

# The Economy of the Tiru Jeer Math and the Aḷagianambirayar Temple

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The Tiru Jeer Math and its Śrīvaiṣṇava temple, Aḷagianambirayar Koyil, are located in Tirukkurungudi, a village of seven thousand people in the Nanguneri Taluk of Tirunelveli District, Madras State. The temple, one of the holy places<sup>1</sup> of Vaiṣṇavism, antedates Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The *math*<sup>3</sup> is headed by a *jeer*<sup>4</sup> who claims to stand in a line of succession beginning with Rāmānuja. The temple is under the complete control of the math.

This study undertakes to examine the financial structure and the management and personnel of math and temple. It is based on the official budgets of math and temple for the fiscal year July 1, 1963, to June 30, 1964;<sup>5</sup> on the latest available audit report on the math accounts for the fiscal year July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960,<sup>6</sup> by the District Inspector of Accounts, Madurai district office, of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Commission of Madras State<sup>7</sup> (hereafter referred to as H. R. E. C.); and on interviews with the agent and employees of the temple complex during a period from February to May of 1964.

Those parts of the study that deal with the personnel of the math and the temple are based on interviews with the employees themselves, and it has not been considered necessary or helpful to give reference notes for these interviews. Reference notes have been given, however, where terms need definition, to amplify or clarify certain points, and to draw comparisons with related practices in other temples.

Certain problems in getting at the facts are to be noted at the outset. The auditor is critical of the accounts and records submitted

by the math, and at many points questions their accuracy and completeness. Although the major items appear to be essentially correct, various detailed items are open to question; this is particularly true of wages, since interviews with employees often produced figures at variance with those reported in the official budgets. Where such discrepancies have been detected, the verbal report has generally been accepted as reflecting the actual wages. In some cases two or more functions are performed by a single individual, and in other cases not all of the services provided for in the budget are actually performed. The budgets seem to be a kind of ideal plan, which the math authorities revise as circumstances dictate. An effort is made in this paper to get at the actual facts, rather than to depend solely on official reports.

### I. ENDOWMENT AND INCOME

Most of the income-producing endowment of the math is in land. According to the H. R. E. C. audit report, the math held in 1960 some 610.80 acres of wet (*nunjai*) lands and 4,663.44 acres of dry (*junjai*) lands, with a book value of Rs. 1,056,963;<sup>8</sup> and 73 buildings valued at Rs. 32,807 (an average value of Rs. 429 per building). Rs. 1,150 was in national saving certificates. Other, non-income-producing assets are listed in a table at the end of this paper.

The H. R. E. C. property register for 1935 shows that at that time the math owned 313.65 acres of wet land and 766.05 acres of dry land. If these figures are correct, the holdings of wet lands have increased approximately 100 per cent during a twenty-six year period and the holdings of dry lands 323 per cent. There are no records to indicate when or how the additional lands were added to the endowment. While it seems incredible that the math would not keep such records, neither the auditor nor this investigator has been successful in unearthing them. The auditor, indeed, complains in his report that no register of revenue-yielding properties, no register of land revenue paid, no tree register (for forest lands), nor a *dhitam* register (scale of expenditures) is maintained by the math.

The total income for 1959-1960 was Rs. 103,526. Of this total, Rs. 6,660 was received from cash lease of wet lands; lease in kind yielded 2,025 *kottais* of paddy (unmilled rice). (The *kottai* is a dry measure which varies from district to district. In Tirukkurgudi

it is subdivided into 21 *marakkal*. Computing a *marakkal* at 14.16 liters, a *kottai* would be 297.36 liters, or approximately 8.44 U.S. bushels.) At Rs. 42 per *kottai*, the value of rental paid in kind was Rs. 85,050. The total income from wet lands was Rs. 91,710; the income from dry land was only Rs. 9,281. Other, minor sources of income included Rs. 1,190 from rental of buildings; Rs. 1,249 from rental of building sites; Rs. 30 from lease of fishery rights; and Rs. 76 from *tasdic*<sup>9</sup> (payment for lands expropriated by the state).

The average income from wet lands was Rs. 150 per acre, and that from dry lands Rs. 1.99 per acre. The village *karnan* (accountant or recorder) stated in an interview that the maximum net income per acre of wet land in the village is Rs. 300 out of a gross of Rs. 800. It would appear that the math lands either have a low yield or a low average rental rate; the audit report indicates that leases are negotiated, and often are not opened to competitive bidding.<sup>10</sup> If dry land is in palmyra trees it can produce about Rs. 100 per acre; but even if it is in brush, as reported by the math agent, it would seem to be capable of producing more than Rs. 2 per acre from the sale of firewood and leaves for green manure. The average annual income from the seventy-three houses (including three that were vacant) was only Rs. 16.30. The auditor notes that the rent charged for houses in Tirukkurungudi was approximately equal to the taxes paid on them; he draws the obvious conclusion that some revision of rental scales might be made so that an income could be realized from these houses. It should be noted, however, that many of these buildings are occupied by employees of the math and temple; the unrealized income from them might be reckoned as a part of payroll expense, although the accounts do not so treat it.

After deducting Rs. 12,922 for taxes, repairs, etc., the net income from all properties was Rs. 90,508, a return of 8.3 per cent of the book value. The book value, however, is less than one-fourth the estimated current market value of the lands, which, according to the *karnan*, averages Rs. 7,000 per acre for wet land and Rs. 75 per acre for dry land, or a total of Rs. 4,625,360. (No estimate was obtained on the market value of buildings and sites.) The rate of return on the market value of lands would be only about 2 per cent.

The estimated income for 1963-1964 did not show significant changes from that of 1959-1960. Rs. 100,000 was anticipated from

lease of lands or from direct cultivation and proceeds of the sale of paddy; Rs. 2,500 from rental of buildings and building sites, Rs. 75.87 from *tesdic*; and Rs. 150 from lease of fishing rights; a total of Rs. 102,725.87.

There is some local criticism of the administration of the math properties. This seems to be based not on any solid knowledge of the affairs of the math, but on suspicions directed to the apparent affluence of the math agent (a brother of the jeer) and other relatives of the jeer. A climate of suspicion is encouraged by a long-standing rivalry between two groups of Brahmmins in the village, the Tengalais and the Vadagalais.<sup>11</sup> Although the Tengalais control the math and temple, and claim always to have done so, the Vadagalais hold that at some time in the past they held control. Although there are no known documentary evidences for past Vadagalai control, there are court records<sup>12</sup> in Tirunelveli of several cases of litigation involving the two groups, relating for the most part to claims of the Vadagalais to certain ceremonial rights in the temple. While the struggle is at present quiescent, some individual Vadagalais express their dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs by casting doubt upon the integrity of the Tengalai management.

The auditor points out numerous instances of poor record-keeping and of what, on the face of it, would seem to be at best indifferent management. He reports, moreover, that most of his criticisms have been raised in the four preceding audits, and that no action has been taken to rectify the points at issue. A typical criticism is that the math had allowed buildings to be erected on a plot of 143.38 acres of dry land in Thiruvarenageri village without collecting site rents. The math's answer to this is that many of the tenants had moved onto the land and erected buildings without permission. The auditor reports that no effort had been made to evict the squatters or to collect rent from them. Elsewhere he notes the failure to obtain lease agreements on vacant sites, failure to open certain leases to competitive bidding, and leaving some lands uncultivated and unleased. Although the math held that these lands were for various reasons unsuitable for cultivation, the auditor held that such unsuitability had never been verified by competent authorities. The auditor's professional concept of a properly controlled fiscal operation clearly is not shared by math officials. This, however, does not necessarily mean that fraud is involved.

Funds for current operations of the math are sometimes obtained through loans. For 1959-1960, a loan of Rs. 35,850 owed to the agent at the beginning of the year was increased during the year to Rs. 43,001. Repayments of Rs. 13,951 were made, leaving a balance of Rs. 29,050 owing to the agent at year's end. The accounts do not list any interest payments, nor does the recent budget provide for payment of interest on loans. The remission of interest charges on a loan of this size would appear to constitute a sizable benefaction on the part of the agent.

The temple, although a wholly owned subsidiary of the math, maintains a separate budget. The temple budget of Rs. 19,664 for 1963-1964 anticipates a grant (*ubhayam*) of Rs. 13,763 from the math (Rs. 9,038 in cash and 135 *kottai* of paddy, reckoned at Rs. 35 per *kottai*, or Rs. 4,725). In addition, the math pays all costs of the eleven-day festival in March-April, estimated at a minimum of Rs. 5,000. The math budget appropriates a total of Rs. 20,000, including festival expenses, for the temple. The largest part of the remaining income of the temple is Rs. 5,197 in *tasdic*. Rs. 404 was to be realized from land and buildings owned directly by the temple. Only Rs. 300 was expected from *hundials* (gifts by visitors), most of that coming from the Thirumalai Nambi Koyil, a subsidiary temple located in the hills about five miles from the village, a temple visited by numerous pilgrims, especially on the first Saturday of each Tamil month.<sup>43</sup>

## II. PERSONNEL OF MATH AND TEMPLE

The detailed schedule for the math establishment lists 102 classifications of employees, and the temple an additional 32. This does not mean that 134 different persons are actually on the payroll. Some men, e.g., the *arohakas* (priests), appear on both payrolls; others hold down two posts, as for example a temple cook who also serves as a priest in the hill temple. Some positions are vacant, e.g., three positions as elephant keeper and one as elephant-room cleaner: the temple has no elephant. Forty of the math's listed employees are concerned with the care of landed estates, as guards, accountants, cultivators, or water distributors; and three are attached to the Alwartirunagari Math, an affiliated institution some forty miles distant. There are perhaps one hundred persons

actually employed, some of them on a part-time basis; and an estimated total of sixty-five serve within the precincts of math and temple.

The math divides its local employees into four groups: (1) maintenance of worship at the math, (2) math office, (3) math menials, and (4) the Nambi temple establishment, paid for by the math, and including worship functionaries as well as menials and administrators. The temple maintains a separate payroll; but since the temple and the math occupy the same grounds, and functions of employees are overlapping, the following description will group the types of employees together, without attempting to separate math and temple employees. These groups are: (1) administrative personnel, (2) maintenance personnel, (3) personnel serving the deity, and (4) other, unclassified servants.

(1) *Administrative personnel.* The administration of the entire complex is under the direction of the agent, N. Srinivasa Iyengar, a brother of the present jeer. (The jeer, although the official head, is a monk and is without salary.) "Supply" Iyengar, as he is generally known, has complete control of the day-to-day routine of math and temple, in both temporal and sacred affairs. Unlike the managers of "public" temples,<sup>14</sup> he is not appointed or paid by the H. R. E. C., and is answerable only to the jeer; private temples in Madras State are free of state control, although, as noted above, accounts are audited by the H. R. E. C.<sup>15</sup> In the math schedules, the agent is listed as honorary and unpaid; in the temple payroll he is listed as manager at a nominal salary of Rs. 25 per month. He is assisted by two submanagers, listed as *kariyasdhar* and manager on the math payroll, who receive salaries of Rs. 30 per month. Another assistant is the *maniyam*; this official reports that he receives unscheduled honoraria of about Rs. 750 per annum, although the temple payroll allows him only Rs. 3 per month. The *maniyam*, in turn, is assisted by a *sambarthi*, who supervises stores and accounts and cares for the temple jewels. Two other storekeepers, entitled *ukranam* and *venjanaaram*, a suit clerk, and three accountants bring the total number of managerial employees to eleven.<sup>16</sup> Pay scales of these and other minor employees appear in a table at the end of this paper.

(2) *Maintenance personnel.* Twenty-three employees perform tasks incidental to maintaining the physical facilities. Although the work of these employees is largely menial, it is doubtful that a distinction

can be made between sacred and secular work within the temple compound. In fact, even the lowest grades of temple servants are inclined to speak of their labor as "work for God." This view of the sacredness of the work becomes part of a rationale for a low pay scale on the part of both the employees and the management. The four gardeners illustrate this point, for most of the gardens within the temple walls are devoted to growing flowers and leaves for use in *pūjā* (worship); and one of the gardeners spends much of his time in weaving garlands for the deities.<sup>17</sup> Four *kainkariyam* are general servants to the jeer, acting as his personal attendants and cooks. In addition, the jeer's laundry must be done by a Tungalai Brahmin (not an ordinary *dhobi*), and this man is known as *khashayam thoippu*. There are eight cleaners and carters. It is of some interest to note that, although untouchables seldom enter the temple precincts,<sup>18</sup> at least one of the cleaners is an untouchable woman. There are three animal keepers, for the three or four decrepit cows and buffalo which are kept within the temple grounds, and three watchmen. The pay scale of all these employees is extremely low, the highest being Rs. 21 per month. They, nor few other temple servants, receive as much as the three rupees daily, often quoted as the minimum living. Many of them, however, receive regular gifts of cooked food from temple or math, which would add somewhat to their real wage.

(3) *Personnel serving the Deity*. Reflecting the view that the temple is the household of the deity,<sup>19</sup> the largest group of temple servants, numbering thirty-one, is that concerned directly with service to the deity. All classes of employees in math and temple are well aware that the daily routine of the temple itself, i.e., the worship function, is the very reason for the existence of the institution. The activities of these employees will be described in as much detail as space permits.

(A) The *archakas* (priests) are the most important of this group of functionaries.<sup>20</sup> Three priests serve Lord Nambi, as Viṣṇu, the chief deity of the temple, is called locally. A fourth is dedicated to the service of Śiva, who, as in many South Indian temples, also has a shrine within the inner sanctum. The Vaiṣṇava priests come from the Bhattar community of Vaikhānasa<sup>21</sup> Tungalai Brahmins, four families of whom at present reside in the village. In addition, a so-called "chief *archaka*," not a part of the regular establishment,

comes on occasion from Tirunelveli to supervise the ceremonies, principally at the time of festivals. This man seems to be accepted by the local priests as an authority on the theory and detailed practices of worship; and in interviews he revealed a much greater knowledge of the rites than did the regular priests. None of the priests, including the chief *archaka*, has much formal education. The rites have been learned, in each case, by observation of the priest's father; Sanskrit learning is limited to rote memorization of mantras and a knowledge of Grantha or Devanagari script.<sup>22</sup> An attempt is made at the continuing education of priests by the H. R. E. C., which offers occasional six-week "refresher courses"<sup>23</sup> at Alagarkoyil, near Madurai, but only one of the priests had ever attended such a course. The priests do not pretend to be anything more than technicians in the performance of rituals. They perform no teaching functions. And while their work is indispensable to the life of the temple, they have little influence in the conduct of temple affairs, and hold no position of leadership in the village.

The income of priests, though better than that of most other temple servants, is small. The math appropriates only one *kottai* of paddy per month for the payment of all *archakas*, and the temple a total of Rs. 30. In interviews, however, the *archakas* estimated their monthly income at Rs. 50 to 70; the difference is probably to be explained by the fact that they receive direct gifts from worshippers. Ordinarily such gifts amount to four annas (one quarter of a rupee), but during festival processions outside the temple, gifts of one rupee are given by many of the householders along the processional route. The cash income is augmented by the priests' rights to a portion of the food offered to the deity, and by virtually rent-free housing in residences owned by the math.

The duties of the *archakas* can be described mainly as the personal care of the main deity. The daily routine begins with the waking of the deity at about 6:30 A.M.<sup>24</sup> After a conch has been sounded by a musician, one of the priests, reciting mantras, goes to the *garbhagriha*<sup>25</sup> and holds a mirror up for the god to see upon waking. (The practice of putting the god to bed in the form of a small *utsava*<sup>26</sup> image is not followed in this temple.<sup>27</sup>)

At stated periods throughout the day (as described in Section C, below) the *archakas* present food offerings to the deity, and at about nine o'clock in the morning they give the deity his daily bath. The

bath is ordinarily given privately, and always to the *utsava* deity, never to the main (*moolava*) deity; during festivals, on about fifteen days during the year, a public *tirumaijanam*<sup>28</sup> is performed, the *utsava* deity being brought into one of the outer halls of the temple, where even non-Hindus may observe it. These *tirumaijanams* (Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit *abhiṣekham*) are performed with river water, poured into a pierced silver plate held over the deity to provide a shower bath. Variations on this procedure occur during the Kaishika festival,<sup>29</sup> when the *panchakavyam* (the five products of the cow: milk, curds, ghee, urine, and dung<sup>30</sup>) are used, and on these occasions when pilgrims bring rose water, milk, or sandal paste. Following the bath, the wet garments are removed, privacy being provided by a curtain, and the deity is dressed in fresh garments provided by the wardrobe keeper. When devotees are present at this ceremony, the Lord's grace is offered through presentation of a crownlike representation of the Lord's feet,<sup>31</sup> which is placed momentarily over the head of the worshipper, and through the giving of tulasi leaves;<sup>32</sup> both of these offerings are made directly by the *archaka*, not by an assistant.

The functions of the Śaiva priest are similar. Food offerings to Śiva are prepared by the staff of Vaiṣṇava cooks. The water for his *tirumaijanam* is brought from the river by the Śaiva priest himself. Since Śiva is subordinate to Viṣṇu in this temple, the ceremonies in his honor are not on as grand a scale as those performed for the main deity, and the paraphernalia of worship are relatively less.

(B) Three *sthanigals* are assistants to the *archakas*. Not permitted actually to touch the image of the deity, they assist the priests during the feeding and bathing of the deity, light the camphor during *darshana* (the ritual viewing of the image), and distribute *prasād*<sup>33</sup> of holy water, betel leaves<sup>34</sup> and food to attendant worshippers. The *sthanigals* state, however, that in intervals between regular *pūjās*, they are permitted to perform private *pūjās*, if worshippers appear. Ordinarily only one *sthanigal* is on duty at a given time, each serving for ten days each month.

The *sthanigals* receive half a *kottai* of paddy (about Rs. 20) per month, and one-third of any fees paid by worshippers to the *archaka*. In addition, one *sthanigal* reports that he receives Rs. 12 per month from the *panchayat* for performance of *pūjā* at one of the outlying village temples.

(C) The cooks are an important part of the temple staff, since, as noted above, the offering of food to the gods constitutes a major part of daily temple ritual.<sup>35</sup> Only Tengalai Brahmins are eligible for the nine positions in this category, five in the temple and four in the math. It should be noted that the math cooks are primarily concerned with the preparation of food for some twenty staff people and certain local residents who have rights to food, and for occasional pilgrims. The temple cooks prepare, in a kitchen within the temple itself, the food offered to the deities. Although cooks receive only Rs. 25 per month from math or temple, they have ample free time to allow them to augment their income by catering for weddings and other private feasts; one cook reported that he received more such requests than he could accept.

A large quantity of food is prepared for *pūjā* even on ordinary days, and a greater quantity on festival days. Daily at 8:00 A.M. the deity is offered one-half measure of milk and one measure (about forty) of *dasais* (a kind of pancake), and two measures of sweet rice; at 10:00 A.M., four measures of ordinary cooked rice; at noon a complete meal of twelve measures of rice, two measures of *payasam* (a milk sweet), dahl, ghee, a variety of vegetables, and curd; at 7:00 P.M., one measure of *dasais*; at 8:00 P.M., two measures of savory *pongal* (rice with herbs); and finally at 9:00 P.M., one-half measure of milk and three-quarters of a measure of *appam* (sweet cake). The food is offered to the chief deity and his two consorts, and afterwards is distributed according to strict rules of precedence, first to the *archaka*, then to the jeer, to other Brahmins, and if anything is left, to others. The math budget provides Rs. 9,000 annually for paddy alone for *pūjā* purposes and an additional RS. 7,000 for other *pūjā* necessities, most of which must be for food.

The distribution of food must be considered a significant item in the subsistence of the village, not only for temple servants but also for poor Brahmins and other needy people who receive it. The distribution of food by math and temple is supplemented by mass feedings during festivals, provided by private gifts. The TVS Company,<sup>36</sup> for instance, whose founder was born in the village of Tirukkurgudi, annually feeds all corners, numbering in the hundreds, during the fifth day of the festival in March-April. These feasts may well be the only full meals that some of the people ever get.

(D) There are eight musicians on the payroll,<sup>37</sup> the most important

of which are a *nagaswaram* player and the *nattuvan*, or chief singer. The *nagaswaram* is a reed pipe,<sup>38</sup> an important concert instrument in Carnatic music; its importance is reflected in the fact that the *nagaswaram* player receives a wage of two *kottair* of paddy per month, or about Rs. 84. This musician, with drummers, accompanies the daily bringing of water from the river for the god's bath, the jeeb's daily procession into the temple, processions during festivals, and various special occasions in the math. The *nattuvan* is not only the chief singer at public ceremonies in the temple, but is also the prompter at the performance of the Kaishika drama, reading aloud the lines which are then repeated by the three actors. The *kavivochi* is the person who blows the conch<sup>39</sup> to awaken the god, and a horn to awaken the jeeb; he also blows a horn to herald the appearance of the god when he is brought out of the temple for processions. Three drummers, a gong-ringer and a fiddler complete the regular complement of musicians. Additional musicians, especially regionally noted *nagaswaram* artists, are engaged to play during festivals.

(F) The *Thirumadivilagam* is technically a lamplighter. Although much of the temple is electrically lighted, the sanctuary lamps must be filled with ghee (clarified butter) and lighted. This official also supplies camphor and incense for *paṅjāri*, and opens the curtain which has concealed the deity, at the beginning of worship, and draws it at the conclusion of worship. A more time-consuming duty is the care of the wardrobe for the deities. He keeps forty costumes in the temple, and estimates that five hundred others are stored in the math. He issues fresh garments after the daily *tirumanjanam*, and turns the soiled garments over to the *dhobi* at ten-day intervals. This large collection of *dhotis* and *saris* has been accumulated from the gifts of devotees on special occasions such as marriages, birthdays of children, men's sixtieth birthdays, and in fulfillment of various vows. The old clothing of the deities becomes a part of the *prasād* of the temple. When official visits are made, for instance, by temple functionaries to other temples, some of these castoff garments may be presented as gifts to servants of the host temple. During the annual Kaishika festival, eighteen *dhotis* are given to local temple servants; and others are distributed, when available, on other festival occasions. Garments too worn for other use are made into torches for use during festivals.

(F) Two *dēvadāsīs*,<sup>40</sup> dancing girls, still serve at the Nambi temple during festivals. Although many temples in the past maintained *dēvadāsīs*, the practice of dedicating young girls to the temple deity has been outlawed in Madras State since 1947,<sup>41</sup> and they are today a vanishing class. The principal *dēvadāsī* of Tirukkurungudi is aged about thirty-five, a woman of considerable charm, possessing an elementary education, and supported by a prominent local man. She is assisted in the ceremonies by her sister's daughter. She comments that her own daughter is married to a respectable man and will not continue the work.

From the standpoint of the temple management, the most important role of the *dēvadāsīs* is to play two parts in the Kaishika drama. Also, during the Tirupanguni Utsavan<sup>42</sup> an eleven-day festival in March-April, they dance and sing before the deity during some of the processions through the streets. On the seventh evening of this festival, the older *dēvadāsī* precedes the deity through the streets. A temple servant collects turmeric<sup>43</sup> water from houses along the route and pours it over the front of the woman's sari. Solemnly she wrings out her garment after each drenching and proceeds a few paces down the street to have the process repeated.

On the morning of the ninth day of the festival, the two *dēvadāsīs* participate in a farce that is enacted in the *kalyāṇi maṅḍapam*.<sup>44</sup> The god is supposed to have been out all night, and to have visited the house of the *dēvadāsī*. The burden of the drama is the reconciliation of the deity with his two accusing consorts. As comic relief, eight temple servants, who are supposed to have assisted the deity in his escapade, are given beatings as they run the gantlet between the two *dēvadāsīs*, who are equipped with switches made from the centers of plantain leaves.<sup>45</sup>

The *dēvadāsīs* have no present function in the daily routine of the temple. According to local informants, they served in the past as lamp-bearers, but never had any of the cleaning duties such as those frequently assigned to *dēvadāsīs* in other temples. They are said never to have numbered more than five or six. The present family are Sangeetha vellalas (Pillais), an agricultural caste. This status is said to have been reached at some time within the past century by the marriage of *dēvadāsī* daughters into vellala families, who then perpetuated the class by dedicating their own daughters.

(G) The *muthirai* (sealer) places a seal on the temple doors at the close of each day's public functions, and in the morning inspects and removes it. He is required to be learned in the *prabandhas*<sup>46</sup> (Tamil hymns), and to lead in the chanting of these hymns in public worship. He has some additional duties in supervising the distribution of food at the math.

(H) Two men are paid Rs. 3 each per month for bringing water from the river for the daily *tirumājanams* of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Śaiva priest performs this service for Śiva, and another man, not a priest, brings the water for Nambi. Accompanied by musicians, they walk side by side from the river to the temple at about 9:00 A.M. bearing large silver pots of water on their heads.

(I) Certain men are paid to chant *prabandhas* at some of the daily *ṭṭjās* in the temple. A total of Rs. 20 per month is allocated for this purpose. It is expended at the rate of 10 paise per diem per person, and no one man may serve for more than eighteen days per month.

(J) An item appears in the math budget for a *vidvan*<sup>47</sup> (learned man) to advise the jeer and the management in scholarly matters, and to give public discourses. Although the post was not listed as vacant, no such official was present at the math from February to May, 1964, when interviews were being held. It is possible that a part of this sum is spent on occasional lectures by some of the popular itinerant *swamis* who can be heard frequently in large temples,<sup>48</sup> since vague references were made to "preaching" by some of the villagers; however, it seemed that no such lectures had been given recently. It might be noted here that the math does not regularly employ an astrologer. For most purposes, such as setting the dates of festivals, an almanac suffices; in those cases where expert advice is needed, a Tirunelveli astrologer is consulted.

(K) Extra-temple *ṭṭjās*. The math arranges for worship in several small temples in Tirukkurugudi and in outlying villages where the math owns land. Worship in the two most important of these, the "hill temple" previously mentioned, and the "river temple," both dedicated to Lord Nambi, is performed by the priests and other servants of the main temple.

Four small Śaiva temples within the *panchayat* limits are served by a *pūchari*<sup>49</sup> (who doubles as a fiddler in the main temple). He is paid Rs. 6 per month and a daily measure of rice by the math, and

Rs. 10 and half a measure of rice per month by the *panchayat*, which takes responsibility for one of these temples. The *pūchari* also serves as a *parohita*<sup>50</sup> for "ordinary occasions" in Śaiva households, but he says that when more important and remunerative occasions, such as marriages, demand the services of a *parohita*, a man is summoned from a neighboring town.

Small provision is also made by the math for *pūjā* in five temples in four outlying villages (in each case, less than Rs. 10 per month). Two temples are dedicated to Śāstha (in Tiruvarangaueri and Uchikulam), one to "Amman" (in Alangulam), and one each to Pillar and Sauthanari (in Kothaiseri). With the exception of Śāstha,<sup>51</sup> who is considered to be the offspring of Śiva and Viṣṇu when Viṣṇu took the form of the maiden Mohini, the identity of these gods was not determined by the writer; since the math, however, does not officially recognize purely local deities, it is evident that they are tacitly accepted as legitimate Hindu gods. *Amman* (Tamil "mother") is used to refer to any local female deity, but is also used in some temples to refer to the consort of Śiva.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the orthodox attitude of the math authorities, there is at least indirect recognition of local deities.<sup>53</sup> One such instance is seen in the daily inspection tour made by Viṣvaksena,<sup>54</sup> the "Commander-in-chief" of Nambi, during the Brahmōtsava festival; this inspection is intended to make sure that local deities along the route of processions are not going to interfere with the festival. Kurungudi Amman, who seems to be essentially a local deity, and the goddess of the village, is given some recognition, since her image appears within the main temple. It was learned also that the agent of the math had provided a goat for a sacrifice in the temple of Kurungudi Amman, located on the outskirts of the village—a shrine containing images of both Hindu and local gods. The priest who performed this sacrifice, which was witnessed by the writer, was, in fact, the *kaniachi* of the Nambi temple, by caste a Śaiva Kambar. The agent, when questioned about the incident, said that the kid was provided only as an act of charity, and insisted that this did not indicate approval of either the god or the sacrifice (animal sacrifice is illegal).<sup>55</sup> Members of the Yadava and other castes in the village also reported receiving such charity from the agent on the occasion of their *kothais* (festivals) to their particular local deities. Since such support of local cults is taken from the

Rs. 1,500 appropriation for "charity," it does not appear in the budget, nor in official accounts of expenditures.

(4) *Other Unclassified Servants.* Some remunerated services are performed for the temple by persons who do not appear as regular employees in the payrolls. Repair work on temple buildings is done by *asaris* (artisans), and of this group, the carpenters in particular consider that they have hereditary rights to their work. The chief carpenter, although he does not devote all his time to the temple, receives one and a half *kottais* of paddy per month, valued at about Rs. 60. Other workers are employed on a per diem basis, at wages which they report to be lower than those they would receive for the same work done outside the temple. The blacksmiths who repair the *edhanas* (vehicles for the gods' processions<sup>56</sup>) report that they receive half-wages for their work, and during the harvest season two *kottais* of paddy for distribution to caste members. A local goldsmith stated that he would no longer work for the temple because of the low wages paid. In interviews the *asaris* stressed the honors to which they were entitled as more important than the wages received; the chief carpenter, e.g., had the right to make the first offering to the deity when he left the temple in festival processions.

The entire Marava community takes a similar attitude toward hereditary honorary rights in relation to the temple. The Maravas were at one time classified in Madras State as a "Criminal Tribe,"<sup>57</sup> and in Tirukkurungudi they are generally blamed for almost any breach of the peace. Nevertheless, all the lifetea positions as watchman (*kavilkarai*),<sup>58</sup> or guard, are filled by Maravas; and the *thēvars* (chieftains) of the community stress the glorious history of the Maravas in protecting the temple from brigands, and proudly point out that one of the Tamil poet-saints, Tirumaṅgai Ālvār,<sup>59</sup> was a Marava and a reformed thief. One *thēvar* said that the math provides him with one *kottai* of paddy per month, and additional grants for weddings and other communal functions; these grants cannot be identified in the math or temple budgets. Among the rights claimed by the Maravas is that of giving the first tug to the chains pulling the temple car<sup>60</sup> during the tenth day of the Tirupanguni festival—and their exclusive right to push it from behind while others pull. It is impossible to tell whether these acts of recognition, and others, such as honors paid to the *thēvars* during a festival drama honoring Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, are in the nature of "protection" for the temple,

or whether they are a genuine expression of gratitude for the Maravas' services. Apart from their participation in these special events, at any rate, the Maravas are not notably active in relation to the temple, and are, in fact, infrequent attendants at temple ceremonies.

Finally, mention may be made of two pilgrim resthouses<sup>61</sup> in the village, maintained primarily for members of the Naicker and Yādava communities. Both are maintained by private gifts and are not part of the math or temple establishments. Yet the manager of the Yādava resthouse reports that the math contributed substantially in materials and labor to the building of the house; and the woman who manages the Naicker resthouse is the recipient of daily gifts of food from the math kitchen. Since the number of pilgrims to the temple is small, neither house is much used, except during festival seasons.

## SUMMARY OF STATISTICS

### I. Endowment of the Math (June 30, 1961)<sup>62</sup>

#### A. Income-producing property

*Nawai* (wet) lands 610.80 A.

*Punjai* (dry) lands 4663.44 A.

(Book value of all lands Rs. 1,056,963)

Estimated market value (the rupee was then about \$0.21 U.S.)

wet lands Rs. 4,275,600

dry lands 349,760

Total Market Value

Rs. 4,625,360

Buildings (houses and shops) 73

book value

32,807

(no est. available of market value.)

Securities (12-year national saving certificates)

1,150

#### B. Other assets (non-income-producing)

Electricity Security deposits

220

Cash on hand

1,310

Cash revenue arrears

9,189

Paddy arrears

5,268

Advances recoverable

7,688

Paddy stock, 462.5 kottai @ Rs. 42 per kottai

19,428

Stores suspense account

2,648

## THE ECONOMY OF THE TIRU JEER MATH

31

Jewels		32,907
Other inovable property		17,070
Livestock		3,718
II. Debts		
Loan from agent (no interest budgeted)		29,050
Accounts due		1,822
III. Income		
A. To math		
Cash lease of wet lands		6,060
Kind lease of wet lands		
2,025 kottai of paddy @ Rs. 42		85,050
Cash lease of dry lands		9,281
Rental of buildings		1,190
Fishery rights		30
Tasdi (govt. payments)		76
		—
Total math income		102,587
B. To temple (not including grant from math)		
Rentals	Rs.	404
Handials (offerings)		300
Tasdi		5,197
		—
Total temple income		5,901
IV. Expenditures of math (Budget for July 1, 1963, to June 30, 1964) <sup>105</sup>		
A. Personnel expenses		
Salaries	Rs.	18,625
Travel expense		300
Total	— —	18,925
B. Taxes		
Hindu Religious and Charitable Endow- ments Commission, Madras State		7,000
Audit fees		3,000
Other taxes		12,050
Total	— —	22,050
C. Contingencies		
Postage, printing, etc.		300
Electricity		1,500
Total	— —	1,800
D. Litigation costs		
		600

## IV. Expenditures of math (Budget for July 1, 1963, to June 30, 1964)

— continued

E. Supplies for <i>pōḷā</i> (worship)		Rs. 16,000
F. Festivals		7,500
G. <i>Uḷḷarāṁ</i> (grants)		
For festival and other expenses of Maḷianambirayar Temple	20,000	
Other <i>uḷḷarāṁ</i>	7,600	
Total	—	27,600
H. Cultivation and livestock expense		2,800
I. Repairs on buildings etc.		1,300
J. Education and Charities		4,000
K. Public health		150
		—
Grand Total Expenses		Rs. 102,725

	Est. monthly income in rupees	Number of employees
V. Employees of math and temple <sup>61</sup>		
A. Administration		
Agent or manager	25	1
Assistant managers (math)	30	2
<i>Maniḷam</i> (asst. mgr., temple)	62	1
<i>Sambārthi</i> (asst. to <i>manḷam</i> )	7	1
Storekeepers	5 and 20	2
Suit clerk	20	1
Accountants	20 to 40	3
Total		11
B. Maintenance of plant		
Gardeners	10 to 20	4
<i>Kāṅkarḷam</i> (servants to jeer)	23	4
Washerwoman to jeer	4	1
Cleaners and carters	2 to 20	8
Animal keepers	18 to 20	3
Watchmen	21	3
Total		23

	Est. monthly income in rupees	Number of employees
C. Service to the deity		
<i>Archakas</i> (3 Vaiṣṇava, 1 Śaiva priests)	30 to 70	4
<i>Sihamigals</i> (assistants to priests)	30	3
<i>Pūchāi</i> (Śaiva <i>pūchāi</i> and priest to small temples)	30	1
Cooks (Temple 5, math 4)	25	9
Musicians		3
1 <i>nagavaram</i> player	84	
1 <i>naṭṭam</i> (chief singer)	7	
1 <i>kaniarāchi</i> (couch blower)	5	
1 hand-gong singer	1.12	
3 drummers	3	
( <i>Thaval</i> , <i>Tanamam</i> , and <i>Mathalavai</i> )		
1 fiddler ( <i>othoo</i> )	2.50	
<i>Mathurai</i> (sealer), closes and opens temple doors, leads chants, supervises food distribution	30	1
<i>Vidvan</i> (learned man)	20	(vacant)
Water carriers (for daily bath of deity)	3	2
<i>Tirumadivilagam</i> (lanplighter and keeper of deity's wardrobe)	7	1
<i>Divaddai</i>	10	2
		-
Total		31
D. Upkeep of landed estates		
Guards	6 to 20	07
Accountants	12 to 36	6
Laborers	5 to 11	12
		-
Total		25
E. Others per diem only varies		
Artisans (e.g., carpenters and goldsmiths)		
Extra guards, cooks, and other servants are employed for festivals.		

## NOTES

1. See B. C. Law, "Sacred Places of Vaiṣṇavism," *United Provinces Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 10 (1937).

2. The traditional dates for Rāmānuja's long life. See S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1940; reprinted 1965), III, 100 ff., for a brief account of Rāmānuja's life and teachings.

3. A *math* is a monastery, a place of residence for one or more Hindu ascetics; as the residence of the *jiyas* (or *jiyas*) (see note 4, below), the *maths* are centers of Hindu sects in South India. Cf. A. S. Geden, "Monasticism (Hindu)," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Scribners, 1916), VIII, 802; and H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (2d ed.; Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1958), pp. 18 n., 25 ff.

3. Tamil *jiyas*: "Vaiṣṇava ascetic; great person, as the religious head of a *math* (*math*)" (*Tamil Lexicon* [University of Madras, 1934], Vol. VI.) Cf. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, pp. 18 n., 25 ff.; also W. Crooke, "Guru worship," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1914), Vol. VI, and V. Rangacharya, "Historical Evolution of Sri-Vaiṣṇavism in South India," in *The Cultural Heritage of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1956), IV, 177 ff.

5. Unpublished MS copy supplied by the chief accountant of the Tiru Jecr Math.

6. Unpublished data on file in the Madurai office of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Commission.

7. Founded by provision of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act 19 (1951), Madras State. Cf. C. H. Alexandrowicz, *Constitutional Development in India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1937), and Donald Eugene Smith, *India as a Secular State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 245 ff.

8. The rupee throughout the period discussed in this article (1956-1964) had an exchange value of approximately \$0.21, U.S.

9. *Tasdiq*: payments by the state as compensation for expropriated lands. Cf. Smith, *India as a Secular State*, p. 104: "Land can be compulsorily acquired by the state with compensation under Article 31, despite the fact that it is part of a religious endowment."

10. The H.R.E.C. supervises lease of lands of those religious institutions directly under its control. Cf. *Administration Report of the H.R.E.C. Administration Department* (Govt. of Madras, Controller of Stationery and Printing, 1961), Appendices XV-XVII, pp. 63 ff.

11. Two sects of followers of Rāmānuja dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Tēngalais were founded by Piṅgai Lokāchārya (1264-1327), and are distinctively Tamil in culture, especially in their use of the writings of the Ālvārs, the Tamil poet-saints. The Vādagalais, founded by Vedānta Deśika (1268-1369), make more use of Sanskrit writings. There are also theological differences, the most important of which is a greater emphasis on divine grace by the Tēngalais. See Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1921; reprinted 1962), II, 235 f.; and V. Rangachari, "The Successors of Rāmānuja and the Growth of Sectarianism among Sri-Vaiṣṇavas (1138-1310)," *Journal of Bombay Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIV (1914-1917).

12. *Tiruvelly Sub-Court Original Register*, Vol. III, Case 51 (1874); Vol. VI, Case 14 (1892); Vol. XI, Case 31 (1902); Vol. XIII, Case 2 (1907).

13. Using the calendar of the Kollam or Malabar Era, dating from September, 824 A.D. Cf. *Tamil Lexicon* (1962), Vol. II, Pt. I, "Kollam-anta"; and N. Shastri, *A History of South India* (2d ed.; Madras: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 156.

14. Cf. Smith, *India as a Secular State*, pp. 254 ff.

15. Cf. H.R.E.C., *Administration Report*, Appendices K-V and K-VI, p. 123.

16. For an account of the administration of the Śucinātram Temple, see K. K. Pillai, *The Śucinātram Temple* (Madras: Kulakshetra Publications, 1954), pp. 185 f.

17. See *ibid.*, pp. 197 f.

18. None was observed to do so during a ten-day count of temple attendance, March, 1964. Cf. Smith, *India as a Secular State*, pp. 239 f. on temple entry rights for Harijans.

19. See Stella Kraurisch, *The Hindu Temple* (University of Calcutta, 1946), pp. 6, 135, 143, and *passim*.

20. Cf. L. P. Vidyarthi, *The Sacred Complex in Hindu Gaya* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1961), pp. 30 ff., for an extended treatment of priests and other "sacred specialists"; also Pillai, *The Śucinātram Temple*, pp. 173 ff.

21. The Vaikhānaśāstra as distinguished from the Pānccharātra traditions in ritual and iconography, following respectively the Vaikhānaśāgama and the Pānccharātrāgama. Cf. T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Introduction, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 56 f. Cf. also Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, III, 21 ff., 37; and J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vīṣṇuism* (Utrecht: N. V. A. Oosthoek, 1954), pp. 234 f.

22. Devanagari is the script now ordinarily used for writing Sanskrit; Grantha is a South Indian script. See David Diringer, *The Alphabet* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948), pp. 378 ff.

23. Cf. H. R. E. C., *Administrative Report*, p. 23.

24. Cf. Pillai, *The Śucinātram Temple*, p. 206.

25. *Garbhagrāha*: the innermost sanctum, where the chief deity is placed; literally, "the womb of the house." See Kraurisch, *The Hindu Temple*, I, 142, 161 ff.

26. The *strava* image is a processional image used in both ceremonies and at any time the deity must be moved. It is distinguished from the *moḍava*, or fixed deity, which is also referred to as the *Dhāra-bhava*. Cf. Viraraghavacharya, *The Tiruvengadam Temple* (Tirupati: C. Anna Rao, 1953), I, 111; also Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 511. Cf. also J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (University of Calcutta, 1941), p. 232.

27. Cf. Viraraghavacharya, *The Tiruvengadam Temple*, p. 327.

28. *Tiruvāṅṅāraṁ*: "baths of a deity or a king" (*Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. II). Cf. Viraraghavacharya, *The Tiruvengadam Temple*, I, 312 ff.; also Pillai, *The Śucinātram Temple*, pp. 207 ff.

29. A festival in November or December when the story of the *Koṣṭhika Parāśa*, traditionally connected with the local temple, is enacted in dramatic form.

30. Cf. Pillai, *The Śucinātram Temple*, pp. 212 f.

31. *Tamil Pāda-mālam*: feet of a deity or saint considered as source of bliss or refuge (*Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. V, Pt. I). Cf. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vīṣṇuism*, pp. 2, 55 f.; Pillai, *The Śucinātram Temple*, p. 235 n.; A. S. Gieden "Symbolism (Hindu)" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1922), XII, 143.

32. *Deśmanu jāntam* (sacred basil). See S. L. Gupta, "Sacred Plants in Hindu Religion," *India Cultures Quarterly*, 24, 3:2 (1964). See also Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London: John Murray, 1891), pp. 333 f.

33. *Prasādam* (Skt.), literally, a favor, is used to refer to anything that has been offered to a god and is then given to devotees as a symbol of the god's grace. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 145.

34. *Piper betle* or *charuta betil*. The leaves are commonly chewed in India with *areca nutis*, from the palm *areca catappa*, and known as *pan* or *Tambala*. Cf. P. K. Gode, *Studier in Indian Cultural History* (Hoshiarpur: Vishweshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1961), I, 114 ff.
35. Cf. Viraraghavacharya, *The Vinayagoban Temple*, I, 321 ff.; cf. Pillai, *The Srirambam Temple*, pp. 207 ff.
36. T. V. Sundaram Iyeragar & Sons, a large motor transport and automotive repair company, with major offices in Madurai and Madras, and branches in other cities of South India.
37. Cf. Pillai, *The Srirambam Temple*, pp. 199 ff.
38. Described in Curt Sachs, *Real-Lexicon der Mundwerkzeuge* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).
39. See Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vijnanum*, pp. 190 f.
40. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Brahminism and Hinduism*, p. 41; and Pillai, *The Srirambam Temple*, pp. 277 ff.
41. Madras Decree Act 31 (1947). Cf. South India as a Secular State, pp. 238 f.
42. For a discussion of Vansuva festivals, see Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vijnanum*, pp. 244 ff. See also M. M. Undethill, *The Hindu Religious Year* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1921).
43. *Carucana vanga*. Tamil material, cf. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vijnanum*, p. 253.
44. *Mandapam*: a large pillared hall, detached from the main temple structure; *katana mandapam*: specifically, "the wedding hall" where the nuptials of the deity are re-enacted.
45. Pillai, *The Srirambam Temple*, p. 223, reports a parallel to this in the Srirambam Temple. The *Shradhis*, up until 1930, beat Siva himself for having visited the house of a harlot; the beating now is done by men.
46. *Prabandhas*: the four thousand hymns of the Tamil *alvars*. Cf. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Culture and History of the Tamils* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1941), pp. 131 f.; also Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy* III, pp. 91 f., and Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, pp. 231 f.
47. Cf. Pillai, *The Srirambam Temple*, p. 183.
48. See H.R.E.C., *Administration Report*, p. 23.
49. *Pichari*: "priest of a village deity" *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. V.
50. The term "panchita" is used locally to refer to a priest serving in household ceremonies.
51. Otherwise known as Hari-Hara; cf. Pillai, *The Srirambam Temple*, p. 405; Monier-Williams, *Brahminism and Hinduism*, pp. 63 f., and Bauerjasa, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 6, 252. Sastha is worshipped by local *asiris* (artisans) and potters, under the name Aiyappan.
52. On the place of the mother-goddess in Vignu worship, cf. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vijnanum*, pp. 6 ff., 84, 220, 225; also Monier-Williams, *Brahminism and Hinduism*, pp. 222 ff.; Henry Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 23 ff.; Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, pp. 135 ff.
53. See Wilber T. Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1915).

54. See Alain Daniélou, *Hindu Polytheism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), p. 161; Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vīṣṇuism*, pp. 247-251.

55. "An Act to Prohibit the Sacrifice of Animals and Birds in or in the Provinces of Hindu Temples in the State of Madras" (1950). Cf. Smith, *India as a Secular State*, pp. 235 f.

56. These include not only representations of Gaurāṇḍī, the traditional mount of Viṣṇu, but also of Ādiśeṣa, the primordial serpent, and of Hanuman, as well as of a horse, a lion and a swan, and other less theriomorphic palanquins. Cf. Pillai, *The Śrīrāghava Temple*, pp. 234 f. On Gaurāṇḍī, cf. Daniélou, *Hindu Polytheism*, pp. 160 f. and Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vīṣṇuism*, pp. 161 f.

57. See J. H. Hutton, *Guide to India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), p. 10.

58. A post commonly held by Maravas and the related Kalkars, according to Louis Dumont, *Une Sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud* (Paris: Mouton, 1957), p. 7.

59. For chronology and teachings of Tirumāṅgai Ālvār and the other *ālvārs*, see Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, III, 63 f.

60. The huge decorated chariot *Tamil āṭṭi* is pulled through the streets encircling the temple by hundreds of worshippers. Cf. Pillai, *The Śrīrāghava Temple*, pp. 225 f.; Cf. Abbe J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Myths, Customs, and Ceremonies* (2d ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 604 f. for an early nineteenth-century report of a car procession; and Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of India, East* (2d ed., New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), I, 282, and II, 439, on the role of the chariot in art.

61. Such facilities are sometimes managed directly by temple administrations (H.R.E.C., *Administration Report*) pp. 118 f.

62. Data for sections I through III are summarized from the unpublished audit report of the Madurai office of the H.R.E.C. on the math, for the period July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960.

63. Data for sections IV and V are summarized from Budget Estimate of the Math and the Budget Estimate of the Temple for the fiscal year July 1, 1963, to June 30, 1964, from official manuscript copies supplied by the chief accountant of the math.

64. Figures in this section are based on the official budgets of math and temple, but supplemented and corrected by information obtained in interviews with the employees.