyār* does not seem to have been applied as a designation of rank. He is not described as the *Uţaiyar* of Cirutavūr. It may therefore be considered as an honorific having the same significance as the work *Svāmi*. Such an assumption presupposes that Kuṇakara(r) was a venerable person, a religious dignitary. As the expression nālām meaning 'the fourth' is prefixed to Kuṇakara(r), the expression Kuṇākara may be considered as a designation of rank in the monastic order. So Kuṇākara IV may be identified as a monk who was the fourth in order of pupillary succession to attain that rank. Such an impression suggests the possibility that the order of monks of which *Kuṇākara IV* was the head had existed at Nākapaṭṭinam and its neighbourhood for four generations by the time this monument was set up. This interpretation is consistent with historical information pertaining to the origins and development of the monastic complex

^{10.} Kunākara(r) is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit/Prākrit word Gunākara, which is formed by combining the two words guna and ākara. It means "the repository of virtue."

[&]quot;Lord", "master", "cuvami", and "the headman of a village" are said to be the meanings of this word. Tamil Lexicon, Vol. I (Reprint) p. 401.

In the Cōla inscriptions the epithet *Uţaiyar* is prefixed to the names of the Kings of the lineage of Vijayālaya until the accession of Kulottunga I (1070 - 1122). In the Tamil inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period the expression *Uţaiyār* is suffixed to the names of kings, princes and dignitaries, in the form of an honorific appellation.

It is probable that the Akkacālaip-perumpalli was at Nākapattinam. 13 occupied and administered by the order of monks of which he was the head. It is presumably in that capacity that Kunākara IV had the Buddha image ceremonially installed at the ālvār kōyil attached to the Akkacālaip-perumpaļli.

7. The third sentence in the text runs; Svasti Srī! Patinen Vişaiyattukkum, Akkacālaikal nāyakar. In this sentence a relationship between a group or community called Patinenvisaiyam and a person who had the designation Akkacālaikaļ nāyakar is indicated. 14 The patinenvisaiyam was the designation

All the Tamil scholars whom the present author consulted understood these expressions in the manner in which they are explained here. The unlikelihood of the $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$ of the $\bar{A}lv\bar{a}r$ köyil attached to the Akkacālaip perumpaļļi being referred to in a text intended to describe a standing image of the Buddha, which was donated for the purpose of being taken on festival processions is an important consideration in our explanation of the expressions concerned. If the formulators of the inscription had intended to describe the Buddha in the concluding sentence, one would expect them to have applied the expression alvar, which occurs at three places in the text as a designation of the Buddha. In the light of the foregoing considerations the last sentence of the epigraph translates: "Hail prosperity". "The prefect of the artisan

As the Cūlāmanivarma - Vihāram had its origins in the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1016), the monastic orders occupying the monasteries affiliated to it could not have had an association with this particular monastic complex for a period exceeding a hundred years.

Lord, master, husband, king, the Supreme Being, leader and conductor are among the several connotations of the word nāyakan. Nāyakar could be a singular honorific form of nāyakan. The interpretation that the combined expression akkacalaikal nāyakar is a description of Lord Buddha (Alvar) does not seem to be tenable. Akkacālaip perumpaļļi Ālvār and Akkacālaikal nāyakar do not appear to have the same connotations. The word nāyakar when combined with akkacālaikal conveys the meaning superintendent or conductor. This impression is confirmed by the association of the Akkacalaikal with a mercantile The close association of metal workers with merchant community. guilds is well attested by historical evidence. They were also sometimes incorporated into the merchant guilds as evident from the Vaisāli seals and some of the inscriptions of the Ayyāvole in India and Sri Lanka.

of a leading merchant guild in medieval South India. It was synonymous with patinenpūmi, an appellation of the Nānādesis who are sometimes referred to also as the Aññūrruvar 'of the thousand directions'. It is therefore clear that the Aññūrruvar were established at a commercial sector of Nākapatţinam and that they had entered into an abiding relationship with the monastic establishment in that town. Such an impression is further confirmed by an elucidation of the concluding expressions of the epigraph, Akkacālaikaļ nāyakar.

The word nāyakar also has many connotations. In the Saiva tradition it is applied to God. In Buddhism it is applied to designate the rank of one who holds a position of leadership and authority in the monastic Organization. ¹⁶ It was also a designation of rank in military and political organization. "Chief", "leader" and "Superintendent" are also some of the connotations of this word. When the expression nāyakar is combined with the word akkacālaikaļ meaning 'artisan manufactories' it cannot denote God or a rank in the hierarchy of

manufactories for the merchants of the eighteen countries."

The present author had consultation on this point with Pantitar ka. ce. Naţarācan, Vittuvān ka. na. Vēlan, Srīmati Vasantā Vaittiyanātan, formerly of the Tarumai Ātinam, S. Arunasalam, Senior Lecturer in Tamil, and S. Thillainathan, Professor of Tamil at the University of Peradeniya.

- That the Nānādesis were otherwise called Aħħūrruvar is attested by their inscriptions found in Sri Lanka. The epigraph from Viharehinna contains a reference to the "Nānātecit-ticaiāyirattaħħūrruvar", "The nānādesis", otherwise called the Aħñūrruvar of the thousand directions. It is significant that patinenpūmi is consistently applied as a qualifying expression in the description of the Nānādesis otherwise called Aħħūrruvar. The expressions patinenpūmit-tēcitticai-Āyirattaħħrruvar are found in inscriptions from Polonnaruwa, Padaviya, Vahalkada and Viharehinna. A. Velupillai, Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions, Part I (77 pages), Peradeniya, 1971, pp. 53-56, Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions, Part II (101 pages), Peradeniya, 1972, p. 12.
- In this connexion, similar expressions such as *Vanniyarmakkal nāyan*, "the chief of the community of people called Vanniyar", and *Tēvāranāyakam*, "the one who conducts the recital of tēvaram hymns" are significant as providing some useful hints about the connotations of the relevant expression.

So the appropriate explanation of the combined monastic organization. expression akkacālaikal nāyakar is that it denotes a "prefect" "superintendent" of artisan manufactories. 17 Such a person may therefore be recognized as an agent or functionary of the mercantile community. This interpretation inevitably leads to the conclusion that the artisan manufactories were functioning under the direction and patronage of the merchants.

Our explanation of the relationship between the merchants and artisans, as indicated in the present inscription, is supported by a consideration of relevant information found in the inscriptions of the merchant guilds of India and Sri Lanka. That the artisan communities were incorporated into the guilds (nigama) of merchant communities in North India during the period of the Imperial Guptas is evident from the inscriptions on the Vaisāli seals of the 5th century A.D. 18 In the inscriptional preambles of the medieval South Indian merchant guilds artisans are listed among the communities associated with the mercantile Some sectors of the nakaram towns administered by the communities. mercantile communities were occupied by artisan communities. 19 It may also be noted here that the co-ordination and direction of craft production in a nakaram town by the governing body of the nakaram is suggested by the reference to Akkacālai Vikkiramātittan in an inscription of the Nānādesis from

S. Pathmanathan, "The Bronze Seal of the Nānādesis from Hambantota, Sri Lanka", Asian Panorama: Essays on Past and Present - A selection of papers presented at the 11th Conference of the International Association of the Historians of Asia. Ed. K.M. de Silva, Sirima Kiribamuna, and C.R. de Silva, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 139 - 150.

For instance, an inscription of the time of Rājarāja I from Chidambaram refers to the carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and leather workers as "the people of the nakaram of Kunamēnankaipuram". The artisan communities are reckoned as Kilkkalanaikal, "residents subject to the authority of the dominant group (merchants) administering the nakaram". Kenneth R. Hall, Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980 (238 pages) p. 52.

S. Pathmanathan, "The Nakaram of the Nānādesis in Sri Lanka circa. A.D. 1000 - 1300" (pages 122 - 163), The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities Vol. X, Numbers 1 - 2 (University of Peradeniya) 1984 (published in 1987), p. 145.

Vahalkada in Sri Lanka.20

In the light of the foregoing considerations, it may be inferred that the institution called Akkacālaipperumpaļļi was established and supported by artisan communities associated with the Aññūrruvar established Nākapattinam. There are instances where some religious institutions at market towns in Sri Lanka dominated by merchant guilds were named after military communities affiliated to them. The temple of the Tooth Relic at Polonnaruwa was named after the *Velaikkārar* in the service of a *nakaram* of the *Valañciyar* during the early part of the 12th century.²¹ At Mākal, otherwise called Vikkiramacalāmēkapuram, a nakaram set up by the Aññūrruvar, there was a Buddhist institution called Aññūrruvanpalli. The shrine of the Goddess Paramesvarī at the same locality was named after a military community called Vīramākālam, which was associated with the merchant guild.22 inscription on the pedestal of the bronze image from Nakapattinam is the only epigraphic record among those brought to light hitherto, which contains a reference to a Buddhist institution in the Tamil country which was named after artisan communities associated with a mercantile community. The ideas which have emerged from the present investigation suggest that there was a nakaram encompassing a marketing area of Nākapaṭṭinam, which was dominated by the Aññūrruvar. It may be inferred that this particular mercantile community had negotiated and obtained for itself a major share in the supply of commodities of local and foreign origin to the monastic establishments of Nakapattinam.

Returning to the connotations of the expressions in the last sentence of the epigraph, it may be suggested that the expressions that read patinenvişaiyattukkum akkacālaikaļ nāyakar translate: 'The prefect of the artisan manufactories' for the (entire) patinenvişaiyam. The form Patinenvişaiyattukkum seems to suggest the corporate character of the mercantile community concerned. It would seem that this bronze was made on the instruction of 'the prefect of the artisan manufactories' and donated by him. A further point that emerges from the present discussion is the possibility that

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 136 - 140.

S. Pathmanathan, "The Tamil Slab Inscription of the Vīrakkoţi at Buddhumuttava, Nikaweratiya: Urbanization at Magala", *The Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities*, Vol. XX, numbers 1 - 2, University of Peradeniya Sri Lanka, 1994. (published in 1995) pp. 15 - 30.

²² S. Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram of the Nānādesis..." pp. 126 -127.

the person described in the final portion of the text was a master-craftsman.

It is noteworthy that most of the epigraphic records left behind by the merchant guilds at their commercial outposts are donative inscriptions recording their benefactions to religious foundations. There were many instances where images were donated by merchant guilds. Two miniature bronze images of the Mother Goddess, brought to light by archaeological excavations at Padaviya and the Jetavanarama complex, Anuradhapura, are among the most recent finds pertaining to the activities of the Nānādesis. The expression Nānādesi found inscribed in the form of a label on the pedestal of both these bronzes, suggests that they were donated by members of that corporate mercantile community. It is also significant that one of the inscriptions set up by the Nakaram of Ayyampolil paţţinam at Padaviya in Sri Lanka, contains the expressions; Vikkirakañ ceytu kututtōm, "we made images and donated them". 24

9. In conclusion, it may be stated that the bronze Buddha image found in the collection of antiquities belonging to the family of John Rockefeller III is of a unique character as a work of art and as a historical monument. The inscription on its pedestal is of the utmost importance among the historical records bearing on the Buddhist monastic complex at Nākapaţţinam. It records vital information not found elsewhere. It highlights the fact that an institution called Akkacālaip perumpaļļi was established at some time during the 11th century. That it was founded and supported by artisan communities associated with a mercantile community described figuratively as "Those of the eighteen countries", and named after them is clear from the scrutiny of text. This institution which functioned as a unit of the Irājendra cōlap perumpaļļi had a shrine called Ālvār kōyil attached to it, where festivals were conducted at which images were taken in procession.

An examination of the text of the inscription suggests that the bronze image concerned was caused to be made and donated by a master-craftsman or 'The prefect of artisan manufactories' serving as a functionary of a merchant guild established at Nākapaṭṭinam. It was donated for the purpose of being taken on festival processions. It would seem that the image which was donated to the temple was ceremonially installed by a religious dignitary called Kuṇākara

A Velupillai, Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions, pt. II, pp. 19-20.

Karashima Noboru and Y. Subbarayalu, "An Inscription on the Pedestal of the Bronze Buddha Image...", Journal of East West Maritime Relations, Vol. 3, pp. 13-18.

IV of Cirutavūr. He was probably a dignitary who was the head of the monastic order which occupied the *Akkacālaip perumpaļļi* and administered the shrine (Ālvar Kōyil) attached to it.

In the light of the present study the text of the inscription may be split up into three sentences and translated in the following order:

Text

- 1. Irājendracōlap perumpaļļi Akkacālaip perumpaļļi Ālvār Kōyilukku utsavam eluntaruļa ālvār.
- 2. Ivvāl vārai eluntaruļuvittār Cirutavūr nālānkuņākara Uţaiyār.
- 3. Svasti Srī. Patineņvişaiyattukkum Akkacālaikaļ nāyakar.

Translation

- 1. This image of the Lord (Buddha) is for festival procession(s) at the temple of the Lord (Buddha) attached to the Akkacālaip Perumpaļļi of Irājendracōlap perumpaļļi.
- 2. This image of the Lord (Buddha) has been installed by the venerable Kunakara IV of Cirutavūr.
- 3. Hail Prosperity. "The prefect of artisan manufactories" for "the merchants of the eighteen countries".

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