

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

THIRTY NINTH ANNUAL SESSION PROCEEDINGS

08-10 FEBRUARY 2019

EDITOR

Dr. S. GANESHRAM

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD

2019

Published by

General Secretary

South Indian History Congress

First Published: February 2019

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Website: www.southindianhistorycongress.org

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The publication of the proceedings was financially supported by Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi and the responsibility of the facts stated, opinions expressed and conclusions reached is entirely that of author/authors of the articles and the Indian Council of Historical Research accepts no responsibility for them

Printed at

M/s. Sathiyam Printers

4929, TNHB, Thendral Nagar,

Villapuram, Madurai – 625 011

Phone: 0452-4369617, 9715675617

ISSN 2229-3671

UGC CARE LISTED JOURNAL

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

"If I have seen further than others, it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants."

-Isaac Newton

Hyderabad, the centre of technology, is a hub of culture and progress. Located on the lush banks of the Musi River, this metropolitan paradise is a favourite with tourists, educators, scientists and poets. The magnificent city of pearls comes alive with its ancient history and contemporary technology. This Hi-Tech city, as it is aptly and affectionately named, is the perfect spot for research in various disciplines and the crown jewel of education in Hyderabad is Osmania University.

Founded in 1918, Osmania University has opened its doors to over 3,700 international researchers from more than 80 countries. The alma mater of prominent icons like the 9th Prime Minister of India Shri P.V. Narashimha Rao and cosmonaut Shri Rakesh Sharma, the University continues to cater to the research ambitions of the best in India. The Department of History has been contributing to teaching and research for over a century. Eminent scholars have added feathers to the hat of this department. The 39th Annual Session of South Indian History Congress was hosted during 8th – 10th February 2019. The administration had made the stay and the sessions beyond memorable.

As the Editor, I take pride in mentioning that the Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress has been recognized by UGC with CARE status. Hence, it is time to embrace originality and authenticity in research. Quality research with sound evidence goes a long way towards standing on the shoulders of giants in the field. I urge the scholars to concentrate on original research.

I express my gratitude to Prof. G. Sethuraman, Dr. P. Sivadasan, Dr. Sheik Masthan, Dr. M. Geetha, Dr. R. Jaganath and Dr. S.Nagaraj for their help in editing the volume. I also thank peer review committee members i.e. Dr. D. Daniel, Dr. K. Gopalankutty, Dr. B.S. Chandrababu, Dr. A. Pasilithil, Dr. R.C. Misro, Dr. P. Chenna Reddy and Dr. E. Sudha Rani for their help. I sincerely thank Mr. N. Jeyaraman for undertaking the task of page making. I also thank Mr. Titus of Sathiyam Printers, Madurai for neatly executing printing work on time.

S. GANESHRAM

Chief Editor

&

Principal

Sri S.R.N.M. College

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SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Estd. 1978: Reg. No.32/1979, Madurai

Thirty Ninth Annual Session, 08-10February 2019, Hyderabad

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GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT, 2019

The Department of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad hosted the 39th Session of South Indian History Congress on 08-10 February 2019 at the School of Distance Education building in the campus. Prof. K. Arjun Rao, Head of the Department of History and the Local Secretary, and his team did laborious effort to the success of the event. The wholehearted support of the Honourable Vice Chancellor, Dr. S. Ramachandram, acted as a key factor in the successful completion of the three day event. The members of the staff of the University, especially those in the guest house, hostels, electricity, and finance lend their helping hands for the success of the Session. The dedication, hard work and sincerity of the teaching faculties, non-teaching staff, researchers and students of the department are the central factor for the grand success of the Session. I use this opportunity to congratulate them all.

The inaugural ceremony of the annual session of SIHC was held at Tagore Auditorium in the Campus on 8th February 2019. Mr. Anjani Kumar, Commissioner of Police, Hyderabad inaugurated the Session. Prof. Badri Narayan, Cultural Anthropologist and Professor of Allahabad University delivered the special address. Prof. Sivadasan.P, the General Secretary of SIHC, Dr. S. Ramachandram, Honourable Vice Chancellor of Osmania University, Prof. Mahabaleswarappa, the outgoing President, Prof. C. Somasundara Rao, the upcoming President, and other office bearers and Executive Committee members were part of the inaugural function. The Proceedings Volume of the 38th South Indian History Congress was released in the function.

The following were the Office bearers, Sectional Presidents, and Members of the Executive Committee for the 39th Session of SIHC at Osmania University 2019.

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Prof. T.R Ramachandran Endowment Lecture	:	Dr. Sheik Masthan, Bangalore
B.C. Ray Endowment Lecture	:	Prof. E. Sudharani, Hyderabad

Election

The election to the office bearers and executive committee members was held in a smooth manner. Following are the newly elected office bearers and executive committee members.

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Endowment/ Memorial Lectures

1. KasthuriMisro Memorial Lecture : Prof. T. Manohar, (Kakatiya University)
2. Prof. T.R Ramachandran Endowment Lecture : Prof. Iranna Pattar, Karnataka University
3. Prof. B.C Ray Memorial Lecture : Prof. Paslithil (SSUS, Kalady, Kerala)
4. Prof. C Chandrababu Endowment Lecture : Dr. Konda Sreenivasulu. (A P)
5. Govt. Arts College, Coimbatore Endowment Lecture : Mr.Raja Mohamad (Pudukkotai)
6. Prof. Janaki Endowment Lecture : Dr. Y. Swarupa Rani (Hyderabad)
7. Prof. Peddarapu Chenna Reddy & Dr. Subhashini Endowment Lecture : Prof. Rekha Pande (Hyderabad)

The General Body meeting was held at 1 pm on 10th February 2019 at the Seminar Hall and followed by valedictory function at 2.30 P M. I use this opportunity to extend my gratitude to Indian Council for Historical Research for granting financial assistance to all academic activities of the SIHC. Sincere support and cooperation of the Office Bearers and Executive Committee members contribute much for the progress of the Organization. The 39th Session of SIHC was a grand success because of the extension of support by the well-wishers and members of the South Indian History Congress. The University made good arrangement for transportation, registration, presentations, food and accommodation. On behalf of the SIHC, I appreciate and congratulate the untiring efforts of the faculty members, researchers, and students of the Department of History, and the Vice Chancellor, Registrar and members of Staff of the Osmania University, Hyderabad for making the event a grand success.

Prof. P. SIVADASAN
General Secretary

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ANDHRA HISTORY 300-600 A.D.: OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Dr. C. Somasundara Rao

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the South Indian History Congress for having elected me as the President of the thirty-ninth session being held at Hyderabad. While I am elated by this honour, I am aware of my limitations, as my field of interest relates to Andhra History, and, that too confined to ancient and medieval history.

The subject is so vast that one cannot review the progress in South Indian History Studies in recent times. Hence, I have selected a topic in Andhra History, which is generally ignored, but which contains some significant information. That is to say, the period from circa 300 A.D. to circa 600 A. D. The first date refers to the fall of the Ikshvaku power and the second to the rise of the Chalukya power in Andhra. As is well-known, the Ikshvaku rule is a continuation of the Satavahana culture (1st century B.C. -225 A.D.). What Dhanakataka-Amaravati was to the Satavahanas, Vijayapuri-Sripavata was to the Ikshvakus. The continuation of the matronymics by rulers and the Buddhist patronage extended by the Ikshvakus would only remind us of the Satavahana times. After the Satavahana-Ikshvaku phase, one would immediately go to the Chalukya phase in Andhra in circa 624 A.D. The Satavahanas ruled at least for three hundred years; and the Chalukyas for not less than four centuries and a half. Therefore, the history of the intervening period, featuring the small ruling families such as the Salankayanas, Anandas, Vishnukundis and that of the Early Pallavas (of Prakrit and Sanskrit charters) is considered as non-significant. The Pallava history, from the Great Pallavas onwards assumes more importance in South Indian history. But the early part relates to Andhra history, though the Pallavas ruled from Kanchi.

I

The period from 300 A. D.-600 AD. did not receive appropriate attention from scholars. Yet, eminent scholars such as D. C. Sircar

[*Successors of Satavahanas in Lower Deccan* (Calcutta, 1939)], K. Gopalachari [*Early History of the Andhra Country* (Madras, 1941)], B. V. Krishna Rao [*History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* (Madras, 1942)], M. Ramarao [*Studies in the Early History of Andhradesa* (Madras, 1971)], O. Ramachandrayya [*Satavahanas and their successors* (Madras, 1978)], N. Venkataramanayya [*The Vishnukundins* (Madras, 1975)] and S. Sankaranarayanan [*The Vishnukundis and their times* (Delhi, 1977)] produced some of the significant works that have come out, as I have indicated just now.

Among these publications, many deal with the problems in the political history. It was Sankaranarayanan's work which stands out by discussing the socio-cultural issues, along with those in political history. But, it is confined to the Vishnukundi period only. Leaving out the problems in political history, I shall focus on economic and religious issues and share with you my thoughts.

It is not out of place to indicate to this august audience that the inscriptions of this period, having been written in the Prakrit and Sanskrit languages, could be taken up for study by non-Telugu scholars as well.

II

Before taking up the various issues, it is necessary to highlight the dominant features of this period (300-600 A. D.)

- (i) Issue of copper-plate inscriptions is the most significant feature of this period. But for them, these royal families would have remained largely unknown to us. The stone inscriptions registering gifts to Buddhist/Brahmanical institutions are few and far between. During the Satavahana-Ikshvaku periods (1st century B.C.-3rd century A.D.), it is all the stone records, and none of the copper-plates is available

(except the Patagandigudem plates of Chantamula II, which however seem to be a later copy)¹. Except a few royal records of the Satavahana times, many of them are label inscriptions, just mentioning the name of the donor and the object of the donation. The records of the Ikshvakus give more details about the donors.

Now, the purpose of the copper-plate grants was to register the gifts of villages/lands to Brahmana scholars as *agraharas*/ *brahmadeyas* to scholars in Vedas, Vedangas, Itihasa, Purana, Sastras, etc². The YajnavalkyaSmriti of 2nd - 3rd century A.D. says that a copper-plate grant should be given to Brahmana scholars in order to encourage learning and provide Vedic ritualists for officiating in sacrifices. This is in contrast to Buddhist patronage of the preceding period. The villages were gifted with exemptions from payment of taxes, tribute and other obligations. We shall refer to this problem in Section III (a).

- (ii) Having stated that the number of copper-plate records increased during this period, it is to be noted that the kings of different dynasties claim the performance of the *asvamedha* sacrifice. It is true that earlier, Satakarni of the Nanaghat inscription³ and Chantamula I, the founder of the Ikshvaku dynasty⁴, are described as having performed *asvamedha*, in addition to *vajapeya*, *agnishtoma* and minor sacrifices. But now onwards, the founders of the ruling families/great rulers of families mention this achievement. Devavarman, probably the founder of the Salankayana family⁵, Sivaskandavarman of the Pallavas⁶ and Madhavavarman II of the Vishnukundis⁷ are described as performers of *asvamedha*. It should refer to either the declaration of independence from the suzerainty of the master in the case of the founder or success scored by the king in battles, after which the sacrifice should have been performed.

Out of these dynasties, it was the Early Pallavas who describe the king invariably as a performer of *asvamedha*⁸, though the rulers concerned did not separately claim that epithet. It was more a conventional

praise on the king that he was interested in maintaining the Vedic dharma.

The Vishnukundi ruler Madhavavarman II performed eleven *asvamedhas* and one thousand *kratus*⁹. This is a very great achievement, which was remembered by his successors, who invariably attribute this title, along with an enumeration of some sacrifices such as *paundarika*, *purushamedha*, *vajapeya*, *rajasuya*, *prajapatya* etc¹⁰. He was mentioned as performer of *sarvamedha*, *bahusuvarna* and *paundarika* eleven times each, besides the usual eleven *asvamedhas* and one thousand *kratus*¹¹. In some of the grants, he was described as the performer of *hiranyagarbha*¹².

The above examples show how Vedic rituals, apart from *asvamedha*, had dominated in the cultural life of the times. While referring to the qualifications of the donees, certain terms such as *asiti*, *sahasra* and *tri-sahasra* occur whose significance will be brought out later (See Section III (b)).

- (iii) The records of the times show that, not only the Vedic rituals, but the Puranic deities such as Siva and Vishnu also received attention. Some ruling families have a *prasasti*, wherein their tutelary deity is presented. E.g. The Salankayana inscriptions state that they were the worshippers of the Chitrarathasvami (Surya)¹³; the Vishnukundis were devoted to Sriparvatasvami¹⁴, and the Eastern Gangas were worshippers of Gokarnasvami established on the Mahendramountain¹⁵. Besides these, inscriptions record gifts to Siva, Vishnu and Ganapati. The Sriparvatasvami of the Vishnukundi records is identified differently by scholars, which will be discussed in Section III (c).
- (iv) It may be noted that there was an upheaval of Brahmanism during this period. This does not necessarily mean the disappearance of Buddhism in Andhra. It is true that Amravati, Nagarjunakonda, Ghantasala and other Buddhist sites have not yielded any evidence of royal patronage. It was only Amravati that seems to have survived for

a few centuries. Guntupalli, known from the inscriptions of Sada of the Mahameghavahana family¹⁶ continued to have some encouragement because of an inscription of Nandivarman II of the Salankayana family. Inscriptions like the Tummalagudemplates of GovindavarmanI and Vikramendra II¹⁷; the Chaitanyapuri inscription of Govindavarman¹⁸; the Patagandigudem plates of Vikramendra¹⁹; the Kondavidu plates of Prithvimula²⁰and the Kattucheruvu plates of Harivarman²¹ are indicators of royal patronage to Buddhism but compared to the donations to *agraharas*, they are very small in nature.

These go to show that Buddhism received some attention, though not of the level that it had attained during the Ikshvaku-Satavahana period.

III

a) Taxes And Exemptions:

I have pointed out that copper-plate grants appear, for the first time during this period and that they happen to be the only sources of information for some royal families. In this connection, I may state that in the Deccan, if not in the whole country, copper-plate grants appear first in Andhra-Karnataka region. I say this, because the Brihatphalayanans (290-300 A.D.), Salankayanas (300-450 A.D.) and the Early Pallavas (300-575 A.D.), who ruled in the Andhra region issued these grants. The Hirehadagalli plates from Karnataka also attest to this, though it was a grant of the Pallava ruler. It could be the work of the Pallava rulers as well, ruling from Kanchi.

The significance of these records, particularly the Prakrit grants of the Salankayanas and Early Pallavas is the drafting of the Charters, which have become a model to the composers of later copper-plate inscriptions. The name of the ruler who was the donor of the grant, with the details of the names and achievements of his father, grandfather and occasionally great grandfather; the genealogy of the three generations of the donee along with their scholarship; the details relating to the division in which the gift land lay- all form part of a copper-plate record. Sometimes the allotment of shares among the donees in the concerned village is also mentioned. This has

formed the main theme which was amplified in later grants which spoke of mythical genealogies and allotment of shares to more donees which increased both the number and size of the copper-plates.

Generally inscriptions do not mention the share of the state from the cultivators. Though legal texts state that one-sixth or one-fourth of the total produce could have been collected, it is not known whether this was collected in cash or kind. In a rare instance in the inscriptions, the Vilasa grant of Prolaya Nayaka states that the cultivators paid one-sixth of their yield to the king, just as seers parted with one-sixth of the fruits of their religious merit to the king, obviously for the protection that the king provided to them and to the people in general. Verse 38 of the inscription states as follows²²:

*KrishivalaschapiKrishehphalanam
Yathoditambhagamadahprahrishtah/
Tapasvinashshashtam-
ivaprabhagamprithvibhuje'smaitapasahphalana
m//*

(i) Exemption from Payment of Taxes:

We have also one rare instance- this time, of a list of taxes paid by the people to the king in the Vilavatti grant of Simhavarman II of the Pallavas of Sanskrit grants²³. While a general statement of eighteen kinds of *pariharas* were given to the *agraharikas*, as found in the Uruvupalli grant of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa²⁴. These find a very rare mention. The list contains the following:

1. Metal-workers (*Loha-karas*)
2. Leather-workers (*Charma-karas*)
3. Shopkeeping cloth-dealers (*Apana-pattakaras*)
4. Licensed spies (*Pravaranchara*)
5. Jugglers (*Rajju-pratihara*)
6. Shops in general (*Apana*)
7. Jain mendicants (*Ajivikas*)
8. Barbarians (*Nahala*)
9. Masked actors (*Mukhadharakas*)
10. Water diviners (*Kupa-darsakas*)
11. Weavers (*Tantravaya*)
12. Gamblers (*Dyuta*)
13. Marriage Ceremony (*Vivaha*)
14. Barbers (*Napita*)

To this list can be added the classes of people who find mention in the medieval inscriptions namely, *kumbhakara* (potter), *tailakara* (oil-monger), *takshaka* (carpenter) and *gollakara* (shepherd). These eighteen may definitely be considered as professional groups, though we cannot justify the inclusion of *Ajivikas*. Instead, some medieval inscriptions, particularly of the Vijayanagara period, refer to the *talarikam* (policeman) which may be included as a profession. So, whatever these eighteen professionals group paid to the state should now have to be paid to the Brahmanadonees.

What is interesting in the above list is the marriage (*vivaha*) tax; this is not an isolated instance, as marriage-tax (*pendli-sunkamu*), is frequently mentioned in the Tuluva inscriptions. Krishnadevaraya waived this tax soon after his accession; in the same way, tax on barbers (*mangali-sunkamu*) was waived on a large scale in different parts of the Vijayanagara Kingdom by Aliya Ramaraya, who was pleased with the services of one Kondoju, a member of this caste.

(ii) **Exemption from Royal Control:**

Besides exempting the gift-village from taxes and tribute (*Kara*), the village was permitted to have an independent authority of its own, devoid of State control. The administration of the village was entrusted to the donees themselves, who had now become masters of the land. The people in the village were expected to obey the commands of their new masters, just as it was customary for them to do so for the State earlier. The king, from his side, respected the authority of the donees by renouncing his claims over the village. A number of terms indicative of non-interference by the king and his staff are referred to in the grants. Some of them are specified, while others are left out, while generally assuring the donees that the old custom would prevail.

The waiving of the royal claims was not new to this period. The Satavahana ruler, Gautamiputra Satakarni, made gifts of land near Nasik to the Buddhist monks in his 18th and 24th years²⁵, where reference is made for the first time in the inscriptions, to the renunciation of royal claim over the village in four ways:

(1) *A-pavesam* (non-entry)

(2) *A-noma* (non-interference in the village affairs)

(3) *A-lona-khadakam* (no digging for salt)

(4) *A-ratha-savinayikam* (no administrative control)

These four are referred to in the Kondamudi plates of Brihatphalayana Jayavarman²⁶ and the Kanukollu plates of Salankayana Nandivarman. The first one is ignored in the Hirehadagalli plates, while it is mentioned as *a-bhata-pravesam* (non-entry of soldiers) in the Mayidavolu plates of Sivaskandavarman of the Pallava family²⁸ and the same as *a-chata-bhata-pravesyam* of later records. Royal officers were not allowed to enter the village without the permission of the donees. *Anoma* is ignored in the Hirehadagalli plates. The village was exempt from being dug for salt or any metals over which the king would normally have monopoly. *Vishti* means services by people without receiving any remuneration. It is the same as *vetti-venmala* of the Vijayanagara inscriptions. The village was to supply labourers on royal farms or irrigation or construction works, etc. for certain days in a year for which no payment was made. Even now, the word survives in Telugu as *vetti-chakiri*, the service for which no payment is made.

Again, the villagers had to attend on touring officers of the king usually. Such services were²⁹:

(5) *A-kura-chullaka-vinasi-khatva-samvasa* (not to supply boiled rice, pots, cots and provide accommodation)

(6) *A-parampara-balivarda* (not to supply bullocks to touring officials)

(7) *A-harita-pamna-saka-puppa-phala-duddha-dadhi-ghata-takka-ggahana* (not to supply grass, leaves, vegetables, flowers, fruits, curds, milk, ghee, butter-milk).

These seven constitute a part of the list of *pariharas*, which number eighteen. E.g. The Hirehadagalli plates³⁰ say that "with these and other immunities of eighteen kinds, the village must be exempted and caused to be exempted" by the people and the officers concerned. In the

same vein, the Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman also state that, “with these immunities and others that have been either not written down or even otherwise stated to be included”, all classes of immunities are granted to the donees³¹. Therefore, even if all the eighteen are not categorically mentioned, they are deemed to have been granted. These customary services to touring officials to provide accommodation and necessary provisions for food and transport facilities to reach the next place of visit in the itinerary of government officials are common in pre-Independent India (and particularly in the native states, according to Dr. G. Buhler).

The above account relates how so many remissions were granted to a village, which would mean that other villages were subject to all these impositions. The masters of *agrahara* /*devadanā* villages thus became intermediaries between the king and cultivators, though the gift-villages granted by the king are a few, compared to the vast areas held by him. A comparison of the exemptions given in these inscriptions can be made with those figuring in the Vakataka and other inscriptions of the post-Gupta period.

(iii) Thirty-six Exemptions:

It has already been stated that the villages/lands were given tax-free, along with immunities. In this context, some inscriptions refer to *sarva-pida-vivarjitam* or *sarva-badha-vivarjitam*, which show that there were troubles and obstacles which were removed by the State. It is possible that people felt a heavy burden, when these impositions were made. Now, I refer to some Gajapati and Vijayanagara inscriptions where there is a term *avedana*, which means ‘worry’. This may be the same as *badha* or *pida* of the early inscriptions. For instance, the Veligalani grant of Kapilesvara Gajapati dated 1458 A.D.³² states that the King had renounced the thirty-six *avedanas* (*avedanani shat-trimsattvaktva*). In the Oriya part of the inscription, the same is mentioned as *Chatisiavedana*. Thus, the *avedana* number thirty-six which is *Chatis* (*Chhatis=36*). What the *avedanas* were, it is not known. However, these could be no different from the *pariharas* (exemptions) mentioned in the early grants of the Salankayanas and Early Pallavas.

The term *Chhatisais* also mentioned in two Vijayanagara inscriptions at Chezerla (Guntur district) dated 1517 and 1518 of the time of Krishnadevaraya. The first one was issued by Saluva Timma, the Prime Minister of the king and mentions that the *Chhattis* included *asabavalu, gollakaralu, katnam, kanike*³³. The second issued by Rayasam Kondamarasu, the governor, refers to *sunka, talarikalu, gollakaralu, kanika, gadayalu and veti-vemula (vetti-vemula)*³⁴. I have already mentioned that *talarikalu* (tax on policeman) and *gollakaralu* (taxes on shepherds) could be included among the taxes on professionals, though they were not mentioned in the early grants. *Vetti* (*vishti* of the Sanskrit records meaning forced labour) is already known from the early inscriptions. *Gadayalu*, derived from *gada* (meaning pole in Telugu) should refer to some tax on measuring land. *Katnam* and *Kanike* refer to gifts given to higher officials or dignitaries and frequently mentioned in the Vijayanagara records.

From the fact that inscriptions in Andhra of 15th and 16th centuries mention *avedanas* numbering thirty-six, one may be tempted to identify them with the same number, which occurs in the inscriptions of Early Kalinga of 4th-5th century A.D. It is common knowledge that the Matharas, Vasishthas and Pitribhaktas ruled in Kalinga prior to the establishment of the Eastern Ganga power in 498 A.D. In three grants, viz., the Brihatproshtha grant of Umavarman³⁵, the Bobbili plates of Chandavarman³⁶ and the Ragolu plates of Nanda Prabhanjanavarman³⁷, we have the phrase *Shat-trimsad = agrapha-samanyamkritva* which is taken by some scholars to refer to 36-*agraharas*. Since the number of taxes and enjoyment of privileges of the State are said to be thirty-six in the late inscriptions, it can safely be interpreted that the taxes and enjoyments numbering thirty-six were now to be enjoyed by the donees receiving the *agrahara*.

It may be observed from the above, that the State enjoyed thirty-six privileges inclusive of imposing taxes on and demanding services of the people in the village. The donees, whether Brahmanas who obtained *agraharas* or the temple authorities who received the villages, seem to have obtained these privileges from the State and were entitled to receive the taxes in

cash and kind and to get the services from the people on various counts from about 4th-5th century A.D. onwards.

(a) Qualifications of the Donees:

An interesting feature that does not figure in the inscriptions outside Andhra is the reference to some qualifications of the scholars or their forefathers with the numerical terms, *asiti*, *sahasra* and *tri-sahasra* (Eg. *Asiti-tarkaka*, *grithita-sahasra* and *tri-sahasravidya*)³⁸. What these numbers indicate is not made clear. These inscriptions belong to 6th - 7th century A.D. only. In late inscriptions only, *sahasra*s mentioned, and not the other terms. Different explanations have been given by scholars.

Inscriptions make clear that *asiti* (eighty) refers to *tarka*. It is not known whether there are *tarkas* of that number. It is pointed out that it probably relates to *nyaya*, which deals with sixteen categories, which were sub-divided into 45 by Gautama and to *vaiseshikān* which the categories were divided into 35 by Kanada. The combination would come to eighty³⁹.

Again, with reference to *sahasra* (one thousand), some take it to be a reference to Sama Veda, which is said to contain one thousand branches. But, the problem is that it is mentioned in addition to the scholarship in two Vedas. The donee could as well have been described as an expert in three Vedas, instead of two Vedas and *Sahasra*. Another explanation is that they could relate to 893 *adhikaranas* in Sabarasvamin's commentary on Purva-mimamsa, in addition to 27 categories of *yoga* and 80 of *nyaya* and *vaiseshika*, which add upto one thousand⁴⁰. This term occurs in the late inscriptions and literary works. E.g. The Pithapuram plates of Vira-Choda refer to 67 donees with the suffix *sahasra*⁴¹. If we refer to Palkuriki Somanatha's *Panditaradhya-Charita* of 12th-13th century A.D.⁴², we have a passage saying that merit accrues by reciting the Panchakshari mantra, instead of studying the thousand *nyayas* authored by Bhatta (*Bhatta-krita-sahasra-nyaya-vidhulu*). This Bhatta could be none other than Kumarila-bhatta, the proponent of Purva-mimamsa.

It may be noted that scholars in *tarka* and *mimamsa* received bigger shares in the *agraharas*, compared to the reciters of Vedas. It is also common in medieval Andhra inscriptions to get

the suffixes to the names of these scholars as *ghatasasin* (scholar in *tarka*) and *bhattopadhyaya* (scholar in *Bhatta-mimamsa*). This specific reference to thousand along with the name of Bhatta (Kumarila-bhatta) should amply testify that the concerned donee had specialized in Kumarila-bhatta's work. In a like manner, *tri-sahasra* should refer to the specialization in the *darsanas*.

(b) Identification of Sriparvatasvami:

I have stated that during this period reference is made in some inscriptions to the tutelary deity of the family to which the kings belonged. Among them the Vishnukundi records speak of Sriparvatasvami as the god whom they worshipped⁴³. For a long time the God was identified with Mallikarjuna Siva of Srisailam. The availability of the records of the Vishnukundis in relation to their patronage of Buddhism like the Tummalagudem plates of Govindavarman and Vikramendra II⁴⁴, and the Chaitanyapuri inscription⁴⁵ have led some scholars to doubt the view that the tutelary deity was Siva Mallikarjuna⁴⁶. They question the identity of Sriparvatha with Srisailam.

It is argued that this Sriparvata could be the Nagarjunakonda area which was ruled by the Ikshvakus; and the junior Andhras, who were vassals of the main Andhra family, were called as Sriparvatiyas in the Puranas (*Andhrah Sriparvatiyascha*). We know that the Ikshvakus ruled as the successors of the Satavahanas in Andhra with Vijayapuri-Sriparvata region as the centre. If this identity is accepted, then who was the tutelary deity of the Vishnukundis in this Sriparvata? This area is not known to be a great Saivaite centre but as a Buddhist centre, though the Sarvadeva and Pushpabhadrasvami temples had existed and the Karthikeya sculptures were discovered in the area. Moreover, the Nagarjunakonda excavations had not yielded any habitation after the Ikshvakus.

It is, of course, true that no inscription of the Vishnukundis comes from Srisailam, or, for that matter, from the entire Kurnool district itself. But it is not far from the Guntur district over which the rulers had effective authority, though in some intervals the Ananda-gottrins and the Early Pallavas had a share.

It is also true that there is no clear evidence about the existence of the temple at

Srisailamin the 5th-6th century A.D. The literary work *Malati-madhava* authored by Bhavabhuti and assigned to the late 7th century A.D., speaks of the practices of the Kapalikas at Sripavata⁴⁷. Sripavata also finds mention in the Talagunda inscription⁴⁸, which speaks of

the extent of political authority of Mayurasarman of the Kadamba family as early as the 4th century A.D. Tentatively, Mallikarjuna Siva may be taken to be the tutelary deity the Vishnukundis.

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SECTIONAL PRESIDENT ADDRESS - POLITICAL HISTORY SECTION
DISCOURSES ON NATIONALISM, CASTE AND RELIGION IN
TWENTIETH CENTURY KERALA, SOUTH INDIA

M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman

Most respected historians, scholars, Professors, office bearers of the SIHC, researchers, students and dear fellow delegates...

For me, it is a privilege and a moment of great honour to stand before you to deliver the Presidential address of the Political History Section of the 39th Session of South Indian History Congress held at the Ozmania University campus, which is at the helm of its service to the humanity, spanning one hundred years. I am very much indebted to the executive committee for nominating me to this position and extend deep sense of gratitude to it.

Introduction

Time and again, nationalism appears to be an unsettled issue even with regard to the everyday life of an average citizen of contemporary India. It is a fact that from the status of a binding force of the folk, nationalism appears to be a tool of manufacturing discord in social fabric in varied occasions. Several major challenges that our country face today, to a certain extent, are really owed to the distorted ways of understanding and practicing of nationalism. The present paper is an outcome of my recent enquiries with regard to the functioning of nationalism in the everyday life in the present scenario and in that way it was worth to explore, how the idea of nationalism was perceived by the different sections of society in Kerala in the past and the way in which it came in to practice in the region. The available source materials induce one to believe that nationalism among the various sections of Indian people worked in different ways and for the depressed classes, it was not at all an idea to enthuse them by any means, because it could not offer any ray hope to them. This paper is organized in two sections, where the first section forays into the theoretical aspects of the phenomenon of nationalism with special reference to India, whereas, the second section deals with the discourses on nationalism and functioning of religion and caste in the context of twentieth century Kerala.

SECTION I

Nationalism in Theory and Practice: the Indian Experiences

In an attempt to define the very idea of nation, Benedict Anderson in his magnum opus *Imagined Communities*, explains that 'it is an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'¹. What Anderson emphasizes is the imagination of a nation, in a limited space and so that a finite though elastic, boundaries beyond which begins the land of other nation(s). The most significant contention from him is that, 'no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind'² is somewhat a hard reality, which illustrates the limitations of a nation. Significantly, this project of imagination was actually materialized by the emerging print capitalism in the context of Europe. For Anderson, 'the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation'³. The role of imagination is emphasized by another eminent scholar Sudipta Kaviraj, to whom, nationalism is viewed as an 'imaginary institution'⁴. The element of imagination and narration are highlighted by Homi K. Bhabha who rightly calls, 'imagi-nation', where the nation is represented as an idea whose cultural compulsion lies in the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force⁵.

Interestingly, as a historical reality, nationalism itself had to create a narrative of its own by which it could avoid the great chaos of varying ideological events in a single thread and as Sudipta Kaviraj cautions, in order to understand nationalism, one has to step outside the history that nationalism gives to itself⁶. Partha Chatterjee also is of the conviction that, history, or nationalism's autobiography, is fundamentally flawed⁷. Nationalism as a modern phenomenon was introduced by and among the western educated Indian middle

class, where the society per se was the same having not departed with the pre-modern structures. According to Sudipta, the nation in India as much as in Italy, is a thing without past. It is radically modern. It can only look for subterfuges of antiquity⁸. And also it is probable to see whether a national community existed before 19th century. Looking back to history, nationalism as an idea was accepted not in the uniform way at least in the case of our country. So the nation was not a given thing, though geographically speaking, it was there. Thus, the idea of nation and nationalism are the by-products of modernity and so that any claim of its antiquity proves to be baseless.

In India too, especially in Bengal, from the second half of the 19th century, the new elite had started to take the lead in mobilizing a “national” effort to start schools in every part of the province and then to produce a suitable educational literature⁹. The project of Indian nationalism was the brain child of the Indian nationalist elite and so that, for Partha Chatterjee, it was ‘in principle a hegemonic project’¹⁰. The foundation of nationalism is built upon the ideals of modernity and the inherent nature of which is exclusion, where a section of people is represented as the other. It was none other than Rabindranath Tagore, the first prominent figure to critically engage with nationalism, who firmly believed that Indian nationalism is nothing but a menace¹¹. He was having the concern that how far it would be functional within the Hindu society, for Hindu society to unify the many castes and races in to nation in the European style¹². Tagore made it clear as early as 1908 that, “I will never allow patriotism to triumph over humanity as long as I live”. He offered the idea of humanity in the place of nationalism. In the similar vein was H.H. Risely, the British ethnographer cum administrator, shared the apprehension that how far is it possible to go hand in hand the regime of caste and modern idea of Indian nationality, and for him the two things appear to be antagonistic and incompatible¹³.

The exclusive nature of the very idea of nationalism seeks to expel those who are not suitable to the nation since they are inferior or having the secondary positions. Considering nationalism, we see the centrality of caste and religion [class also] in nationalism, where all

such identities had to be washed away by the high tides of modernity. However, the process of rationalization and secularization mediated through colonial modernity was obstructed by the saviors of the tradition in disguise of social reform, actually a project to revive the Hindu/brahmanic values. It was in the course of time that a self-defence to save the emerging so called ‘Hindu’ religious formation in the backdrop of Missionary critique. It was in 19th century that modern Hinduism was originated and developed, which later found manifestation in, what G. Aloysius calls, ‘Pan-Indian political-national Hinduism’¹⁴. So much so, that nationalism was the continuity of the ‘renaissance,’ which stood against the emerging trends of missionary criticism on the one way and also the resistance against the British colonial state on the other.

In such a way, nationalism is interpreted to be contradictory that, it is a mission to get the power transferred to preserve the pre-nation form of differential power realization within the society¹⁵. The most plausible identities such as religion and caste were actively working within the Indian National Congress, as the instrument of Indian nationalism. In several occasions the objectives of the Congress was declared to be preservation of Hindu/ Brahmin values. The writings and speeches of the prominent nationalist leaders proved to be reflective of their predominant upper caste Hindu identity than the Congress identity. For example, G. Subrahmanya Iyer, who along with five other Brahmins launched the first issue of *The Hindu* weekly newspaper (1878), wrote a book entitled, *Arya Jana Ikiyam Allathu Congress Mahasabhai* (Unity of the Aryan People or the Congress Party). Travelling from the past to present, Iyer argues that the basic aim of the Indian National Congress was ‘to create unity and brotherhood among the Hindu people’¹⁶. Obviously, the objective of such writings essentially was identifying the Indian nationalism with *savarna* (Brahminical) Hinduism. There were also instances of caste bias with regard to the nationalist newspaper, *The Hindu*, which was trying to shut out the non-brahmin from its pages, though was proved to be short lived¹⁷.

Such incidents cannot be argued to be solitary, because some other cases were also

found how the caste was dominant in the Congress party. The description of a journey of the Brahmin delegates to attend the annual conference of INC from Madras to Calcutta by a steam engine is indeed a thought provoking as well as a curious story. In the five-day journey, a Brahmin delegate on board had a Brahmin cook and had wrested special permission to cook food in 'the brahminical way at certain hour of the noon and evening'. These 'special Brahmin meals' were served in the rooms of Brahmin delegates- obviously to avoid the polluting gaze of others while they ate¹⁸. Surprisingly, the reception committee members were in great troubles when the Brahmin delegates from South India demanded caste based boarding and separate dining. Even the delegates had nervously enquired about the availability of Tamil Brahmin hotels around the Congress venue. This issue was later to be settled by the Congress as limiting only two kitchens, one for vegetarians and other for non-vegetarians. Indeed, the Congress was not at all supporting inter-dining. It was because of this reason that the Tamil newspaper of Justice Party, the *Dravidian* compared the INC to an agraharam, 'an exclusive residential enclave of Brahmins'. Admittedly, the Congress itself did proudly endorse such an exclusive identity of religion and caste in the course of time.

SECTION II

Nationalism, Caste and Religion: Beyond Discourses

In Kerala, the germs of nationalism found crystalized in the early decades of twentieth century. It is interesting to see how the Congress was functional with regard to caste and religion in Kerala. As a matter of fact, the educated middle class were the active members of the Congress as elsewhere in India. Naturally, the upper class/ caste people started to join the Congress and started functioning in nationalist way. Naturally, the lower castes' entry into the INC was not at all a concern. Initially, it was the kings such as Samutiri Raja, Kollamkode Raja and other local rajas¹⁹ were organisers of the conferences. When the issues of the *Kutiyans* (tenant-cultivator) were raised, it was suppressed scrupulously²⁰. When the young M.P. Narayana Menon raised the issue of *Kutiyans* in Ottappalam session of Indian National Congress, he was fiercely criticized by all other

members with elitist leanings. Similarly, when the tenant cultivators, lower caste agricultural labourers and Mappilas were assembled in the Manjeri session of Indian National Congress of 1920, the elitist leaders raised their eyebrows and asked, 'why were these people with smell of dirt entered into the pavilion?'. It was none other than the theosophist and Congressman Manjeri Rama Iyyer shared the apprehension of the upper castes²¹. Significantly, in the Manjeri conference, the representatives included big landlords and the Rajas such as Cheriyyettan Raja of Calicut, Ilaya Raja of Nilambur Mooppil Nayar of Mannarkkad, Udaya Varma Raja of Mankada, K. C. Veerarayan Raja etc. When a resolution demanding the redressal of the tenants' sufferings was presented, it was challenged by the said representatives of the landlords²², though it was passed subsequently.

Likewise, M. P. Narayana Menon, [M. P. N.] the great nationalist leader very much close to the lower castes and the Mappilas, was often criticized by the Congress leaders for his habit of inter-dining and associating with the Mappila Muslims. He used to have food with the Mappilas, which was a taboo for the people belonging to the Nair caste, and he was the first Nair to wear a lungi, which was considered to be the typical dress of Malabar Mappila folk, so that upper castes never wore it. [During his student days, M. P. N. had used to wear a Turkey cap, for which he was penalized by the British principal]. In such a way he was considered to be an out-caste among the nationalists. Strangely enough, for the same reasons, caste Hindu Congress leaders were never preferred to stay at his residence. Rajagopalachari and Kasturi Ranga Iyengar refused to stay with M. P. N. when he was the Congress secretary of Eranad. M.P.S. Menon, the biographer of M. P. N., taps his memories like this, "...They used to stay with K.P. Kesava Menon, who was not polluted (like me) by the presence of Moplahs and Cherumas at my dining halls..."²³ This sort of caste prejudice of the Congress leaders caused to spread the image that it was a party of upper caste Nairs. And the term 'Chalappuram Congress' also was illustrative of its caste leanings.

Indeed, the attitude of the leaders actually caused the people belonging to lower castes keep aloof from the INC. As rightly observed by

M.P. Narayana Menon, the ordinary people of Malabar, the peasant, the labourer, the small shop keeper and artisan, were kept away from the fold of the Congress by the higher caste Hindus.²⁴ For instance, Ezhavas (Thiyyas), one of the major lower castes of Kerala, were not at all co-operating with the Indian National Movement. The great social reformer and leader of SNDP Yogam, Sree Narayana Guru had declared that, 'The British are like our guru: it is they who gave us *Sanyas*, recalling the age-old denial of the right to ascetic practice to the lower caste in Hindu society²⁵, which in another way was an approval of the British government towards its emancipatory policies. Similarly, the great poet and SNDP Yogam general secretary, Kumaran Asan, in one of his *Vivekodayam* editorials shared the apprehensions of his caste towards nationalism in this manner: "Presently there has not been preparedness for a united Indian *swaraj*. If we start to rule ourselves, we have to go back to 150 years, and will undo all reforms initiated by the British. The Indians will not be capable of *swaraj* without anybody's help until the caste differences ends... So that those people who have suffered the inhumaneness of the caste for centuries cannot join the side of the swarajists" [read nationalists/ Congressmen]²⁶. Apart from that, Asan had accepted *Pattum Valayum*, [literally silk and bangle. One of the most coveted awards in those days] from the then government and he was highly eulogistic of the British while speaking their reforms with regard to the depressed castes in India. Another Ezhava leader and beloved disciple of Sree Narayana Guru, Sahodaran Ayyappan, never felt wrong in accepting the 'Raja Bahadur' title of honour from the British government. For him it was a memento for his political stand point and campaign against social inequality²⁷.

An influential Ezhava leader of Malabar, *Mithavadi* C. Krishnan (He was the president of SNDP Yogam and Tiyyar Malabar Yogam), had severely criticized the Congress ideology and programmes. In one of his articles titled, 'Indiyayile Aswaasthyam' (Indian Unrest), published in *Kerala Pathrika* (edited by Moorkoth Kumaran) on 18th May 1907, Krishnan was severely criticizing Congress' political strategies²⁸. It was in the context of his scathing attack on nationalism that Dr. Ayyathan Gopalan, a physician and Ezhava

activist, prompted Krishnan to start a newspaper supporting the [British] government. In response to which, Krishnan launched *Mithavadi*, (weekly) in October 1907, with Moorkoth Kumaran as the editor. Krishnan had recognized the fact that thousands of his men's voice was remained unheard in the cacophony of the Congress workers and caste Hindus. He was having an intention of laying foundation of *Swathanthra Samudayam* (independent community), which declared that the Ezhavas would abandon the caste Hinduism and by which they could be free from caste oppressions²⁹. He had also made severe attack on Gandhi and INC on the ground that 'the destructive' Civil Disobedience Movement and Non co-operation Movement could only contribute miseries to the people of India³⁰. He firmly believed that when the British crown transfers its power to the dominant class of this land, the depressed classes will have to endure the oppressive force of that ruling class, means INC³¹.

Murkoth Kumaran, a Tiyya intellectual and editor from North Malabar, is reported to have spoken thus in a meeting of the Tiyya community in North Malabar during the period of non-cooperation movement: "Congress is the organization of the upper castes who should take a bath if they touch us. If the Congress gets political power from the British, our country would be ruled by the upper caste... It is the British who have done us good... It is our duty to oppose in the interest of our community, those who try to end the rule of the British, who are the only well-wishers of the lower classes"³². Interestingly, such apprehensions were common among the lower castes and communities of other parts of India as well. For instance, in Bengal, the Namasudras were alienated from the national movement because they could in no way identify themselves with the aims and aspirations of the high-caste bhadralok fighting against the British³³. It was because during the times of their needs they could find to get support from the local officials of the British government. As the nationalists demanded the self-government, the educated members of this caste apprehended that if more power was transferred, it would only be monopolized by the more privileged upper castes³⁴.

It was during the time of Khilafath movement that even the ordinary Ezhavas started to ridicule the Congress leaders of Malabar calling them “Kilapath, Kilapath” [Khilafath], states Moyyarath Sankaran. Lining with the British police, they were directly scolding and ridiculing at the Congress leaders³⁵. When Madhava Menon, one of the Congress leaders reached in the locality of Moyyarath to visit him, the Ezhavas mocked at him calling ‘the absconding Moyilyar [Mulla] from Eranad’. In another occasion, the followers of Moorkoth Kumaran had started to question the Congress leaders. When K. Kelappan, popularly known as ‘Kerala Gandhi’ started to speak at a function held at Thalasseri, some obstructed him and asked how could be the problems of the *avarnas* of Kerala get solved, when the *savarna* Congress leaders come to power. They had apprehensions that even Mahatma Gandhi believed in *Varnasramadharmā*³⁶. It was the reflection of the feelings shared by the great E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, who had rhetorically asked: “Is Brahman’s rule *swarajya* for the Paraya? Is the cat’s rule *swarajya* for the rats?”³⁷.

It doesn’t mean that every Ezhava was hostile to the Indian National Congress. T. K. Madhavan was a great Ezhava leader who joined INC. However, Madhavan was not beyond the criticism of his fellow leaders from the community. It was C. Kesavan, another influential Ezhava intellectual and leader also having almost similar views and critical of T.K. Madhavan. Kesavan wrote that all other Ezhava leaders except T.K. Madhavan, simply looked at the INC as an all India organization of those who wish to sustain the worst tradition of *savarna* Hinduism³⁸. He goes on to explain that, Ezhavas were having the impression that unless the British had established suzerainty over India, the six crores of depressed castes of India could not have seen the rays of light at all³⁹. Thus, nationalism in the perspectives of the depressed castes was a non-sense or an obstacle in the way to the development of *avarnas*.

T. K. Madhavan, the only Ezhava Congress leader during that time had explained what prompted him to join and work in the INC. Like many other Ezhava philanthropists,

Madhavan also was having high praise for colonial administration, for its reforms and sympathetic attitude to the depressed castes. He was also thankful to the British for that matter. At the same time, he had realized that the impact of colonial administration on Indian economy and society was disastrous and so that those who are suffering under the British rule are highly wished for *swaraj*⁴⁰. His justification for joining the Congress was interesting, that Gandhiji as the leader of the Congress had started to introduce anti-untouchability movement in the political agenda of the Congress, which naturally gave him great expectations. And also he was not in the fold of activists who argued that political freedom is to be assured only after resolving the social disparities. Whereas, he was in the belief that, action towards social and political emancipation should be done simultaneously⁴¹. Eventually, he decided to associate with the INC and got a chance to present a resolution on untouchability in Kakinada session in 1923, which was passed by the Congress. Still he was having the apprehension that, whether this would be put in to practice by the leaders and workers of the INC in the future.

The occurrences that came up during the Vaikom satyagraha of 1924 proved that the afore-mentioned anti-Congress stream of thought was absolutely right and nationalism in Kerala was not at all devoid of predilections of caste or religion. Vaikom Satyagraha was a peaceful Gandhian mode of struggle to get the roads adjoining the Vaikom temple opened for *avarnas*. Those were not temple roads, but public roads which were restricted to the untouchables. In this case, we can see that inside the INC, it was not only caste but the religion also did matter. For instance, the experiences of the convener of the Satyagraha, and great leader of INC, George Joseph had bitter experiences simply due to his religious identity. When he reached Vaikom to organise satyagraha, Gandhi’s letter in the course of the satyagraha addressed to George Joseph was unbelievable to a Congressman such as him. The letter continued to read as follows: “as to Vykam, you should let the Hindus do the work. It is they who have to purify themselves. You can help by your sympathy and by your pen but not by organizing the movement and certainly not by offering satyagraha. If you refer to the

Congress resolution of Nagpur, it calls upon the Hindu members to remove the curse of untouchability. I was surprised to learn that the disease has infected the Syriyan Christians⁴². The message of advice of Gandhiji in the last sentence was very much obvious, that if he wished to take part in the campaign against untouchability, he should work within his own community, but never among the Hindus.

Gandhiji had clarified his stance that Vaikom satyagraha should be restricted exclusively to the Hindus, for him, where the sacrifices done by Joseph, Sebastian and Abdu Rahiman had little worth. Similarly, for him, the kitchen house maintained by the Akalis from Punjab was having 'shattering effect on the pride of the Malayalis'⁴³. Surprisingly, Gandhiji had also demanded the Christian and Muslim sympathisers to apologize before the authority that they had done was a grave mistake⁴⁴. This sort of a stance from the part of Gandhiji had shocked many of his own followers. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, who was then the President of Tamilnadu Congress committee, had participated Vaikom satyagraha in response to the invitation by K.P. Kesava Menon and Barister George Joseph. According to E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, who later wrote about this incident, Gandhi had strongly prohibited the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others from taking part in Vaikom satyagraha. In response to his appeal, the Muslims, the Christians and the Sikhs were withdrawn from the agitation. However, George Joseph declined to accept Gandhiji's advice. Instead, he declared that he would not lose self-respect⁴⁵. EVR believed that, 'as a matter of fact, Gandhi has not done even a molecule of service to untouchables. Referring to the book of Ambedkar, *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*, he underscores that Congress and Gandhi could do no social reforms⁴⁶.

One can observe the deliberate exclusivism in the whole course of satyagraha which was begun by the pledge itself. The opening line of the pledge was defining one as "I am a Hindu"; which was followed by "I strongly believe that the unapproachability and untouchability are to be eliminated. And I will attempt to ensure the freedom of travelling to the avarnas"⁴⁷. The connotation of this

Gandhian strategy was nothing but integrating the Congress with Savarna Hindu values. While one volunteer who declares himself as Hindu and will try to eradicate unapproachability, it means that he is a savarna Hindu. Presumably, it was a premeditated satyagraha sponsored by savarnas for the avarnas⁴⁸. Interestingly, the idea of satyagraha was snowballed in the context of the declaration of the Ezhavas who were planning to convert to Christianity and Buddhism.

And more importantly, one of the great mistakes with regard to Vaikom satyagraha was that it was aimed at getting travel rights on Vaikom temple road. It is actually misleading and ahistorical. The phrase that the 'Vaikom Temple Road' found mentioned in the pledge is totally wrong. In fact, the road was a public one and it was maintained by Travancore government and it was on the basis of this argument that a savarna temple existed on the side of this road, the avarnas were restricted to walk on. T.K. Madhavan had raised this issue in the assembly that, those roads were not owned and maintained by the temple but by the government⁴⁹. As the roads were under the control of the government, it was the duty of the government to provide rights to everyone the rights to travel. In such a sense, Vaikom satyagraha was essentially a political one. It was the fault of Gandhiji and Congress that the satyagraha was integrating it to the savarna Hindu predilections. It is pathetic that Gandhiji and Congress kept the avarnas aloof from such a historic political movement; it was simply because political rights were only eligible for savarnas. And significantly, sustenance of Hinduism was the all-time agenda of the Congress.

Accordingly, the Congress enterprise in Malabar sought to remove caste difference, simply because it was presumably a hindrance in the attempt to create a unified Hindu identity⁵⁰. Likewise, the Congress started to move for fighting temple entry at Guruvayur with an objective of both a revitalization of Hinduism as well as purging of inequality from the religion. It was reflected in one of the public speeches delivered by K. Kelappan titled, 'A Twentieth century version of Hinduism is an immediate Necessity', during the second phase of Civil Disobedience in the year 1931⁵¹.

Significantly, the Guruvayur satyagraha, launched in response to the advice of Gandhiji on 1st November 1931 was continued in 1932, with K. Kelappan's fast unto death. Unfortunately, all of a sudden Gandhiji informed the Congress to stop the satyagraha⁵² on the ground that neither himself nor the temple authorities were informed about himself⁵³, which is considered to be Gandhiji's surrender to the upper castes. Apart from this, after the Malabar rebellion, the Mappilas began to recognize the Congress with the Hindus, which was mainly due to many Congress leaders' participation in the deliberations of the Hindu Conference held at Thirunnavaya in May 1929⁵⁴. As mentioned previously, certain programmes of the Congress such as temple entry Satyagrahas had excluded the participation of the Muslims and other non-Hindus as well which further alienated them from the National Movement. And also, there were some instances of attributing communally sensitive propaganda about nationalist Muslim leaders by the upper caste Congress leaders. For instance, in the election to the Malabar District Board held in 1939, Muhammed Abdurahiman Sahib contested from Wandoor *farqa* on Congress ticket. During the campaign, the Chalappuram gang had distributed pamphlets in the Hindu houses branding the Sahib a 'Muslim fanatic'⁵⁵.

Similarly, the nationalist movement failed to educate its leaders and workers to think and act beyond the boundaries of caste and religion. The biographical sketches of great nationalists of Kerala shed light to this fact. For instance, if we go through the autobiography of Mozhikkunnath Brahmattan Nambuthirippad, who was a secular, nationalist and sympathizer of Mappilas, but was not free from the caste and religious taboos during his imprisonment in connection with non-cooperation movement. Like several nationalist leaders, Nambuthirippad also was against the brutalities in the name of Malabar rebellion, and his prejudice against Mappilas reflects through the words like this: 'What the Mappilas expresses now is gratitude for the Calicut king Samutiri, who provided the facilities to the Arabs to settle on the land. Those Arabs are the progenitors of the Mappilas'⁵⁶. He goes on to describe that, 'the arrest of Ali Musliar, the leader of Rebellion is very difficult, and the collector Thomas could

have followed the strategy in which the Mampuram Syed Alavi Thangal was exiled by the then collector Connolly'. Otherwise, a large number of forces had to be sent to surrender the thousands of mob⁵⁷. The author himself is critical of the Congress that it had not protested against the police atrocities. His own writings are evidences to prove that though the Jallianwalla bagh and Chauri Chaura incidents were having several similarities with Malabar rebellion, the Congress followed a step-motherly attitude towards it⁵⁸. While Congress considered the Jallianwalla bagh incident as dreadful one, the incident such as Wagon tragedy was overlooked by the Congress⁵⁹. Here comes the religious bent of the Congress out, which was termed by Gandhi as 'madness of the Mappilas'⁶⁰.

The Nambuthirippad presents a picture of his arrest and the eventual custodial stay at a police station in his locality. He was in agony that though he was trying to pacify the rebels and persuade them to stay away from atrocities, he was arrested and charged a case against him. In the police station, where he was brought in, the police had arranged the lunch and it was distributed by a Muslim woman ['Umma'-mother, as the author calls], so that he refused to accept it by saying that, 'I am pleased to starve than having this food'⁶¹. Realizing his pathetic situation, one policeman assured him bringing Brahmin food [from Ayyar's hotel] in the next day. An interesting story of performing of Suddhi karma (reconversion) by the Hindus including the Nambuthirippad on the just converted Abdulla alias Parangodan in the prison is also narrated by the author⁶². They made him Hindu by shaving his beard and head and wore him a loin-cloth. Nambuthirippad do feel nothing uncommon in this act. What we can understand from these is the religion and caste could not be blurred under the influence of nationalism and it worked even in a place such as jail.

Swami Ananda Theertha, a disciple of Sree Narayana Guru, a committed nationalist and above all, a Gandhian from Malabar, was a man who dedicated his life to the cause of caste and tried to synchronise the anti-caste movement with the activities of the INC. He was a great social activist who fought legally and politically against all sort of discriminations in

the name of caste. He staunchly fought against untouchability and for the rights of the untouchables. He persuaded the dalits not to offer prayers at the temples where the depressed castes are segregated. He had served in several parts of South India in association with Harijan Seva Sanghom, founded by Gandhiji. But later he had to divorce the movement because of his realization that the Sanghom's political and ideological objective was to keep the depressed castes within the fold of Hinduism. Swami later understood that his and Gandhiji's ways to the objective of eradication of untouchability were diametrically opposed, that Gandhiji believed in the mental transformation of the upper castes and eventual annihilation of untouchability, whereas Swami found recourse to the agitations by the oppressed castes.

The experiences from the Congress with regard to caste issues forced him to keep away from the Congress. For instance, in 1931 when the Guruvayur Satyagraha was launched, the leaders such as A. K. Gopalan and K. A. Keraleeyan had started a *jadha* in order to get some volunteers recruited to satyagraha. When the *jadha* was passing in front of a Tiyya temple near Payyannur, the Congress boycotted the same⁶³. From this incident he realized that though India gets political freedom, the depressed castes would not get the actual freedom and thereafter he decided to abstain from politics in order to actively engage in activities to eradicate untouchability. For the national movement, caste was not a very serious problem to be meted out. Because, 'Gandhi and the Congress defined problem of caste inequality in terms of an opposition between cleanliness and the lack of it, locating the whole issue not in terms of economic or social realities but a physical state'⁶⁴. While Ambedkar stressed on the need for political power for the dalits, Gandhi insisted on reform

and protection from above, since the problem of untouchability was, for him, a problem of self, the collective Hindu self⁶⁵. The nation itself was not emerged as Ambedkar visualized it as a 'new form of social and societal relationship built on the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. Nationalism is the call given to abolish the brahminic ideology of privileges and discrimination embodied in the tradition and religion as reinvented by the cultural nationalists'⁶⁶.

Conclusion

To conclude, Nationalism in India was exclusive rather inclusive. The caste and religion were determining factors throughout its course of formation and growth. Though the nationalist leaders were trying to entertain the people on the margin on the one side, the forms of caste and religion worked in the direct or in disguised manner. The nation we were making could not provide any place to those who were struggling hard for centuries. Our nationalism was one that was dropped from the above. In the imagination of the frame of a nation, the majority of the population was destined to remain in the margin. The imbalances in the national imagination can be identified as the root cause of the cardinal issues that face our nation today. It is a fact that, the power and resources of the nation is unevenly distributed. Thus the power after independence was transferred to the stake holders of nationalist movement, where the absence of the powerless was apparent. As Ambedkar declared, 'Nationality is a social feeling. It is a feeling of oneness which makes those who are charged with it, feel that they are kith and kin'⁶⁷. It is a time to rethink how far we have attempted to make the large section of the people feel the nation is also theirs. The instances we came across earlier are ostensible evidences to pose questions regarding the influence caste over this feeling of nation and nationalism.

Notes and References

1. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London, New York, 2006, (1983), pp. 5-6
2. *Ibid*, p.7
3. *Ibid*, p.46
4. See, Sudipta Kaviraj, 'Imaginary Institution of India', *Subaltern Studies, VII*, Delhi, 1993(1992), pp.1-39
5. Homi K.Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*, Oxon, 1990, p.1
6. Sudipta Kaviraj, *op. cit.*, pp.1-2
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KERALA MUSLIMS: FROM FREEDOM STRUGGLE TO THE POLITICAL FORMATION

P.A. Ajmal

INTRODUCTION

During the period immediately following the end of the Malabar Rebellion political activity in Kerala especially in Malabar had practically come to a standstill. Everywhere there were a strong feeling of hostility against the Congressmen. The British authorities believed that it was the Khilafat work that inspired such serious disturbance as those of 1921. Several sections of Hindu community also believed it. The Mappilas on the other hand nursed a grievance against the Congress. As they left that Congressmen, after persuading them to join the Congress organization, deserted the field and left them to the mercy of the Police and the military. Hence the political atmosphere in Kerala and in Malabar in the post rebellion period was not congenial to any kind of activity under the favourable of the Congress. Moreover those of the Congress leaders who had not been arrested during the rebellion were then prevented by the authorities from moving about freely and carrying on their works.

Muhammad Abdu Rahman Sahib participated in the annual conference of the Indian National Congress held at Kakkinada in Andhra Pradesh in December 1923. In the conference he presented the serious condition of the people of Kerala and especially Malabar in the post-war period. Soon a Malabar relief committee was formed under the chairmanship of Shoukath Ali.¹ The decision of the Kakkinada Congress gave once again a driving force to the work in Kerala and in Malabar. Soon after the session, an enthusiastic meeting of the KPCC was held at Ernakulam on 24 January 1924. A committee consisting of messes, K.P. Kesavamenon, A.K. Pillai, Hassan Koya Molla and K. Neelakandan Namboothiri was appointed to tour Kerala organize the Congress work. Soon after the meeting two important events side tracked the attention of all Congress workers in Malabar for a considerable time causing a setback to the political work and propaganda. The first great event was the Vaikom Temple Entry Sathyagraha organized by the KPCC in Travancore which lasted for a few months. Muhammad Abdu Rahman also

participated in the Vaikom Sathyagraha for the freedom of walk through the surroundings streets of Vaikom Temple. He was arrested on 17 May 1924 along with others. M.K. Gandhi had expressed dislike in the participation of non-Hindus like Muhammad Abdu Rahman and George Joseph in the Vaikom Sathyagraha.²

At the Palakkad conference on 6 May which was the second KPCC session, Biyumma the mother of Ali brothers counsel the audience the necessity of freedom and Hindu Muslim unity for the attainment of Swaraj. She ridiculed communal tensions and pleaded for communal harmony among the people of India.³ Al-Ameen raised the voice in support of the common people and it fought against conservatism and retrogrades, and also some bureaucrats and influential citizens opposed it.

The Simon Commission

The Congress had divided to boycott the commission. There were no Indians in the seven member committee. The most important resolution passed at the conference was to resolve to organize Simon Commission boycott demonstration throughout Kerala and especially in Malabar. Al-Ameen also published articles exhorting hartal and processions against the Simon Commission. The speech delivered by Abdu Rahman in the Calicut beach inspired thousands of audience in connection with the boycott of this Commission. On the day of the landing in Bombay of the Commission on 3 February 1928, in spite of the police activities, a very successful hartal was observed in every nook and corner of Malabar.

Payyanur Conference of KPCC

The demand for 'Purna Swaraj' made by the Congress had created fresh enthusiasm among a large section of Muslim young men. They expressed their vigorous opposition to Simon Commission throughout Malabar. This enthusiasm in the nationalist cause pleased Jawaharlal Nehru tremendously while presiding over the fourth KPCC conference held at Payyanur, Kannur in May 1928.⁴ The resolution

for complete independence passed in the Payyanur conference was recognized by the Indian National Congress in the Lahore session as follows:

- Kerala must be constituted into a separate province.
- Protest against the action of the Andaman's to live with the Mappila prisoners.
- Responsible Governments in the Native states.
- Complete Independence.

These four important points were posed at this conference. Throughout Malabar there were hartals, protest meetings and black flag procession when news of arrest of Gandhi on 4 May. Muhammad Abdu Rahman, E. Moidu Moulavi and other Muslim leaders of Malabar accompanied by a band of Yuvak Sangh volunteers in uniform under their leader E.C. Kunjikannan Nair went to Payyanur on 4 May. They were accorded a huge reception at the railway station, and the entire town was decorated. The procession ended in a big meeting. Both the Muslim leaders and E.C. Kunjikannan Nair made inspiring speeches. A purse was presented on the night of the 5 May, when the news of Gandhi arrest reached Payyanur, the whole town observed hartal. On 6 May huge procession with the photo of Gandhi started from the Sathyagraha camp at 4 pm and it a mammoth public meeting leaders addressed the people. Nehru was very much enthusiastic when he saw the nationalist spirit of the Kerala Muslims in the Payyanur Congress session in 1928.⁵ The lead given by the Payyanur conference generated great enthusiasm among the masses and gave fresh spirit to Congress activity in Malabar.

Civil Disobedience Movement and the Muslims

The Civil Disobedient Movement which was launched by Gandhi on 12 March 1930 had its echoes in Kerala when national week celebrations were held all over the Malabar district. For the first time in connection with 1930, movement Muslim leaders of Calicut appeared at a public meeting at Calicut beach held on 27 April 1930. Among others Muhammad Abdu Rahman and Moidu Moulavi, delivered speeches and appealed Muslims not

to hesitate to join the struggle against the alien rulers.

On 13 May 1930 four Sathyagrahis, Mustafa, M. M. Menon, Kunjikannan Nair and C. Achutha Kurup witnessed by a huge crowd of spectators went to Calicut beach and began to boil sea water. Police had broken the mud parts with the lathies. By March 1931 more than 500 people were in Jail and thousands, including women and children, had been beaten up. But with the release of Mahatma Gandhi on 26 January 1931 and the Gandhi Irwin Pact on 4 May 1931 the civil disobedience movement was withdrawn.

Publications of Muslims

The article of Muhammad Abdu Rahman Sahib, which he had written from jail, entitled 'Jihad-ul-Akbar' (the great holy war) was published with Al-Ameen as its editor on 6 July 1930. He wrote it; 'Patriotism' is an article of Islamic faith if Islam proclaimed the idea of freedom.

K.M. Seethi Sahib, advocate and editor of 'Aikyam' a Malayalam journal published from Cochin state, in its editorial called upon Muslims of Kerala to awake and to enter the field of battle to face the motherland. After saying that the Islam religion has always opposed slavery of any kind, the paper emphasised that fight for freedom is Muslims' duty and therefore it was disgraceful on the part of Muslims of Kerala to keep idle on at that juncture. Citing various atrocities committed by Government on Mappilas during and after the Malabar Rebellion, the paper assumed the Malabar Muslims that the Sathyagraha was intended to set free all those poor victims who were suffering in the far-off Andaman and other places as convicts and finally the paper called upon Muslims of Kerala to join as Sathyagraha volunteers and especially appealed to nationalist Muslim leaders like Abdu Rahman Sahib, E. Moidu Moulavi, etc. to give a lead to the Muslims of Malabar.⁶

Procession from Travancore to Calicut

A grand reception was accorded to the uniformed volunteer 'jatha' or 'march' from Travancore on their arrival at Calicut railway station on 16 May 1930. After reception at railway station, the volunteers marched

information, followed by a large procession from the station to the Sathyagaraha camp. In the evening there was a road march by the volunteers and a huge procession which terminated at the beach.

Muslim Conference at Calicut

On May 12 to 13 the All Kerala Muslim Conference and the Kerala Muslim Youth conference were held at Calicut. The former presided over by Muhammad Habeebullah. The withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience movement cast a gloom in Congress Circles all over the country. The younger section of the Congressmen began to show sign of importance with the old leadership and look elsewhere for a new and militant leadership in Kerala. The month of May 1934 saw the birth of the Congress socialist party in India and with this there came about a definite cleavage between the Right and left within the Congress. Gradually the leadership of the Congress in Kerala passed into the hands of the Congress Socialist group and an extremist group of Nationalist Muslims under the leadership of Muhammad Abdu Rahman. '*Al-Ameen*', '*Mathrubhumi*', '*Kerala Kesari*' and '*Swadeshbhimani*' played an important role in fostering nationalist ideas in Kerala society.

Resolution of Kerala Muslim Conference

The Kerala Muslim Conference which was held at Cannanore on 28 May 1936 passed a resolution, unanimously, requesting the Government of Madras to repeal the Mappila Outrages Act which was passed in 1859 and held in force even up to in 1936, after the Mappila Rebellion of 1921. The conference declared that it was antiquated and uncivilized procedure and its application to the Mappila community was an outrage on their self-respect and religious susceptibilities. Even before the conference passed this resolution attempts were made in the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1921 and in 1928 to move resolution for the repeal of the Act. But the Government always decided that it should be retained in Malabar for the sake of public order and peace.

Malabar Muslims and the Congress

On the invitation of 20 leading Muslims of Malabar, a conference of the Muslims of Malabar was held at Cannanore on the 21 May

1937. It was an unprecedented vast assemblage, held for the specific purpose of considering the position of the Muslims in the Indian political scenario. It was quite evident at the very outset that it was a conference held to advocate the case of the Indian Muslim League and support Muhammad Ali Jinnah, K.M. Seethe Sahib.

The important resolution passed said that there should be adequate safeguards for protecting the religious, cultural and political interest of the Muslims in the Indian Constitution, which attempts of the Congress to persuade Muslims to join the Congress before a proper agreement was arrived at between the Muslim League and the Congress were dangerous for the Muslims, and that they fully endorsed the decision of the Muslim League and Muhammad Ali Jinnah to bring the Muslims of India within an organized Muslim body. It was also decided to form branches of the League all over the state and districts.

A well-attended public meeting of Nationalists was held at Calicut on 31 May with Kattilassery Kunjahamad Musliyar, vice-President of the Malabar District Board in the chair to consider the Muslim Mass contact scheme of Nehru. Which it may be remembered was one of the important causes that made Jinnah and his League furious against the Congress and Nehru.

Formation of Muslim League in Malabar

The All Indian Muslim League was formed in Deccan on 30 December 1906. The Madras Presidency Muslim League as provincial unit of the All Indian Muslim league, was formed in 1916, Malabar was at that time part of the Madras Presidency. B. Pocker Sahib was one of the founders of the Malabar Muslim League and a practicing lawyer at Madras. The victory of Muslim League candidate Abdul Sathar Sait in the elections to the central legislative assembly (1934) from the South Canara Constituency defeating the Congress leader, Muhammad Abdu Rahman.⁷ On 21 May 1936, a unit of the All India Muslim League was formally established in Malabar at a meeting held at Cannanore.⁸ In the conference Seethi Sahib exhorted his Muslim brothers to join the Muslim League and make it a strong national organization of Muslims. It was in that meeting

that the Malabar district unit of the All India Muslim League was organised. Muhammad Ismail was the leader of Muslim League in the Madras Assembly and a close friend of Mappilas. He was later elected to the National Parliament from the constituency of Manjeri in Malabar. Abdu Rahman Ali Raja of Cannanore was elected in 1937, the first President of the Malabar League.⁹ The meeting of the Muslim League were held at Calicut in 1940 and Palakkad in 1941.

Another all India organization of the Muslims, the All India Muslim Majlis, was organized to contact the growing influence of the Muslim League. It was a concept based organization. A unit of the Majlis was constituted in Malabar, in a meeting held at Calicut on 20 May 1945. The meeting was presided over by Moulana Abdullah Mistry, General Secretary of the All India Muslim Majlis. In the election of the Central Assembly in December 1945 and to the Madras Legislative Assembly in March 1945, the Majlis candidates opposed Muslim League candidate everywhere. The Mathrubhumi, mouthpiece of the Congress in an editorial on the eve of the election pointed out "in the Muslim Constituency the contest is between the Majlis candidate and the Muslim League candidate. The public of this country especially the Muslims first realize that this struggle between two ideologies, that will affect the future prospectus of India.¹⁰ But when the results were declared it was found that the Majlis candidates Palat Kunjikoya who fought against Abdul Sathar Sait of the Muslim League had even forfeited on all Majlis candidates.

The failure of the Majlis candidates would be evaluated as the lack of propaganda of the ideologies of the Majlis. In 1945 the AICC session held at Bombay, Muhammad Abdu

Rahman participated in the session accordance with the invitation of K.M. Ashraf, an AICC member introduced the resolution supporting the Pakistan and he tried for the support of Muhammad Abdu Rahman. After the Bombay AICC, Sahib went to Delhi, in order to give leadership to all India conference of the nationalist Muslims, who did not support Pakistan. Afterwards he went to Bombay in order to discuss with Sardar Patel the necessary of strengthening the people's political consciousness and curbing the Muslim League in gaining strength in the Muslim constituency in South India.

CONCLUSION

The political belief of Abdu Rahman sahib and his activities in connection with the National movement had prepared the ground work for the evolution of secular politics of the leftist Character in Kerala and this had given much fillip to growth and development of the peasant and workers movement in Malabar and in Kerala. It is significant to note that Moidu Moulavi took an adamant anti-communal stand in his political views till his death.

The service which the Chandrika rendered to the propagation of the Muslim League ideology was immense. The Chandrika is an independent news weekly started publication in 1932 from Tellichehry. In 1932 the Chandrika became daily, but it was reverted to a weekly again. In the elections to Madras Legislative Assembly in March 1946, all the Muslim League candidates from Malabar (8 members), were elected, fighting against the Congress and the Majlis candidates who fought the League jointly.¹¹ During the period immediately following the achievement of Indian Independence in 15 August 1947, Malabar continued as a district of Madras state.¹²

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THE COCHIN LEGISLATURE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN COCHIN

Alankumar. A, & Dr. Pratheep. PS

Introduction

The Cochin Legislative Council was inaugurated in April 1925 under the Cochin Legislative Council Regulation promulgated in 1923. The Cochin Legislative Council played a significant role in the all-round development of Cochin. Detailed discussions were held in the legislative council on various issues relating to the people of Cochi and tried to find solutions for the grievances of the people of Cochi. The high educational standard and the far-sightedness of the council members helped to take decisions that are suitable for the entire development of the state. The Cochin Legislative Council took up several important legislations and reforms during its existence. A series of constitutional and administrative reforms were introduced in the Council which helped the modernisation of Cochi. The study examines the role legislative council in the development of industry in Cochin.

Cochin had various industrial resources. In addition to natural facilities, Cochin also had an abundant capacity of labor. New industries began in Cochin, intended to use State resources. The expansion of indigenous markets improved financial stability revealed new possibilities for the flow of goods across the state. The Cochin government was very enthusiastic about developing roads, railways, canals and communication networks to improve the pace of industrial development. The Cochin government adopted a policy of promoting industries in the state and provided all possible help for its growth. Improving transport and communication, promoting cottage industries, providing financial assistance to industrialists, providing technical education, organizing industrial exhibitions and introducing various administrative and legislative measures have helped Cochin's industrial development.

Department of Industries and Commerce.

In 1925, the Department of industries was amalgamated with the department of education and the Director of Public Instruction began to function the duties of superintendent of

industries also. The Honorable Member responsible for education also looked after the state industries. He could hardly find time to look at the development of the state industries. He faced important problems related to primary education, high school education, college education, etc. The question of organizing a department of industries and commerce has been pending before the Government for a long time. The commercial class in Mattancheri is pressing to organize such a department. K. T. Mathew stated that "I frankly concede, Sir that the two big departments of education and industry in the State cannot be dealt with both of them equally efficiently by a single head. An educationist beginning to tamper with the department of industry however well-intentioned he may be is bound to be somewhat amateurish."¹

By quoting the Census Report K. T. Mathew stressed the need for organizing a department of industries and commerce in Cochin. "I find that a large proportion of our population - 1 may say more than in Travancore, Mysore Baroda and Madras are the employed in industry transport trade. It is stated in census report that, those who and are engaged in our State in industry is 17.6 per cent, in Travancore 14.6 per cent, in Mysore 7.9 per cent, in Baroda 10.7 per cent and in Madras 8.7 per cent, In transport Cochin State records 2.4 per cent, Travancore 1.6 per cent, Mysore 8 per cent, Baroda 1.3 per cent and Madras 1.2 per cent. Again take for instance trade and compare : Cochin 6.8 per cent, Travancore 6.5 per cent, Mysore 4.5 per cent, Baroda 5.5 per cent and Madras 4 per cent. Comparing the above figures the Census Commissioner writes: — "17.6 per cent of earners and working dependents are to be found in Sub-class iii (Industry), 2.4 per cent of the working population in Sub-class iv (Transport) and 6.8 per cent in Sub-class v (Trade). It is interesting to note from the marginal statement that, in all the three Sub-classes, and particularly in Sub-classes iii and iv, Cochin returns a much larger proportion of population than the other States and Provinces"²

The above figures stated that 25 percent of the working population employed in industry, transport and trade. In 1936, at the meeting of the Advisory Committee, the question of organizing a separate Department of Commerce and Industry was discussed in order to give more attention and energy to trade and industry issues. The Advisory Committee attached to the Commerce and Industries Departments recommended that a separate Department for Commerce and Industries should be constituted. In 1936 a separate department of Industries and Commerce was constituted in Cochin with a Director of Industries and Commerce in charge.

Training In Cottage Industries

Mr. A.Sankara Puduval stressed the need for introducing compulsory training in cottage industries and household arts. "The majority of pupils attending primary and secondary schools, but only a small percentage, go to higher education, which is why compulsory training in the cottage and household arts is necessary." Mr.Raman Menon argued for the introduction of subjects such as agriculture, carpentry, carving, pottery, mat-making, metalworking, lace-making and carpet making in schools. Mr. K. Raman Menon stated that "even in the schools the taste for agriculture, Household Arts and Industries must be stimulated and some instruction of these arts and industries will help the students of the coming generation in making a proper living for themselves, because we have seen that the great evil is the unemployment of the educated class and such people must be drawn to other walks of life and objects in view than enter into the service of the Government." ³

Rao Sahib Mr. Matthai stated in the council that the Cochin government had introduced optional subjects such as Weaving, Smithery and Foundry, Mat- making, Carpentry and Rattan work; and for girls dress-making, lace-work, embroidery and mat making. "In order to encourage the vocational training of boys and girls any one of these industrial subjects would be counted as equivalent to two optional, for, to complete the School Final a student should take two literary optional. In order to provide an incentive to take these subjects they have been given this concession, and so far as secondary schools are concerned,

it is quite gratifying to find that several of our boys and girls are taking these subjects as optional." ⁴

Pupils attended these industrial schools during their leisure time, where they were taught weaving or carpentry or other crafts, such as in Kunnmamkulam and Nemmara. In Ollur cookery was also introduced to the Convent High School, Trichur. Another useful subject is housekeeping and nursing. A batch of lady graduates were sent to the Ernakulam General Hospital and trained in nursing and housekeeping. They also received theoretical and practical instruction. These girls were taken to the nearest hospital, where actual demonstration was given in Nursing. There was a Girls ' Industrial School in Trichur where Nursing and House-keeping, Cookery, Sewing, Knitting, Lace work and Embroidery and other industrial subjects were taught and girls from high school were allowed to attend these classes and study these subjects. Fine arts, such as painting, drawing, music, etc. were taught at the Girl's High School in Trichur.

A Committee was appointed for imparting technical and industrial education in Cochin. The Committee recommended the government "to start Mat-making, Spinning, Weaving, Toy-making, etc. These are some of the industries, suggested and then there is Type-writing, making of coir yarn, making articles by this coir yarn, etc. Each of these will have to be taught by trained teachers. The subjects may vary in the case of localities. These are industries suggested, and then there are House-hold Arts to make a start to reach the desired goal, with the following minimum subjects.- Cooking, suited also for invalids, Domestic Economy, suited to Indian conditions, Hygiene and Sanitation, First-aid, Nursing, Domestic gardening, Management of domestic animals, Sewing, Dressmaking, Embroidery, Lace work, treating infants according to Ayurvedic system (*Bala Ckikalsa*), etc. These are the various subjects recommended for adoption in Girls' schools".⁵

The Government of Cochin formulated a policy of industrial development through industrial education. The Government decided to impart technical and industrial education to the people.

Separation of Industrial and Technological Institute

C. J. Mathew moved the resolution "that this Council recommends to the Government that a Director of Industries be appointed at once to look after the industrial concerns of the State. C. J. Mathew quoted the report of the Industrial Commission (p.66) and stated as follows " Their most important conclusions were that the headship of a technological institute should be separated from the Directorship of Industries owing to the fact that a scientist was required for the former and a man of general industrial and economic knowledge with a business instinct for the latter, and the truth that the science of directing and organising industrial concerns can only be learned by experience and not in technological institutes however elaborate their equipment may be"⁶ It is stated in the industrial commission report that no town can thrive in industries unless there is a director for that work with good experience in business.

State Aided Industrial Bank

In the Legislative Council, Mr. Joseph Pettah requested the establishment of a State aided industrial bank in Cochin "Cochin has so far been an agricultural country but we have great scope of industrial development. We have all the necessaries for industrial growth, such as a plentiful supply of raw materials, very cheap labour, etc. The only handicap to industrial development here in Cochin is the paucity of capital. If we have an industrial bank, especially a State Aided Industrial Bank, it would be quite easy to borrow foreign capital at very low rates of interest, but that could not be done by any industrial concern."⁷

The Economic Development Committee

Mr. K.T. Mathew proposed a resolution in favor of the establishment of the Economic Development Committee. "This Council recommends that the Economic Development Committee shall be so constituted as to have at least two-thirds of its members elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Council"⁸ It was realised that it would be more profitable if the activities of the several departments were co-ordinated. The Industrial Advisory Board remedied this defect to some extent. But a wider organization with a larger

sphere of activity was considered desirable and an Economic Development Committee was constituted in 1926 to formulate suggestions for the improvement of the economic resources of the State.⁹

Development of Industries in Cochin

The Government had to take up the initiative in the matter of starting and organising a few new industries in the State. Of the large-scale industries flourishing in the State of private enterprises, the weaving and spinning industry were the most outstanding. The Sita Ram Spinning and Weaving Mills at Pushpagiri, Trichur, was the oldest. By the end of 1116 M.E. (1940-41), the Mills started working all the twenty-four hours of the day and in 1944, employing on an average 2,800 people of whom about 1,000 were females.¹⁰

The Joint Stock Concern, the Cochin Textiles at Pudukkad, was another important industrial concern. Dr. Alagappa Chettiar was its founder. The Mill was declared open in February 1938. The concern was wound up and the factory in 1945 was owned by a private limited company with a registered capital of Rs.10 lakh. In 1945, a new company, the Alagappa Textiles, was registered in Trichur.¹¹

Coconut oil pressing is an important organized industry. The increasing demand for the oil and the consequent increased prices has stimulated the activity of the people in planting trees and in expressing oil. Malabar *copra* (dried kernal of the cocoanut) in general yields high quality oil and, under the trade name of 'Cochin oil', it has always commanded a good price in the world's markets. Oil pressing was a cottage industry from time immemorial. The different oils expressed in the State can serve as raw materials for the manufacture of soaps. The Tatas have already taken to this industry and their soaps have begun to command markets. The manufacture of coir has always been a domestic occupation in the coastal districts. With the increasing demand for coir products factories are springing up. There are many other fibrous plants growing wild in the State, out of which ropes of varying thickness, intensity and strength, mats and mats mattings being manufactured. In 1930-31, 570842 square yards of such mats and mattings were shipped

from the port of Cochin. The geology of the State is such that it provides materials for building purposes and for the successful conduct of a ceramic industry. The red clay deposits in certain parts of the State have been tested and found to be highly suitable for the manufacture of bricks, terracotta and tiles, and an expanding industry in the manufacture of tiles and bricks have already been built up. The Government Stoneware Factory at Chalakkudi was started with the object of manufacturing glazed wares. Metal industries remind us of Moosaris, the hereditary bell-metal workers of Cochin. There are about 1,500 of them in the State.

Electrification of Trichur and Ernakulam

During the tenure of Sir Shanmukham Chetty, a major step was taken to make electricity available at a favorable rate in the State for industrial purposes. The availability of cheap power in the State made it easy to organize industrial concerns. He took steps to electrify Trichur and Ernakulam for the development of industry. Sir Shanmukham Chetty discussed the matter with the promoters and then addressed His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin. As a result of the license granted for the electrification of Trichur and Ernakulam, proposals were made for the start of textile mills in these places.

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ROLE OF THUH FAT AL - MUJAHIDHEEN IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY IDENTITY OF MUSLIMS IN COLONIAL MALABAR

Dr. P.K. Aneesudheen

In Kerala, like the other places, people identify, recognise and understand others on the basis of their identities.¹ That means each and every individual in a society is the reflection of various kinds of identities such as religion,

Industrial Exhibitions

The influence of industrial and agricultural exhibitions in promoting industrial expansion was kept in view and various exhibitions were organized by the Dewan in the State. The State also participated in many outside exhibitions, the chief of them being the Salem Municipal Exhibition, Park Fair Exhibition, Madras, All India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition and Mysore Dasara Exhibition.¹²

A series of legislative measures were introduced in the Council which helped the development of industries in the state. Industries Dispute Bill, Industrial Statistics Bill, Factories Act, Sale of Goods Act, Rubber Control Act, Trade Marks Bill, Trade Dispute Act, State Aid to Industries Amendment Act, The Cochin Minimum Wages Bill etc. were introduced in the Council. The members of the legislative council presented various suggestions for the development of Cochin and also used the platform of legislative council for criticising the indifferent attitude of the government towards the problems of industrial development of the State. Thus the Cochin Legislative Council played an important role in the industrial development of Cochin.

culture and region, ethnic, politics and so on. Moreover identity, whether it is ascribed or assumed, is a crucial factor in the process of identification of an individual. That is why Dilip M. Menon says "Every individual is the sum of

different identities - religious, ethnic, regional and so on - each of which is contextual and constantly shifting".² It indicates that identity of an individual is a dynamic one that undergoes the process of re-definition and reformulation. It affirms Ghanshyam Shah "Identity formation which is often, but not always, a cultural construct, is a process of 'inclusion and exclusion' of values and symbols defining *we* and *they* or *us* and *others*".³

In the context of modern Kerala religion, caste, language, occupation, geographical divisions are some of the common factors on which people generally construct or derive their identities. Identity may also be assigned to an individual by administrative mechanisms like census enumerations, historians, social scientists, writers, social or political leaders and overtime may be imbibed by a community and its members. In this context the present paper makes an attempt to unveil the fact how far the writings, from 15th century onwards, were responsible for the articulation and establishment of social and community identities of the Muslims, better known as Mappila⁴ Muslims, in the erstwhile Malabar district of the British Madras Presidency. For the purpose it takes the writing of Sheikh Zainudheen Makhdum's *Tuhfat al Mujahidheen*⁵ as a case to illustrate the process of articulation and establishment of community identity of a community - Mappila Muslims of Malabar.

Sheikh Ahmed Zainudheen bin Sheikh Abdul Azeez grandson of Sheikh Zainudheen Makhdum Kabeer, was the writer, orator, historian, jurist and spiritual leader and widely known as Zainudheen Makhdum II or Zainudheen Makhdum Al Sageer was born to the Makhdum family in the early months of Hijra 938 (c. 1531 CE) at Chombal, near Mahe. His family originated from Ma'bar Yemen.⁶ He inherited the legacy of his grandfather and received religious instruction under the supervision of his grandfather. He completed his primary education under his father Muhammed Gazzali and his uncle Abdul Azeez Bin Sheikh Makhdum Al Avval and left for Makkah for further study. He performed the Hajj and settled there for ten years imbibing Islamic knowledge from exponents of Islamic law and other branches of knowledge. He received the guidance of famous scholars such as Al Hafiz

Shihabudheen bin Al Hajr Al Haithemi, Grand Mufti of Haramain (chief jurisprudent of Makkah and Madina) and commentator in Hadith and Fiqh, Izzuddeen bin Abdul Azeez al Zamzami, Shiekh Abdul Rahman bin Ziyad and Sayyid Abdul Rahman Al Safwi. He gained the Tassawwuf (Sufi spiritual knowledge) from Kutub Zaban Zain Ul Arifeen Muhammed Bin Sheikh Ul Arif Abu Hasan Al Bakri and was honoured with eleven Khirkath, symbol of grade in Tareeqath. Within a short period he was hailed as the Sheikh of Qadriya Tareeqath. After the decade-long stay in Makkah, he returned to Kerala and took charge as Chief Mufti in the grand Masjid of Ponnani, a position he occupied for the next thirty-six years. A historian recorded that his mentor Ibn Hajar Hithami had come to Ponnani and stayed there for a short period.⁷

Sheikh Zainudheen Makhdum's *Tuhfat al Mujahidheen* is a brief narrative history of the Muslims of Kerala - during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D, their relationship with the native rulers and their epic struggle against the Portuguese.⁸ Actually Zainudheen Makhdum wrote the work in classical Arabic in 1583, and it gives an account of the geography of Southern India, also. It has been translated into more than 36 languages. The original of *Tuhfat* was published by Dr. Shyamsullah Qadiri in 1931 from Hyderabad. The first English translation of *Tuhfat* was done by Lt N. J. Rawlandson.⁹

Tuhfat is divided into four Sections; the first part calls the Muslims for Jihad against the Portuguese by citing from Quran and Hadith. Section two deals with the advent and spread of Islam in Malabar. Third section highlights the strange customs and practices of Hindus in Malabar. The major portion of the work i.e., the fourth section gives the entire historical account of the Portuguese contacts from the time of their first arrival to Malabar in 1498 A D right up to 1583 A D, covering a period about eighty five years.¹⁰ The main thrust of the work was that Shaykh Zainudheen wanted to raise the whole Muslims of Kerala against the atrocities and miseries inflicted by the Portuguese upon them, in particular, and up on Kerala, in general.¹¹ In order to wake up the Muslims against the oppressors he calls for a *Jihad*¹². In fact it is clear that Sheikh Zainudheen wrote the work to

raise the morale and self-confidence of the Muslims. For that he widely quotes the *Quranic* verses and *Hadith*¹³ and continuously reminds the Muslims about the offerings of the Almighty if one becomes martyr in His path.¹⁴

In the beginning Shaykh Zainudheen clearly shows how a Muslim should be. Then he writes that by leading a life based upon religion a true Muslim can fulfil his duties on the earth, which entrusted upon him by the Almighty, Holy Quran and *Hadith*, by leading a religious life. Zainudheen writes “Allah made the religion of Islam superior to all other religions and raised its adherents in dignity by stages over time”.¹⁵ He continues “Allah has conferred on us Muslims a special honour that other communities do not enjoy”. To further substantiate the arguments Zainudheen quotes the Holy Quran “You are the best community that has been raised up for mankind”.¹⁶

Makhdam writes “The Portuguese invaded the Muslim abodes and subjected them to all kinds of oppressions. The abominable atrocities and cruelties the Portuguese openly unleashed on the Muslims were countless. This Portuguese reign lasted for more than eighty years. By that time, the condition of the Muslims had become extremely pathetic. They could not find a way to get out of this wretched hole... so I am giving inspiration to the believers to wage *Jihad* against the cross-worshipping Portuguese”.¹⁷

In this manner Sheikh Zainudheen was trying to exemplify how a true Muslim should be. He himself believes and tries to believe others that Muslims are the superior people on the earth, they are the best religious people in the world and Islam is the supreme religion on the earth. This very understanding and expression, may, empower or enable the Muslims to believe that they and their religion are supreme and the other religions and religionists are below them. More over it also helps the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims to construct and ascribe an exclusive identity to the Muslims. At the same time Zainudheen never tried to deride and belittle the other religions of Kerala. Even though, when reading *Tuhfat al Mujahidheen* one thing is very vivid that the other religions of the world, especially in Kerala are below or inferior to Islam. Because, Zainudheen believed that, the Almighty Allah created Muslims of all over the

world as the best community of mankind in the world.¹⁸

This kind of messages are enough powerful to create a clear cut demarcation among the different religions of Kerala. And by the reading of the text there is every possibility for an understanding that Muslims are above of the others and they have a better position in the social hierarchy. At the same time the other religionists may have the feeling of inferior and they look the Muslims indifferently.

In a word, the *Tuhfat al Mujahidheen* was/is influential and responsible for the creation of community identity and communal stereotype in Kerala, at least among the Muslims. Thus with the passage of time, the community/communal consciousness of the Muslims further strengthened and consolidated by the colonial administrative machineries and other non administrative writings. These resulted in the emergence of exclusive community identity, mentality and attitude among the Muslims of Kerala. So it is sure that the writings of Shaykh Zainudheen Makhdam are responsible and liable for the creation of community/communal identity and communal stereotypes in the society or at least among the Muslims of Kerala.

Gradually these notions or usages were became the accepted norms of the social identity of the Muslims of Malabar. Gyanendra Pandey's argument ‘communal identity is the production of colonial modernity’¹⁹ is very relevant in this context, because with the advent of the foreigners there started an era of denoting various communities on the basis of foreign concepts and categories. This became more effective with the arrival of the British.

The British colonial construction was discursive and non- discursive and through this process Hindu and Muslim communities became viable and congruous subjects.²⁰ Administrative and semi-administrative writings and the new method of classification and ordering were imposed on a population, creating new groups that became real in course of time. Hereafter Government records, writings and classifications of people were on the basis of his/her religion or created stereotypes.

To conclude, the present paper argues that *Tuhfat* was/is very influential in the creation/

construction of community identity of the Muslims in the Colonial Malabar. But at the same time it is clear that this identity was not like religious bigot or religious fanatic one instead it is a secular and patriotic one. Because *Tuhfat* urged the Muslims to unite and fight against the colonialists to save the land at the

time of nationalism or national feeling was totally absent in India. May be that is why Malabar did not become a Portuguese colony. Historian KKN Kurup writes "If Communist Manifesto is a sword to the poor; *Tuhfat* is a sword to the fighting gentry against colonialism".²¹

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SITUATING THE FORT IN THE URBAN SPACE OF PALAKKAD:1800-1930

P. Anitha

In this paper, an endeavour is made to understand how a fort is being situated in the urban space of Palakkad, how the colonial power took over its possession, its strategic importance, different utilities of fort, the deteriorating condition of the fort, measures undertaken by the colonial government to dispose it off, how they refrained from doing so and the present condition of the fort.

Understanding the strategic importance of Palghat, Haider Ali started the construction of a fort which was completed by his son Tipu

Sultan. The British understood its importance and established their dominance over it as a result of the Seringapatnam treaty in 1782¹. This Palakkad fort was situated in the taluk of Palghat amshom and deshom is Yakkara, its length is 487 ft and breadth is 487 ft. As far as its construction was concerned, rampart and bastions are built of granite and laterite contains embrasures for canons. The fort was surrounded by a deep moat and a trench on the southern side and also a bridge on the eastern side. It has two gates, one with doors and one without. Inside there was a small tank having

steps. The fort had also ditched building for arsenal magazine and dispensary. There was also a well of most excellent drinking water.²

Logan who was the Acting as Assistant Collector makes enquires to the concerned officials to ascertain the condition of the Fort and also, whether the fort was to be permanently converted into a jail, and instructs that Palghat Tahsildar should be provided with a new building. It was hot during the summer and impossible to work in the monsoon season and enquires about what further arrangement can be made and also regarding the finances.³ Acting Secretary⁴ informs that the Palghat Tahsildar's office was removed from the buildings in the fort to make room for convicts. The present building in which Tahsildar and other clerks were relocated was a very inconvenient building in the bazaar. The

As on 31 st Dec. 1870 ⁶				
Year	Chinese	Malaya	Burmese	Total
1870	64	39	40	143
1871	45	32	69	146
1872	28	21	116	175
1873	41	16	137	194
1874	36	15	155	206
1875	32	14	181	227
1876	27	14	197	238
1877	13	6	202	221
1878	12	2	233	247

From the above table it could be understood that, of the total 247 foreign convicts 215 were under sentence of transportation for life and 32 are term transportation convicts. As a matter of economic measure, permanent jail buildings should be constructed within the fort at Palghat. It was also further communicated to the revenue department that it was not likely that Palghat fort would cease to be occupied by the Jail department.⁷

Meanwhile the condition of the fort deteriorated greatly and in order to avoid unwanted expenses permission was sought to close down the jail at Palghat.

Revenue Department directed, that it may be ascertained from Inspector General of Jails what it was proposing to do with Palghat fort. This was being referred to IG⁵ of Jails for report, to which it was replied that it does not recommend the closure of the fort jails in Palghat. He furnishes the statistics i.e. the Central and District jails in this Presidency were constructed to contain 11,860 prisoners, but there were 22,090 prisoners (almost double) if remission was carried out the number of prisoners may decrease. Thus a series of correspondences were done between the officials to know the exact position of the fort and what to do with it in future

In Palghat, number of prisoners in the fort jail were increasing, as there was restriction on the deportation to Port Blair. The numbers of foreign convicts were also increasing.

Jail consists of three substantially built blocks constructed of pise⁸ and fitted with strong iron barred doors and windows. Each of the 3 blocks was divided into 7 wards for 63 prisoners in each block. The blocks were built of pise work by convict labour under the direction of the Superintendent. The cost of doors, windows, fittings etc has been Rs. 2,530/-.⁹ The Collector will resume the charge of the fort and buildings in it and the sanction to close is temporary. Hearing this news of temporary closure of the fort, Head Master of Palghat High School enquires if certain buildings in the fort at Palghat could be used as class rooms, as new classrooms are under erection. It was felt to be a good time-being arrangement.¹⁰

Collector of Malabar reports that he had taken charge of the fort jail and forwarded a statement of it.

Some jail stores are still left in the fort, disposal considered only after the instruction from IG of jails. There are 6 blocks of permanent buildings within fort, 5 of which used as offices and 6th as a subjail. Of these 2 can be used as taluk Cutchery and Treasury room, one as a Sub Registers room, one taluk police station, one as Assistant Police Superintendent office and last as subjail. Other small buildings can be used as kitchen for subjail prisoners and tiffin rooms for officers located in the fort. Another permanent structure

inside the fort was formerly used as a magazine room, when a garrison was stationed at Palakkad. Now it could be converted into an office. Records of certain repair works which were undertaken in the fort is also available, of the room where arsenal is kept in Palghat by the military department. The materials and workmanship supplied in repairing the flooring, doorway and whitewashing of the arsenal, occupied as regimental storehouse in the fort at Palghatcherry executed by the order of the Chief Engineer dated 20th May 1866. The details of materials used were bricks, gallnut, jaggery, measures of shells, bricklayers. Workers are given total rupees amounting to Rs 72 - 1 - 8. The building was also whitewashed on April 1854. The work was supposed to be started on 23rd March and completed on 7th April 1859. I.W. Douglas was the lieutenant in Corps of 21st regiment also makes a declaration as to the amount used and says that rate charged for are the best to his knowledge which is the lowest procurable of the station.¹¹ Of the 3 temporary blocks of building of pise work which was constructed by the jail department, one was required by the Inspector of schools, for accommodating students of 6th division, High school in Palghat, till their construction of new building is completed. Regarding the proposal of the IG of jails to dismantle them and sell the materials by public auction in the event of their not being required by any department, it was hereby proposed to keep them as they were for the present, to be utilized as mentioned above and early orders were sought on the subject to avoid further payment of office rent for the private buildings now occupied by several department.

But the Head Assistant Collector, Palghat on 4th May 1882 writes to the Collector of Malabar that the Tahsildar reports that if the thatched building in the fort are not disposed off, these buildings will fall down and materials would be destroyed during monsoon. Jail has to be removed as many buildings were under repair, an early sale of materials is sought and that there is no possibility of jail being again established in the fort.

This discussion goes on as to the relevance of the existences of the fort, as it is in a dilapidated condition and to repair it was very expensive and unworthy. Fort dates back,

though not in its present form to 1766 when Haider Ali built it to secure his communication between Coimbatore and West coast. Subsequently it was completely rebuilt on approved European principle. Colonel Fullerton who had captured it describes it as a 'place of first strength in India'. Square in shape with walls of immense thickness and strong bastions at four corners and in the centre, the fort must be seen to be impregnable in those days. A deep moat was to be crossed by a single draw bridge which can be reached by a covered way through the glacis. Col.Fullerton stormed the fort on 15th November 1784 after a siege which lasted for eleven days, along with Captain Maitland took advantage of the heavy rainfall to drive the enemy. It was said that when the English evacuated the fort and it was taken over by the Zamorins troops. Later by about 1790 it was finally recaptured by the English.¹²

A tiffin stall started functioning in the old sub jail cells which was abandoned when a new sub-jail was built at Palghat. The rooms were in a state of disuse for several years and PWD had done some minor works to make it usable. Rs 10/ is a reasonable rent to be charged from the tiffin vendor. The stall was intended mainly for the convenience of the Government officials employed in the fort.¹³

A small issue cropped up between the Executive Engineer and the Tahasildar over the coffee stall within the fort. The Executive Engineer inspected the fort and said that there was no need to keep two rooms for PWD, and one room can be utilised for preparing the food and the other one for serving it. Only a door will be needed and that would not cost much. The Tahasildar was against the whole idea as according to him the whole place would get dirty and rats would breed leading to plague. It was then pointed out that as Tahasildar could not keep his surroundings and compound clean, it is not likely that he would keep the taluk in much order. He was instructed to keep the surroundings clean. Meanwhile the Municipal Chairman issued an order that he would not give the license to the highest bidder as this place was unfit to be used as an coffee shop. A letter from Malabar Collector, requesting Executive Engineer to furnish him with the estimate for the construction of coffee shop in the fort can be seen. The approval of

the Archaeological Survey would also be necessary for the erection of the building within the fort. A memorandum by Chief Engineer Coimbatore Circle dated 30th January, 1928, that the proposed building to be treated as a tiffin shed for the use of the members of several offices located in the fort, to be auctioned every year. Therefore the sanction of the Government would not be necessary provided the cost does not exceed the powers of the Collector. The Superintending Engineer was required to arrange for the preparation of plans and estimate after obtaining the approval of Superintendent, Archaeological Department and forward it to Collector. An estimate of Rs 2700/

was forwarded and in the proposed construction two stalls, one for Hindus and other for Christians and Mohammedans was detailed.¹⁴ The fort was put to number of uses. School building, offices, prisons, even a tiffin stall was also opened. In the tea stall opened we find separate rooms for the Hindus, Christians as well as Mohammedans.¹⁵ In the beginning, the authorities had plans to demolish it but later changed their decisions. Thus the fort and the surrounding areas always posed a strong symbol of dominance and power of the British rule in India. It is still maintained in good condition by the Archaeological Survey of India.

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THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF DISABILITY STATISTICS: A CRITIQUE ON COLONIAL CENSUS IN INDIA

N.V. Baby Rizwana

Introduction

Traditionally, Disability Statistics is the information which counts the blinds, the deaf and the loco motor disabled into different groups to decide who deserves several kinds of disability benefits of the existing policies¹. This categorization and statistical - numerical strategy has got only a limited purpose. Because, this strategy convinces society that disabled fits neatly into certain categories with

clear boundaries. But the new studies suggest that this categorization of the Disability Statistics has a lot to provide for the disability welfare plan of the state². A deep understanding of the Disability Statistics provides an important role in the welfare policy making of the state. This set of information can be an asset from the very stage of planning and implementation, in checking the objectives, monitoring the impacts and analyzing cost effectiveness of the policy. Disability welfare policies are incomplete

without valid data. The effectiveness of these policies can be brought out only by ensuring solid data collection which is provided by the census.

The Important Role of Census Disability Statistics

There is a scarcity and poor quality of information on people with disabilities in most of the countries. Census is the biggest as well as the most appropriate tool to collect the information on people with disabilities. The census takes a broad approach while dealing with disability considering not only disabilities but also its causes and social impacts³. "Conducting the census, and sharing its feedback with civil society, provided an opportunity not only to deliver the results, but also to position the disability paradigm and the new way of measuring disability"⁴. A nationwide household survey census can accurately estimate disability. "It is critical for countries to be able to identify the number of people who experience disability, as well as the unmet needs, barriers and inequalities they face. By doing so, governments are better placed to provide the services people with disability need"⁵ and census can be an open door to do so.

The role of disability statistics in the census plays an important role in the matters of state. Protection and promotion policies for the disabled should be monitored and assessed continuously. This job cannot be done without a sound and updated statistics of the conditions of the disabled in a locality. The assessment of these statistical data can give a clear picture of how close are they to their goals. "Information about functional status is integral to identify needs since two individuals with the same impairment may face different types of difficulties in undertaking certain activities, and so have different needs that require different kinds of interventions"⁶. These functional data of the disability statistics also help the state to understand the social needs of a person with disabilities. The functional data can give an insight to the need of different assistive technologies which are to be provided by the state policies in the field of employment and education"⁷. Population disability data is essential for monitoring the quality and outcomes of policies for persons with

disabilities. In particular, these data help to identify policy outcomes that maximize the participation of persons with disabilities in all areas of social life from transportation and communication, to participation in religious and community life. With valid and complete disability statistics, state agencies will have the tools for assessing the cost-effectiveness of policies for persons with disabilities, which in turn can provide the evidence to persuade governments of their ultimate benefit for all citizens"⁸.

The idea of disability is multidimensional. It is defined as an interaction between certain conditions of the disabled along with their physical and social barriers⁹. Disability as an idea cannot stand alone¹⁰. It is important to see the medical, individual, social and environmental influence of disability and disabled. Careful examination of the disability statistics in the census and surveys can give us information on these influences. Disability statistics in census should include of the factors like levels of functions which are the combination of body functions and structures, activities and participation, impairment and activity limitations and participation restrictions. The census includes an understanding of the functional levels of the disabled in the levels of body, person, society and environment. This information give us an insight regarding the need of availability of assistive devices, family and community support, supportive services and policies and attitudes of different people to the disabled and their health conditions such as diseases, disorders and injuries¹¹. Census also helps the state to formulate welfare reform initiatives. Even though colonial policies cannot be addressed as welfare policies, census numbers gave colonial policy makers an overall picture of the population they should be dealing with. This helped them to provide special education and the medical care to needed disabled, especially among the categories of insane and blind. The disability data also can provide other information like trained manpower available for the care of disabled. This analysis gives an idea regarding the number of special schools both governments and private. Information on different facilities which are already available as well as those that are required for them can also be estimated through this analysis. Census data can also

provide valuable assessment of the Disabilities Act. The legal acts of colonial India on infirmities were strongly supported by the census numbers. The potential of the value of data in defending the civil rights of disabled has been realized in general after the introduction of disabilities in the census¹². Without the backing of a strong legal rights forum one cannot assume disabled can easily access to their promised clause in the welfare programs. Census can also be helpful in realizing the role of the state in the devolution and reinvention of the welfare policies.

The main advantage of disability information in the colonial census is that the data can be tabulated for small, local areas and usually, census detailed descriptive cross-tabulations are not subject to sampling errors. If disability questions remain comparable, they can be useful analysis of disability rates across time. The census can also provide a useful sampling frame for research on persons with disabilities who are otherwise difficult to find, the same way colonial census data became an important source for this particular research. Census can also provide information on the population of people with disabilities and its diversity. It includes the frail elderly, persons with mental retardation or other developmental disabilities (MR/DD), adults with physical disabilities or mental illness and children with disabilities. While the specific needs of these groups vary, they share common concerns and aspirations.

The main purpose of the disability statistics is to form actions concerning the disabled. The data provided can help authorities to understand the needs of a disabled, both individually as well as socially. The Disability Statistics also helps the authorities to uplift the disabled with equality in different sectors of the society. In 2001, The Washington Group on Disability Statistics¹³ was formed according to the suggestion of the UN for the measurement of disabilities. The purpose of the group is to bring together scholars specialized in research methodologies and form an International Co-operation Body to improve the methodology for recording disability data. The main job of the group was to form general questions and enquiries regarding disability which could be used in the census and surveys all over the

world¹⁴. The group divided the purpose of the disability data in to two sections; the general purpose and the particular purpose¹⁵. The general purpose of the disability data is to assist the development and evaluation of programs and policies, to monitor the level of functioning of the disabled population and to assess equalization of opportunities. Unfortunately, the colonial census only realized the half of this general purpose. Their purpose was to collect the information and hand it over to the government. The enumerators didn't try to suggest anything new or to monitor the already existed policies.

Different types of data tools are used in the census to collect the information of the disabled¹⁶. The tools are selected and implemented based on the objectives of the census. Information about the levels of organs and structures, activity limitations and participation restrictions are different. They serve different purposes in the census. Each of these requires different tools for collection¹⁷. It is possible to classify the information on activity limitation and data of participation restriction. But it is important to know that this process doesn't create a greater social impact because it represents a distorted data on disability. This data can be the "one that ignores the role of environmental factors in the actual lived experienced of a person with health decrements that affect capacity"¹⁸. In order to create a better social impact of the census of disabled the details regarding the factors like assistive technology, accommodations, accessibility, transportation, accommodations policies in social policy and unaccommodating physical environment should also be included¹⁹. These factors weren't taken into consideration in the colonial census.

The inclusion of the disability in the census is the result of the recognition that disability is first and foremost a human rights issue. This status of human right issue was given to disability in 1981 was observed as the International Year of Disabled²⁰. In 1989 the Convention on the Rights of the Child by UN was held. It was after this convention India started recognizing disability issues as human right issues. Inclusion of disability statistics in the census may reduce the lack of concern for the disabled. Whenever the census commission

defines disability, it should be broad enough to cover the interests of the disabled which were never the case of colonial India. The program administrators should have an awareness about the groups they deal with. The census organizers also should understand the meaning of the different terms associated with disability. The confusions with local terms of disability were the biggest challenge colonial enumerators faced in India.

A census must have the definition and the model of disability checked before further deciding the strategies. Colonial India's understanding of disability was different. They did not believe in the theory of karma in the discourse on disability. Even though colonial understanding was deeply rooted in the Christian ideologies, they didn't look at disability as a curse. They incorporated moral model²¹ in to medical model²². Today, bio-psycho-social model are the accepted model to define disability. The bio-psycho-social model follows multidimensional approach. According to this model disability is the result of the interaction between a person's health conditions, environment factors (social attitude social structure) and personal factors like age, gender, social background and education²³. The psycho social model understands disability as a phenomenon which has both medical and social dimensions. This model looks at medical and rehabilitation intervention with a greater role in the development of disabled and addresses the body label aspects of disability.

Whenever there is a need for census data on disability, four things should be remembered. Universality should be ensured. This means function and disability should be applicable to all people and census should not a tool for labeling disabled as a separate group. Parity should be assured to the disabled. The language used should be neutral and the classification should express both positive and negative aspects of functioning and disability. The language used by the colonial census was not neutral, especially when it comes to the insanity. As it mentioned earlier terms like insanity and idiots are used to show disability in a negative way and today these considered as unprofessional to use. There must be a consideration for the environment factors especially for the factors such as terrain, climate,

institutions, social attitude and laws²⁴ which was noted by the colonial census. Standardized concepts and terminologies should be used in the disability measurement.

The standard terms and concepts in census should be accepted in terms of three things; function at the body level, function at the level of whole persons and the person as a whole in the social context. Health condition, functions, disability, body functions, body structures and impairment are the standardized terms disability census data. 'Health condition' is an umbrella term for disease (acute or chronic) injury, disorder, pregnancy, congenital anomaly and ageing in census. 'Functioning' is an umbrella term for activities, participation, body structures and body functions. 'Disability' means impairment, activity limitations and participation restrictions. 'Body functions' are the functions of human organism as a whole including brain which is considered as mind or psychological. 'Body structures' are the anatomical parts of human body such as organs, limbs and other components. 'Impairment' means the loss of the function of a body structure or physiological function. Activity limitations are the difficulties a person face when executing an activity. 'Participation restrictions' are the problems an individual may face in involvement of a situation. 'Barriers' are factors in a person's environment that, through their absence or presence, limit functioning and create disability. Colonial census lacks all these terms in their section of infirmities except impairment. It is a given fact that these terms are developed in the 21st century.

The differences in the vernacular languages and disabilities related terms were a main challenge before the colonial enumerators. There were different terms to denote white leprosy and black leprosy. In some provinces, one term denoted both conditions. The same problem was encountered in case of blindness as well. Same terms were employed to denote both full and partially blind. For example, the word for one eyed in the whole of upper India was applied to the Brahmaputra valley as totally blind. In some census operations, the disability was not at all specified in the tabulation process. They only mentioned whether one is suffering from the infirmity or not. There was also a serious issue related to diagnosis.

Temporary attacks which looked like infirmities were included in the census. For example, insanity was confused with hallucinations caused by high fever and leprosy was confused with Lukoderma.

Capacity is a construct that should be understood by the census enumerators. It means the highest probable level of functioning that a person may reach in a domain in the activities and participation list at a given moment. The collection of the data should be based on approaches. There are three kinds of approaches; Impairment approach, Activity and participation approach and Environment and factor approach. Impairment approach is based on the body structures and functions and referred to the physiological, psychological, structural and anatomical functions of the body. The impairment approach is used to collect the data of the direct impacts of the diseases and disorders. Such data can be beneficial for the implementation of medical and rehabilitative services. The impairment approach is the common approach which is straight forward. This approach was adopted by the colonial authorities in their census. They tried to collect information on four impairments and its direct impact on life. The real challenge of this approach is to include even the minute disability. But lack of careful use of this data can lead to distorted picture of disability in the population level. Under this method the day to day life of the disabled and the social impact of disability may get under reported. Activity approach gives data on the health related functional limitations of a person's ability to perform actions. This information is important to assess the role of training, assistive devices, and modification of the environment and also give information on the day to day life of the disabled.

Whenever the census includes questions about disability it should be in simple form and attract simple answers too. It can be multiple choice questions and single response questions. A question should include single concept and one question should involve one impairment. It is also important to get information on the degree of disability, instead of a mere yes or no response. The level of disability can be stated from no difficulty to mild difficulty and from moderate difficulty to severe difficulty and

complete difficulty. Colonial census question lacks this kind of categorization.

There are a number of procedures to do between the finalization of the question paper and the actual field work. The first is the publicity campaign to raise the awareness about the role of disability survey in the census which will introduce the agency responsible for the census to the public. But these procedures weren't done in colonial India as the yearly census started as a social experiment. Another step is to recruit the interviewers and supervisors to do the census. It is important to train interviewers, because it can help ensuring the application of the tools, motivate them and it can provide practical suggestions.

Before collecting the information and deciding the questions in the census a set of questions are to be answered so that it can give clarity on what kind of questions should be addressed. The following questions such as what should be the scope and coverage? And how should disability be operationalised were addressed in colonial census. But questions like should there be different questions or questionnaires for different sub-populations, how do we solve issues with the language and terminology we use, how do we solve basic methodology issues of sample design, sample frame, sample unit, stratification, weighting and so on were hardly caught any place in the colonial census.

Collecting data about the disabled is difficult. Two important things to be noted during the data collection are the data collection tools and unit of measurement of disability. Census and sample survey are the important tools to collect the data on persons with disabilities. Census is the wholesome study that aims the entire population data that provides facts which are important to the government planning, policy and administration. Sample survey is a "study that collects planned information from a sample of individuals about their history, habits, knowledge, attitudes or behavior in order to estimate particular population characteristics"²⁵. Administrative data bases is that stored information collected for the purpose dealing with health care system. This information is stored by hospitals and insurers. The Population census certainly has the "advantage of providing complete

population coverage. Unfortunately, it is difficult to collect accurate information about disability in a census since time constraints make it unlikely that more than 4 to 6 general disability questions can be asked. Censuses, in some instances, also undercount children with disabilities and people with mild or moderate disabilities (in cases where the response categories are limited to 'Yes' or 'No' options only).

There were significant issues and gaps in coverage when disability data is incorporated in the colonial census. So it is the job of the census department to decide the area of coverage. Improved coordination and planning and priority are needed to make the best use of the data bases. It is also difficult to use longitude data bases on the disabled population. The other problem of disability census data is that it is very difficult to associate medical care information to the data bases. Census should include findings on disability along with other demographic variables of age, sex and income. The main disadvantage of the census data is that data collection is infrequent since it is conducted every 10 years. The time between data collection and data dissemination can be considerable. In some censuses, populations in institutions with disabilities may not be included. Census is subject to high non-response rates and under-enumeration because of the complexity and sensitivity of the question. It is costly and time-consuming to identify a relative small population of the disabled by asking questions of the entire population. It may be too costly to train enumerators in the specific guidelines required for disability questions.

A Critique on Colonial Census Data of Disability

The change in terminology in different colonial census also shows that colonial understanding of the illnesses and disabilities were evolving into a more inclusive one. For example, when the first census addressed insane in a vague manner, the second census titled the particular section as persons with 'unsound mind' which included both insane and imbeciles, report state²⁶. Thus, the colonial understanding of the situation was evolved to the point where they started realizing insanes are not the only category those who were with unsound mind. Census records tried to

eliminate these people in the calculations but the trend was not universal. Moreover, there was no universal definition to the term of insanes at that time. Some provinces included congenitally weak minded in the records while some provinces avoided this. Certain other provinces even went on to add idiots and imbecile to the records while some others did not. Such a non-universality helped congenital weak minded to get a place in the records. The multiple disabilities were also started to be taken into account at this time. It is a fact that multi disabilities were prone to happen to those who are mentally disabled. This trend was seen among the children who born with mental impairments. These children were more likely to develop or born blind and deaf. Those who were born with mental disability won't be able to articulate and communicate with in the social system like normal people. Their lack of skills in communication led to speech problems in future. Muteness and speech disabilities were also likely to be developed in the future with kids with mental disabilities. Thus, taking this factor into consideration for the census records was a big step. The colonial census failed to collect the information on acquired and continues nature of the disabilities. Hence the background and environment of the disabled always deserve to be a really important matter of concern. Disabled face difficulties in daily life due to their environment or impairment which eventually lead in to permanent disability²⁷. Many of these situations can be avoided if the census records can include precise information on their conditions and the government can execute welfare programs.

Cognitive disability was not well defined as physical disability when it is entered in the colonial census. Cognitive disabilities are hard to explain and according to the severity it can be developmental too. Whether to consider cognitive disabilities as physical disabilities or not is of huge concern and it can also change estimation number in totality. Many of the causes of the infirmities explained in the colonial census were absurd. Lack of the deep understanding of the scientific and genetic reasons behind these infirmities were not discussed. Instead the over emphasis on terrain, climate and alcoholism deviated colonial authorities' understanding of the reasons from scientific to speculation and assumptions. When

it comes to the problem of deafness, census enumerators looked at old age deafness than congenital which is the real criteria of deafness as disability. The insanity was considered as violent and in reality, this will not be violent in most cases. Interestingly, some people were omitted from the insane census because colonial enumerators consider them not mad enough to be taken as insane. The role of hereditary was not discussed fully as the reason for infirmities and they over emphasized on the use of ganja as the reason for insanity and other infirmities.

The colonial census enumerators were non-professional persons who weren't really familiar with the methodology and understanding of both census and disability. This created a lot of confusion when it came to the collection of the data. The willful concealment of the disabilities from the public also created problems in creating correct tabulation. This understatement was also caused by the exclusion of some provinces in some census. For instance, in 1881, Rajaputana and Travancore was excluded from the census.

Conclusion

Notes and References

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18. *Ibid*. p. 10.
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20. In 1976, the General Assembly published 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons. It called for a plan of action at the national, regional and international levels, with an emphasis on equalization of opportunities, rehabilitation and prevention of disabilities. The theme of the year was full participation and equality defined as the right of persons with disabilities to take part fully in the life and development of their societies, enjoy living conditions equal to those

- of other citizens, and have an equal share in improved conditions resulting from socio-economic development.
21. Moral model imply that the moral of a person is responsible for his or her disability. Moral model also emphasis disabilities as special abilities, to perceive, reflect, transcend and be spiritual.
 22. The medical models see impairment as a consequence of some 'deviation' from 'normal' body functioning, which has 'undesirable' consequences for the affected individual. Medical model considers impairment as physical abnormality and medical treatment is the one medium that can cure or limit abnormality in the body.
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THE ROLE OF PATEL -PATWARIS IN THE VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE NIZAM STATE

Bandi Srinivas

The offices of the Patel (village headman) and the Karnam (village accountant) had been very old and hereditary institutions' indispensable for the local administrator. They discharged multifarious duties and enjoyed considerable power and position. Every village had within itself a complete establishment of hereditary revenue servants, a Patel to direct the cultivation, realise the rent, maintain peace and order and manage its affairs in general a Karnam to keep the accounts and the land records of the village. The state felt the necessity of a literate person who could keep accounts. This accounts for the existence of the office of the Karnam of the two as the Patel continued to possess some magisterial powers and various duties of police and protection, he remained atleast nominally superior to Karnam. Normally a Patel was a landed person of wealth and his position was more or less of an honour. Both the offices of Patel and Karnam were remunerated by lands or very favourable terms.

The office of the Patel had its origin in the olden days when certain persons helped the government in clearing up forests and establishing new villages. As a reward the Patel's rights on the territories cleared by them were left undistributed provided they agreed to pay an annual sum fixed by the political authority. Naturally, therefore the office became hereditary and most of the Patels became big landholders. The Patels were responsible for assessing and collecting land revenue, paying it to the government treasury and maintaining law and order in the village. As the managers of the affairs of the village they had to safeguard the

rights of ryots or cultivators on one hand and the interest of the government on the other. A Patel was helped by two key officials. The Havaldar helped him perform his police functions and collect rent, whereas the Talati was responsible for keeping accounts. Keeping in view of the key position of Patel, patwaris and their nefarious activities, and their involvement in land confiscation, one scholar of Hyderabad commented these village officials as "Hyderabad on 21,697 rulers. They are Patel and Patwaris. They acquire such vast influence over the villages. There is one proverb in Telangana about the nefarious activities of Patwaris i.e., when Patwari's She buffalo died entire village come to see the dead animal but when Patwari died nobody came to see his body. 1) These offices are hereditary posts and therefore power and influence has gone on accumulating in one and the same family. 2) The Telugu officials instead of exercising vigilant control over the work of the Patels and patwaris were themselves controlled and guided by them from obvious reasons with the result that the Patels and patwaris ruled over their villages more despotically than ever confident of the backing and support of their superiors.

These village officers were paid by the government as well as the village community. The cash remuneration allowed to the Patels and patwaris was calculated according to a progressively decreasing scale fixed by government, i.e., the larger the collection, the smaller the rate at which remuneration was calculated. Besides this fixed scale, they were

also paid at the rate of 2 piece cash out of one anna from the village service fund constituted with a money collected one anna per rupee on land of revenue for village development. Their salaries were increased 50 percent in the closing forties. The Patel and patwaris though their salaries are nominal and rather meager, had due to their landed property and local background, commended considerable influence in rural administration. In many places where desh mukh are not vested with Patel or patwari powers, these people confronted with wealthy desh mukh for the superiority on village, which often became a serious problem for innocent villagers and crushed among these village dominant power mongers. But they never interfered in others atrocities on people even in killings they cooperated among themselves.

The ignorance of the illiterate farmers in understanding the complex revenue regulations that applied to them was fully exploited by village officials and revenue inspectors to their advantage. Patel and Patwaris using their official position besides their land power, indulged in different excess like collection of excess amounts of land revenue, demanding of gratis for entry of cultivation and land revenue payment details in Pahani Patrika improper and caught dealings in the conduct of land auctions and allotment of laoni land caused much heart burning and misery to the cultivating farmers and tenants. The Patels and patwaris collected the revenue at their own discretion very much out of proportion to the size of the fields and receipts were given for smaller sums than they actually collected.

Patwaris are more powerful because land survey settlement, taxation policy and Jilla Bandi are all depended on them. They had every chance to create problems. All peasants had to depend upon Patwaris. The enmity with Patwari is loss to the peasant. So all the peasants always tried to appease the patwari's with nazaranas like vegetables, fruits, ghee good quality bullock, etc., were given to Patwaris. In course of time educated Patels came on the picture who came on conflict with patwaris for the power of village as a result the power of patwaris some extent reduced and Patel, Patwaris co-ordinated their power on village. As a result triangle power centre, Dora, Patel,

Patwari emerged in the villages. The Patels, and patwaris collected Rs.10 for Rs.100 as gifts on Jamabandi. These ten rupees were shared among Patel, Patwari, Tahsildar and his staff, deputy collector and his staff.

Dethroning of the Patels and patwaris should be the very first item on the agenda of programme of rural reconstruction and should therefore the village officials be divested of their extraordinary influence. This could be done effectively by abolishing the prevailing system of making Patelship and Patwarship hereditary, permanent and non-transferable posts. Like all other officers, Patel and patwaris should be paid servants of the government, not permanently attached to any village but liable to be transferred to any other village. Patel-Patwari System was more cruel in tribal areas than in plain areas because as Patwaris cannot be transferred or dismissed few aboriginals dare to complain against them to higher officials, for they know that they and their families had to live all their lives under the rule of the same patwari family. Another disadvantage is the long-standing connection between patwaris and merchants who work to their mutual benefit at the expense of the aboriginals.

The peasants of that time had no education. In the beginning of the 20th century a new generation of educated people emerged as Patwaris and Patels. Consequently the Patel, Patwaris became more powerful and gained total power on villages, so the peasants were under their grip. Although some desh mukhs, desh pandes took the Patel, patwari posts the traditional Watandars did not maintain matrimonial relations with the present Patel, Patwaris although they belonged to same community with property, they felt it as below to their dignity and status.

These village officials were the money-lenders in the villages, taxes are too heavy, the people resigned to their lands due to burden of taxes. To pay the taxes, to clear the debts for the maintenance of the family, peasants sold out their lands to the lowest rates. By the end of the economic crisis lakhs of acres were concentrated in very few hands. Village officers who did money lending business had gradually become large landlords as in the case of Diwani villages. The notable mischief's of Patel, patwaris regarding their exploitation was

writing of one crop land as of two crops declaring dry land as wet, joining plots that were being cultivated into Bancherai. Giving Bancherai land on Patta fixing of wet rate for those lands where the agriculturist at his own expense dug a new well and took the water by mote acts were some of them.

The apportionment of the demand among the several cultivators of the village was left to the Patels and patwaris, who as often as not had any samples in making their own shares and those of persons in whom they were interested. Lighter at the cost of others less fortunate. To reform this objectionable state of affairs was injurious alike to the interests of government and the ryots. The introduction of the ryotwari system which had been successfully tried in the adjoining British presidencies was decided upon. Mandumula Narasinga Rao stated that three-fourth of the land of his village was in the hands of his father, Patel and Patwari. The remaining one fourth was in other landlords of the village. In almost all villages the village officers (especially patwaris) have got large areas of land as Pattedars. They are also often money-lenders which give them an opportunity to acquire land from their agriculturist debtors, this is a standing complaint and can be removed only when the village Patwaris can become transferable, as their hereditary Watan gives them under advantage in a village of illiterate and extravagant kunbis.

They could take any amount of waste lands in their own names directly from the amildar on the fixed rent and were permitted to give that for their own advantage at a higher rate to ryots, grant them pattas specifying the quantity of the land and the rent. The government would not demand anything extra except the rates specified in the Kaulnamah. So this was not only an extra source of income, but it proved to be a great boost to their position.

The exploitation by Patel, Patwaris was so severe in tribal areas. The uniform application to the whole state as the system of watandari village officers and separation of the judicial and the executive powers might have been sound in the state as a whole but in some respects proved harmful in the tribal areas. The non-aboriginal watandar had time and time again been responsible for gradual expropriation of

aboriginals from their land. In another way the Watandars system had failed in tribal areas. Often non-aboriginals had secured the Watans, not of a single village but of a score or more villages, occasionally even of whole taluqs. Then they had not themselves worked as Patels or Patwaris but have had the work done by underpaid and untrained gumasthas working for 6 or 7 villages and residing in none of them. These absentee gumasthas had supplemented their earnings by extracting money or land from the ryots. Their village returns had often been compiled without spot inspections and they had failed to inform either their watandar masters or the district authorities about village conditions.

The Patwaris in whose hands the collection of revenue rested usually did not collect the land revenue directly from the tribals, but from their employers most of whom lived on or came from the British side of the Godavari. A great number of tribals were quite unable to say how much revenue they paid, they only know that the timber merchants for whom they worked debit their accounts with the revenue. As a rule they themselves were not given receipts and those few receipts found in the possession of tribals did not give any details as to the size of the fields. This state of affairs was exploited by the merchants who made the tribals work for them the whole year for negligible payment in the form of millet under the pretext of debts incurred by the payment of tribals' land revenue.

Patwaris also indulged in other methods of profiting on the collection of land revenue, one of these was to give receipts for smaller sums than they actually collect where the revenue was paid by the merchants, who usually kept the receipts, and no control was possible. But some Koyas had acquired receipt books into which the Patwari ought to enter the particulars of their fields and the amount collected. Haimendorf saw some of these books and found that none of the columns referring to the size and character of fields were filled in, but only the amount of the total revenue. There was usually a considerable discrepancy between the sums paid and that acknowledged.

In villages like Koinda or Katkur where there was a considerable area of flat cultivable land including fields suitable for the cultivation of rain-fed paddy. The position was different

until about one generation ago here too all the land was in the hands of tribals, but much land had recently changed hands and was more in the hands of the family of the Patwari and of merchants who cultivated it by employing tribals as daily labourers or hire it out against 50% crop. If a tribal died without a son and had any land that was cultivable, the patwari often succeeded in acquiring it himself or in allotting it to a merchant, who paid him a certain gratification. A favourite method by which Patwari come into possession of fertile lands was to demand exorbitant revenue from the owner, if he was unable to pay the Patwari offers to pay it himself and after a few years takes over the land. Thus the alienation of land from the original owners appeared to be one of the effects of the imposition of the watandari system on tribal areas.

Geram Kaur of Jawra told to Haimendorf that his mother had a patta and eleven years ago she hired out half of the land to Sahukar in payment of a debt for a period of ten years. But now the Sahukar refuses to return it and Kaur tried to cultivate the whole land sahukar complained to the police, the police gave Kaur a good beating backed up by the police the Sahukar now threatens Kaur that unless he keeps quiet he will take over the remaining land.

The Gond Patel of Siram Karo of Rajum inherited 650 acres of Patta land. From his father's time he paid Rs.203/- as land revenue. He cultivated a small part by himself and led the rest to other villagers but 3 years ago some forest officials came and drew a line along the village right through the Patta land where crops were standing and included half of it in the reserve. He showed his Patta papers they said that they paid Rs.100/- they move the line further away from the village so he paid the amount from borrowing Sowcar where they pay the amount they left the village and left the line from where it is. He is still paying the revenue Rs.203/- for his Patta but on half of it he was not allowed to cultivate.

One great obstacle in the way of podu cultivation is the regulation which compels a tribal who wants to cut a new podu field to make two applications. One to relinquish his old field, and one to cut a new plot of land. In theory this rule should cause no undue

inconvenience for the application can be made through the Patel or Patwari to the Tahsildar office. However it is the general custom of Patwari to demand Re.1 and one fourth, one chicken and one seer of rice for accepting any such application. Thus a man whoever two or three years want to change his podu fields has to pay Rs.2/- for the petitions to give up the old and to cut a new field. Since the revenue for Podu fields is only Re.1/- per biga and few fields have more than two bigas, this expenditure means practically a doubling of the revenue. Moreover the Patwaris usually demand an additional fee of Re.1/- for measuring podu fields and in many cases the forest guards demand also for agreeing to the cutting a new field even though it is outside the reserved forest. Many tribals have therefore given up Podu cultivation and subsist only on their income from forest labour.

In Sudimalla of Yellandu Taluk the cultivated area is 5,994 acres and these 1750 are held by Koyas on Patta the member of Koya pattadars being 150 out of 2000 Koyas the population and about 4000 acres are owned by Brahmins, Marwaris and Komtis and Muslims. Two generations ago all the lands belonged to Koyas but some 30 years ago outsiders began to acquire and mainly Sahukars to whom the koyas became indebted. These Koyas who cultivate as tenants pay to the Pattadar one half of the total produce of wet land and one third of the produce of the dry land. In Koyagudem a hamlet of Singhabhupalem 8 miles from Kothagudem held originally most of the land, but lost it within the last 25 years. Among about 100 householders only there sum land altogether 17 acres, 60 cultivate on hire and 20 as daily labourers whose hire land have to pay for one acre of dry land one bag of Jowari which amounts to about half the produce.

The Brahmin patwaris turned into podu cultivators and worked up to 40 acres of such podu land with many ploughs and hired labour, the crops on the new land being of course excellent and the assessment purely nominal. It was observed in the course of these investigations that in all districts generally even in districts, in which a record of land rights was compiled some time ago, information available with village officers was incomplete with regard to actual occupants of land.

When Haimendorf asked “the Patwaris clerk the particulars about how much had been paid by tribals, his records contained the names of three men who had never lived in the village and one who had not cultivated this year. The clerk had no idea of the sizes of the fields and mainly remarked that since the land was measured 4 years ago by the settlement officers there was no need to measure the fields again not realising that in the meantime all the Podu fields had been shifted”.

Above all the things about the Patel, Patwaris in the villages, Madiraju Rama Koteswara Rao proposed a resolution in seventh Andhra Maha Sabha regarding Patel, Patwaris of the villages for the hereditary rights for them, to enhance the remuneration traveling, and dearness allowances. Moreover he promised to the Maha Sabha as advisory member of Warangal Subedar to request for recommendations. One member named

Polakampalli Venkata Rama Rao objected on this resolution had deserved the Patel, Patwaris as traitors, so there was no necessity to pass a resolution for their benefits. So the proposer of the resolution and Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy convinced him privately to withdraw his objections, so the resolution was passed. In the same period, some scholars like Syed Abid Hassan, in his book *Whither Hyderabad*, demanded for the abolition of Patel, patwari system if not possible atleast for introduction of transfer system and to abolish the hereditary system.

The checks on oppression by the collectors of revenue gradually lessened their authorities increased considerably. When the Nizams administration and his control or administration was weak all the exploiters of the agrarian system took an advantage to them and highly benefited from it.

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COURT SYSTEM IN SOUTH INDIA - A LEGAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

M. Britto Stalin

Introduction

Civilizations played an important role in the evolution of modern society. Modern society has profound impact from the ancient times in the form of civilizations. The important part of modern society is the evolution of modern legal system. It is important to know the process of formation of modern legal system. The law and the legal systems followed by the ancient civilizations around the world have an impact on the modern legal system. So, it is necessary to know the legal system followed by the past civilizations. The evolution of modern legal system of a particular country can be studied by knowing about the legal systems of that country followed in the past. The modern legal system of India is evolved over a period of time in the past. The evolution of modern law in India can be traced particularly from the legal system followed in the ancient India.

The modern law is derived from many sources such as customs and civilizations. The law in modern India is made by keeping an eye on the legal systems followed by the Hindus and Muslims in India. The law of India is mainly derived from the law followed by the Hindus in ancient India. It is necessary to know the law followed by the ancient India to understand well about the legal system prevailing in modern India.

Legal History and Legal System

History is education and enlightenment. To the legal community, history is the very process of understanding law in context. Without history, law is a set of bare principles devoid of social meaning and cultural orientation.¹ Law is a rule of life. It is founded on the dogmas and experiences of life; and life's dogmas and experiences are recorded in a vastly wider library than the covers of the law books comprise. The great function of the law as follows

- *The maintenance of fundamental order with which men will find security and the common conditions of opportunity and*

- *The adjustment of those conflicts of interest between individuals and groups, which they cannot settle for themselves or in setting which, they encroach upon the interests of others.²*

Spencer defined law as “*mainly an embodiment of ancestral injunctions*”. But he also recognized that legal institutions develop as other social institutions develop and that law is not merely a body of formal rules possessing objective validity but is an institution the development of which is an inseparable part of the social process.

Some have argued, perhaps rightly, that the legal historian must be a lawyer. The utilitarian connection between his subject and the law is as clear as the daylight. Precedents play in the courts of law of most countries a part to which it is entitled nowhere else, that of a norm that stands almost above discussion. In Great Britain, where the memory of the law goes back further than in any other country, the story of the enactments of Parliament and their application by the courts of the Realm is a matter of considerable practical importance as well as a subject asking for the most radical specialization. Yet the legal historian must not exclusively dwell in a world of his own; he must refer to the advances made by certain other branches, such as, political, social and economic history.³ Bereft of the knowledge of history it may not be possible for the historian to get a better into issues involved necessitating enactment, which alone will enable him to perceive its true import. Therefore, history and law are mutually dependent on one another.

What is a legal system? A legal system encompasses a set of legal principles and norms to protect and promote a secure living to its subjects in a cultured society. It recognizes rights, prescribes duties of people and provides the ways and means of enforcing the same. To achieve this particular objective, the legal system considering the sociological, economic and political conditions in the society designs its own goals and evolves a set of principles / rules / laws which help the society to attain its

identified goals. A system connotes a coherent whole. It is animated by a philosophy or ideas which connect its different parts leading to a harmonious working. The corpus of the system is its variable elements. Changes in the laws may result from legislation and judicial decision. But the concepts and methods of the system are its constant elements.⁴

Court and Legal System during the *Sangam* Age

The elaborate legal system instituted, developed and sustained by the *Chera, Chola and Pandya* dynasties of the Tamil country or better known as *Tamilakam*, dates back to the *Sangam* age. The *Sangam* literature which is generally ascribable to a long period from 5th century B.C to 2nd A.D. Century furnishes the details of the rulers of the *Tamilakam*, their well-established legal framework and the mechanisms of its dispensation. The King was the final court of appeal and strictly operated on cardinal principles of law i.e., *Aram*,⁵ *Maram*,⁶ *Pazhi*⁷ and *Nar*.⁸ The poets during that time served as an integral part of the king's court and played a vital role by giving counsel to the kings which is recorded in the *Purananuru*,⁹ one of the eight anthologies of *Sangam* literature. The courts were referred as *Avai* and *Pothi ill* in urban centers and *Ambalam* and *Mandram* in villages. The judicial administration was carried out under the trees and hence the names of various courts are associated with trees as referred in *Tolkapiam*¹⁰ of *Sangam* literature:

<i>Vila Mara Mandram</i> ¹¹	-	Court
under the wood apple tree		
<i>Pala Mara Mandram</i> ¹²	-	Court
under the Jackfruit tree		
<i>Vembu Mara Mandram</i> ¹³	-	Court
under the Neem tree		

Arakkalam was the place where judgment was dispensed, which was served like the present day High Court or higher courts of appeal. In view of historian K.A. Neelakanda Sastri, *Mandram* was palace and *Pothi ill* was a public place. He further believed that *Pothi ill* derived from *Pothu Illam* which means public house. This adds to the argument of the prominent sociologist of law Upendra Baxi, who argues that in India, *systems of people's law and systems of state law* developed together and

Tamilakam was unique in terms of its contribution of de-centralized, people oriented and democratic judicial systems

The reference to the *Manuneethi Chozan* killing his own son under the wheels of his chariot to provide victim justice to a cow whose calf was killed by the prince under his chariot, is a classic example of trends and issues in victimology of *Sangam* age. This sequence is sculptured as a monument on the eastern periphery of the temple complex where the *Manu Needhi Cholan Ther Mandapam* is situated. The exquisitely carved wheel of the chariot is portrayed as monument at Tiruvarur. There is also the lingam worshipped by the characters installed on the temple premises and is referred to as Sri Bhakteswarar. The icon of Manu Needhi Cholan has been installed in one of the inner prakarams¹⁴ of the Thiyagara Swamy temple at Tiruvarur¹⁵. Although the practices of ordeals to establish innocence, calling of witnesses in criminal cases and severity of punishments to reduce crimes reveal to us the repressive laws of the *Tamilakam*, it also accommodated the changing normative framework of the society and eventually became the precursor for English courts establishment in 18th century in Madras Presidency.

Court under the Pallavas

The *Pallavas* had followed the system of monarchy. The king was the head of the kingdom. Hereditary succession to the throne had been in practice. The *Pallava* kings had considered themselves as the representatives of God. They had assumed many titles like *Maharaja, Maharajathi Raja* and *Dharma Rajathiraja*. These titles indicate the imperial power of the *Pallava* kings. The king is the fountain head for administering justice. The *Pallava* kings had also claimed a divine origin.

There were three types of courts in the *Pallava* kingdom. The highest judicial organization was called *Dharmasena*. The king acted as its head. The courts in the towns were known as *Adikarnas*¹⁶. The village courts were called as *Karnas*. The village Sabhas also acted as courts in settling the civil disputes in the villages. The existence and the functioning of the local bodies constitute an important aspect of the *Pallava* judicial administration. Already

mention is made about the administrative units called *Nadu* and *Oor*. The respective committees had administered these divisions. The committee of Nadu was known as *Naattar*. They carried out the king's orders and looked after the administration of Nadu. The Sabha or Committee in each *Oor* or Village was in charge of the village administration. The members of *Oor Sabha*¹⁷ were known as *Perumakkal*. Each Sabha was divided into separate committees called *Vaariyams*. Each *Vaariyams* had looked after the administration of temple, irrigation tanks and village gardens. Thus, the village administration was well organized during the Pallava rule. The village administration also played an important role. It can be said that the Pallavas had laid the foundation for the future expansion of village administration during the Later Cholas. Punishments were not cruel and harsh. Fines were also imposed along with punishment.

Court system of Imperial Cholas

The Chola king was the Chief Justice. The Chola kings gave enough care for the judicial administration. Justice was mostly a local matter in the Chola Empire, where minor disputes were settled at the village level. The village level judicial administration was carried on by the village assembly. Minor disputes were heard by the village assembly. Disputes were settled with proper evidences. Punishments were awarded by the judicial officers. The trial of serious offences and major cases were conducted by the king himself. Every village was a self-governing unit. An area of empire *Kurram*, *Nadu* or *Kottam*¹⁸ depending on the area, a number of *Kurrams* constituted a *valanadu*¹⁹. These structures underwent constant change and refinement throughout the Chola period. Village assemblies exercised large powers in deciding local disputes. Small committees called *Nyayattar* heard matters that did not come under the jurisdiction of the voluntary village committees. The punishments in most cases were in the form of donations to the temples or other endowments. The convicted person would remit their fines at a place called *Darmaasana*. There is no much information available on the judicial procedures or court records. Justice was mostly a local matter in the Chola Empire; minor disputes were settled at the village level.

The punishments for minor crimes were in the form of fines or a direction for the offender to donate to some charitable endowment²⁰. Even crimes such as manslaughter or murder were punished by fines²¹. Crimes of the state such as treason were heard and decided by the king himself and the typical punishment in such cases was either execution or confiscation of property. The people had to agree to the king in these situations, no matter what. There was no distinction between civil and criminal offences. Sometimes civil disputes were allowed to drag on until time offered the solution. Crimes such as theft, adultery and forgery were considered serious offences. In most cases the punishment was in the order of the offender having to maintain a perpetual lamp at a temple. Even murder was punished with a fine. In one instance a man had stabbed an army commander. Rajendra Chola II ordered the culprit to endow 96 sheep for a lamp at a neighbouring temple. Capital punishment was uncommon even in the cases of first-degree murder. Only one solitary instance of capital punishment is found in all the records available so far.

Chalukyas' Legal System

It may be mentioned here that at least one early *Chalukya* king, *Pulakeshin I*, who founded the dynasty, is said to have good knowledge of the Laws of Manu, an early compendium of writings dealing with justice and forming part of the *dharmashastra* corpus. Additionally he is credited with sound knowledge of the art of politics, the *Puranas* and the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*²². King was the highest appellate authority of the state. But undoubtedly it can be said that most of the *Chalukya* kings worked for the welfare of the people. The king also acted as head of the administrative council. Kings ruled in accordance with the rules of their dynasties. Kings seek the advice of other experienced persons in matter of administration of justice.

The king also appointed the council of ministers for administering his kingdom. The council of ministers advises the king and also help him in administration. The chief of the council of ministers was called *Mahamatya*. Apart from ministers, there were other officers who helped the king in administration of the state. The administration

of Mandal was called *Mahamandaleshwara*²³. The chief of the army was called *Dandadhipatya*. The heads of the village and law department were called *Visayika* and *Adhishthanaka*. *Kanaka*, *Dandanayaka*, *Sandhivigrahika*, *Dutaka*, *Mahakshapatalika* were other officers as well. The entire empire of Chalukyas was divided into provinces and other units. Mandal was the unit of the empire and its administrator was called *Mahamandaleshwara*. He supervised and controlled his subordinate officials. He had also the power to either punish or promote them. Village was called *Visha* and its head was called *Vishayaka*. There were other officials under him. A special official called *Pattaiika* was appointed for the realization of revenue. The villages were administered by *gram sabha*. Its head was called *vishayaka*. Like villages, city councils were also entitled for local and self-administration.

Aside from these expectations and symbolic duties vested in the king the inscriptions of the *Chalukyas* give some information about the king's administrative duties. He was the ultimate arbiter of justice. According to the *Godachi* plates of Kirtivarma I dispensing justice (*nyaya*) was a primary task of the king. However *Chalukya* inscriptions are not clear on how the justice system functioned and how appointments were made to such positions. Moreover there are no formal officer titles mentioned who could be regarded as judges. But we know from many *Chalukya* inscriptions that justice was dispensed at a local level by eminent elders at the level of a city or village (*mahajanas*) and may also have been dispensed in consultation with merchant guilds (*shreni*).²⁴

There were separate military and civil courts during the reign of Chalukyas. King was the highest judicial authority and gave his decision in accordance with conventions and on the advice of his ministers. All sorts of punishments such as imprisonment, exile, fines and sentence to death etc. were prevalent in his period. *Vichapati* and *adhishthanayka* were important officials in the field of justice.

Court System during the reign of Vijayanagar Empire

Robert Sewell, a civil servant in India, wrote *A Forgotten Empire*, in 1900, a historical

narrative on the Vijayanagara Empire. Owing to its framework of colonial discourse (*Vijayanagara: Hindu bulwark against Islamic onslaught*) and his emotive language (*"Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city"*) the book became very influential. Literally, scores of stories, novels and plays in Kannada and Telugu were written faithfully following Sewell's model²⁵. However, after Sewell, since new sources and *bakhairs* came to light / got translated into English, historians and scholars in the post-colonial period began to have a re-look at the Medieval period. Girish Karnad's latest play, *Rakshasa-Tangadi*, belongs to this tradition of post-colonial discourse. The brilliant play not only offers a new perspective on the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi but also does away with popular myths and legends about the decisive battle²⁶.

The Vijayanagar kings held the court in very grand and pompous style. Vijayanagar court splendour, affluence, dignity made such a deep impression on Ceaser Frederic, the Portuguese traveller, that he rated it to be matchless one among all the courts he had seen.²⁷ His view was shared by many other visitors. Earlier kings held *Sabha* (assembly) in forty pillard hall described by Abdur Razak.²⁸ Krishnadevraya shifted the vanue to *Bhuvan Vijay* or house of victory which he had built to commemorate his victories against Gajapatis. Similarly *Sabha* was also held in *Anand Mahal* that was located at *Jasti Chavadi* and *Hasar Chavdi*²⁹ Vijayanagar durbar was a very big affair. It was attended by *Amarnayakas* and their representatives, chiefs of subordinate states, princes, *dalwayas*, merchants, ambassadors from the foreign countries, *pandits*, poets, who depended on the court for their livelihood. Bukka is said to have held the court with his relatives, ministers, *kshatriyas*, wise men etc. Vir Narasimha's durbar was attended by seventy-two *niyogas*, his sons, son-in-law, officers, chiefs, lords, *palaigars*, *amarnayakas*, well-wishers, dependents, learned men, *purohit*, *acharyas*, *jiyangars*, ascetics, astrologers, physicians, cavaliers, *mahuts*, police officers, -tributory chiefs, *vandies*, *vaitalikas*, singers, *pathanikas*, scientists, play wrights, rhetoricians artistes and *vahikas*.³⁰

The court had strict procedures among which was compulsory attendance of the courtiers. Presence of the nobles added to the strength of the king which ensured loyalty and support to the royal family. Two hundred *Nayakas* were obliged to be present with the king always and were to maintain full strength of the soldiers. Negligence on any account was punishable with their dismissal and confiscation of their properties.³¹ All such *nayakas* can be grouped in first category and there was second category of the *nayakas* who were exempted from the rule about the court attendance. In that category fell the chiefs of Bankapur, Bhatakai, Girsappa³². They attended the court only when they were summoned by the king to do so and they sent their tributes from their own *jagirs* or estates. However, the exemption was mostly because the presence of these *nayakas* was essential in their regions for security reasons and as such it did not confer on such nobles any special status distinguishing them from the rest. The kings treated all the *nayakas* with equal consideration. Similarly, all the *nayakas* who attended the court and who were exempted from it all the same posted each a secretary at the court and kept themselves acquainted through them of the happenings at the court³³. For other members, too, the attendance was a must which is quite obvious from the instance that *Chandrayya* the reader in the verses in Krishnadevraya I's court sent his son to the court when it was not possible for him to attend in person.

In the court the king was 'a court of appeal'. One who wanted to seek justice from the king would lie on the ground till he was attended by some *nayaka* and inquired about his grievances. Usually the justice was dispensed by the *Dandanayaka* and *Pradhani*, but the criminal cases involving high dignitaries must have been tried before the king. *Naras Nayak* though a de facto ruler could do little when the young king did not punish the noble responsible for his brother's (king's) murder. In the Vijayanagar code murder of a king was treated as treason and the guilty was awarded with death punishment. Capital punishment awarded for other crimes was subjected to two mercy appeals but not the one awarded for the assassination of the king. There was instant decision in the court on the cases. If it were to be the case of robbery the *nayaka* of the

concerned region would retrieve the stolen goods within stipulated period or would run the risk of confiscation of his property by the state.

The Vijayanagar king met in a small court assembly with his ministers for transacting the state business. Barbosa mentions the existence of house that was meant only for that purpose whereas Paes described it as a porch without walls, with many pillars hung with the clothes handsomely painted³⁴. *Achutaraya's* small assembly was called *Venkatavilas mantap*³⁵.

This assembly was a body comprising king, ministers and important nobles held in great esteem by the king and it was distinct from the royal assembly which was a larger body comprising all the nobles, citizens, merchants, feudatories etc. Generally only the ministers would attend the small assembly, but the king could summon any noble to this assembly and discuss any important matter with him. However, it was not obligatory on the part of the king that he should discuss such matters with all³⁶. *Sabhanayak* or *Sabhapati* presided over such meetings. Krishnadevraya describes the *Sabhapati* as a person who surrounds himself with the subordinate kings³⁷. This indicates *Sabhapati's* importance only as next to the king. *Teyyad Naganna* was *Sabhanayak* of Bukka I. King himself presided over the *Sabha* when serious questions were to be discussed by it and its deliberations were held in secrecy. In Vijayanagar court a specific code was followed towards the ambassadors. The kings were expected to receive them with much courtesy and cordiality. Krishnadevraya discusses at length in *Amuktamalya* the treatment ought to be given to the ambassadors. The king should not use harsh words for he might require their services in concluding treaties. The king should convey his intentions about their masters without giving them any offence.³⁸

Conclusion

The ancient legal system played an important role in the evolution of modern law in South India. India is a country where Hindu is the majority. So, the law followed in the ancient time can be applied to the modern time in some aspects. The law followed in the ancient time is mainly derived from the Hindu religion and is popularly known as Hindu law. The family law

in South India is mainly derived from the different personal laws for different religions. The Hindu personal law came up for the Hindu population. This Hindu law is mainly derived from the ancient legal texts such as *Smritis*, *Dharmashastras* and commentaries such as

Mitakshara and *Dayabhaga*. These two commentaries became the two different schools from which the Hindu law has been derived. Further study also can be made on the court procedures of ancient and medieval court systems in South India.

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ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE IN CUDDALORE DURING THE CARNATIC WARS (1746 A.D. - 1761 A.D.)

Dr. S. Chinnappan

La Bourdonnais captured Madras on 21st September 1746. Anwaruddin waited for a whole month in the hope that Madras would be handed over to him, for on 26th September 1746, Dupleix had assured him.² Mahfuz Khan, the eldest son of Anwaruddin who had visited Pondicherry in February 1746³ became impatient of the delay in the implementation of the promise and threatened to act against the

French. On 4 November 1746 Paradis charged his opponents only to find Mahfuzkhan and the 10,000 Strong army of Arcot in headlong flight. Skirmishes before its walls and on the Adyar provided the first concrete evidence of that greatly increased superiority of European arms and tactics which was to prove decisive in Indian politics during the next fifty years.⁴

Dupleix received a conciliatory gesture when Hussain Tahir, his old-time ally in Arcot and now a courtier of Anwaruddin⁵ informed him that Gosse and Kerjean had been released by Mahfuz Khan and that Dupleix should on his part keep his word and hand over Madras to the Nawab. The intriguing idea then occurred to Dupleix that he could capture Fort St. David or Cuddalore and present it to the Nawab to assuage his disappointment over Madras. He accordingly wrote to Hussain Tahir and started his campaign against Fort St. David.⁶

For different attempts were made by Dupleix on Fort St. David.⁷ The first occurred on the 8th December, 1746, when the French, after seizing the Company's Garden House at Manjakuppam, were repulsed with loss. The Nawab kept army under his sons Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali in the vicinity of Fort St. David for three Months, after which he made terms with the French and withdrew. On 19 December 1746, 1700 French soldiers under de Bury initiated the attack but they were suppressed and put to flight at Majakuppam by an Arcot force of 6000 horses sent to help the English. Mahfuz Khan had combined forces with his younger brother Muhammed Ali after having "readily engaged to send his army to Fort St. David on condition that the English would furnish part of the expense"⁸ On 10 January 1747, Dupleix staged an attack by sea with 500 men embarked on boats but it turned out to be an utter failure. Dupleix then attempted to divert the Nawab's troops by ordering a campaign of military ravage⁹ and incited the Polygars (Palayakars) of Vettavalam and Alattur by sending them arms and money to "invade and burn... attack and destroy".¹⁰ The campaign of ravage compelled the Nawab to cease his involvement in the hostilities. On 15 February 1747 Dupleix invited Mahfuz Khan to Pondicherry.¹¹ An agreement was initialled at Pondicherry on 19 February 1747 by which the Nawab agreed to withdraw his troops from the English side in return for the symbolic surrender of Madras to the Nawab to be signified by flying the Nawab's flag on Fort St. George for eight consecutive days.

The most important attack was delivered on the 1st and 2nd March, 1747 by Paradis. Dupleix managed to buy off Mahfuz Khan, but when on 3 March 1747 Paradis marched with

a considerable force finally to subjugate Fort St. David, as he thrust a feeble British covering force aside and came within sight of the ramparts of the Fort he beheld the mortifying sight of British sails rising up over the horizon. Soon the British naval squadron anchored off Fort St. David, and as Griffin started ferrying sailors and marines to the shore Paradis had no recourse but to beat a hasty retreat. Griffin landed 500 sailors and 150 marines as a temporary reinforcement to the garrison, and put one of his captains, captain Gibson, in charge of the fort. With nothing much else to do, Robert Clive appealed for a commission, being granted on dated 16 March 1747 into the 2nd Company of Foot Soldiers at Fort St. David. Edmund Maskelyne also took a commission about this time.¹²

On the 16th June 1748, the French made an attack on Cuddalore, but they were again repulsed with loss.¹³ It was not long before his little army had an opportunity to prove its worth. In May 1748, in answer to Dupleix's prayers, a French squadron arrived in Indian waters. Too weak to challenge Commodore Griffin, the French admiral yet managed to lure the British squadron away from its station off Fort St. David. Dupleix struck at once. Suddenly French troops appeared almost under the walls of Cuddalore. It was obvious to the French that the British were alarmed, as they could be seen hauling back guns and stores from the town to Fort St. David, clearly intending to move out at once. After dark however, Lawrence stealthily re-occupied the town walls. At midnight the French confidently marched up to take over what they presumed to be an empty town, only to be greeted by a totally unexpected blast of musketry. The surprise was complete, and in the darkness all control broke down. The disheartened fugitives could barely take advantage that they were nearly out of range of the French artillery, but the British guns, were unlikely to be more effective. On one occasion when the guns had been run up on to their platforms in a battery, it was found that, owing to regrettable miscalculation, a wood completely obscured the French fortifications. As blunder succeeded blunder, sickness began to exact an ever heavier toll, and the morale of the besiegers steadily declined. Robert Clive observed, 'a strong detachment was sent to possess the French bounds which was effected

with little opposition, but so prevailing was the panic among the men that in the night time the advanced sentries were continually firing without seeing anybody and very often at one another; this kept the whole detachment in alarm, and I am persuaded that the appearance of 50 of the enemy would have put us to flight.¹⁴

The French, however, were not without their misfortunes. Paradis, upon whose inspiring leadership much depended, fell mortally wounded while organizing a sally. During the same sally Clive had an opportunity to display his powers; as some French, headed by a grenadier company, approached the trench he was holding, the platoons on his right and left though fit to make a hasty departure, but Clive's platoon some thirty men, stayed firm. They exchanged fire with the French grenadiers at a range of ten yards; the grenadiers tried to form up for a charge, but their line fell to pieces before a storm of bullets, and they ran back leaving some thirty of their comrades on the ground. Eight of Clive's men had been hit.¹⁵

Dupleix's third attempt on Fort St. David was entrusted to Paradis; he has started the attack when the arrival of an English fleet at Cuddalore on 14th March 1747 forced him to fall back. The last attempt by Dupleix on Fort St. David on 27 June 1748 was also a sad failure. For nearly three years from the 30th October, 1746, the date of the repudiation of the treaty of ransom, interest centres at Fort St. David.¹⁶

II. ANGLO - FRENCH STRUGGLE IN CUDDALORE DURING COMTE DE LALLY'S PERIOD (1758 A.D. - 1761 A.D)

Comte de Lally was appointed King's Commissaire and Commandant General of all French establishments in India on 31st December 1756. He arrived in Pondicherry on 28th April 1758.¹⁷ Lally was given clear instructions before leaving France: "Seize first the English places on the coast, Fort St. David, Madras without commitment of forces to the interior". Lally himself had proclaimed the war cry: "No more English in the Peninsula". In one of his early letters to Bussy, he declared is prophetic mission: "The King and Company have sent me to India to chase away the English. When I have exterminated the English

from this entire coast I will undertake without getting out of my room, those other operations which so far have cost many men to the King and much money to the Company."¹⁸

Lally tried to make up for the time lost in transit by deciding to carry out an immediate assault upon Fort St. David. The soldiers who had disembarked after a year at sea were ordered to march to Fort. St. David the next day and to start a siege after capturing Cuddalore. When he found that his order to march the army to Fort St. David at once could not be implemented for lack of transport arrangements, he ordered the bullocks to be seized from the villagers and pressed into service; when their number proved insufficient he ordered the inhabitants to be forcibly enlisted as porters and non-combatants. In vain did de Leyrit represent the difficulties that would arise from alienating the attachment of the inhabitants. Lally rejected the seasoned advice of the mature **Conseillers** of Pondicherry and behaved as imperiously as an aristocrat of pre-revolutionary France.

Count d'Estaing, one of Lally's brigadiers led the march to Cuddalore; he was soon joined by de Soupire and then by Lally himself. On 4 May 1758, Major Polier surrendered Cuddalore and withdrew to Fort St. David. In the meanwhile there was a minor naval engagement off Cuddalore in which neither d'Ache nor Admiral Pocock emerged respectable, but in any case, the command of the sea remained with the French. The siege of Fort St. David started in great earnest under the personal command of Lally. After 17 days, Lally reduced it and the French occupied it on 2 June 1758. Lally preened himself that within a fortnight of his arrival, he had captured the strongest English fort on the Coromandel Coast which had defied Dupleix on four different occasions. He refused to admit that the sudden appearance of d'Achi's ships before Fort St. David on 31 May 1758 without any challenge from Admiral Pocock was the crucial factor that persuaded the English to surrender the fort. Lally ordered the fort to be razed to the ground. The same circumstances led to the surrender of Devakottai when d'Estaing appeared before the place on 43 June 1758; like a great victor, Lally entered Pondicherry amidst great fanfare and festivity.

The battle of Vandavasi fought on 22 January 1760 proved decisive indeed; Lally was routed and Bussy captured prisoner. There only remained the reductions of Pondicherry. On 18 August 1760 an 'Assemblée Nationale' was held in an attempt to unify the forces for the defence of Pondicherry. But nothing fruitful resulted due to Lally's hatred for the town, its officers and inhabitants. The irascible Lally upon capturing Fort St. David had razed it to the ground; now that the tables had been turned, Lord Pigot in revenge ordered the total destruction of the white town, the European settlement of Pondicherry. After eight months of blockade, endured gallantly but in an atmosphere tense with recrimination, Lally surrendered on 16 January 1761.¹⁹ The French power in India was at an end.

It was again taken by the French but if finally came under British after the Treaty of Paris, 1783.²⁰ Though Dupleix attempted to capture Fort St. David which was the last British strong hold on the Coromandel coast, it was restored to the British in 1785, and with the end of the French threat, it was abandoned and fell into ruins.

Though Dupleix attempted to capture Fort St. David, the strongest fort on the Coromandel coast, he could not succeed. Comte de Lally was more successful as he was able to capture the fort and completely destroy it. Despite this success, they failed to establish the French empire in India.

FOOTNOTES

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TELANGANA ARMED STRUGGLE - A MISNOMER

Dr. Chiranjeevi Kolluri

The much orchestrated Telangana Armed struggle is neither Telangana nor armed nor even struggle. The Nizam ruled 16 districts, not just Warangal and Nalgonda, which are geographically contiguous to Krishna and Guntur Districts. If the Nizam's rule was so oppressive the armed struggle should have broken out in all the 16 districts. Why was it confined to Warangal and Nalgonda only? These two districts do not form even the entire Telangana. Telangana region comprises

of 8 districts *viz.*, 1.Warangal 2. Nalgonda 3. Mahabubnagar 4. Atraf Balda (present Hyderabad dist) 5. Medak 6. Nizamabad 7. Adilabad 8. Karimnagar. At that time Khammam was part of the Warangal district. It was carved out as a separate district in 1953.

The Communist Party of Hyderabad was established in 1941 at the R.B.V.R. Reddy Hostel, Hyderabad. It was Ravi Narayan Reddy who played a stellar role in its inception.

However, they were under the hegemony of Andhra leaders, and their high command was located at Bezawada (present Vijayawada). The Communist Party was dominated by Kammas, and it is a dominant caste in the Coastal Andhra. Even B.T. Ranadevi Political Bureau Member from West Bengal also made serious comments on Andhra Communist Party basing on the caste factor. The seminal formulation of dominant caste is a numerically preponderant caste fairly high on the hierarchical caste school with considerable landholding. As the Indian National Congress was dominated by both Brahmins and Reddys in the erstwhile composite Madras Province, consequently Kammas did not have much say in it. This community as a propertied class hardly believes in communism in its pure form.

WHY IN TELANGANA?

Owing to demographic changes and commercialization of agriculture there was tremendous pressure in Andhra area. It was during this time many irrigation projects were built in Hyderabad State. This made them to make inroads into Telangana in the guise of Communists. In addition to this in India's freedom struggle, Brahmins were in forefront of the movement. Subsequently Reddys had joined the movement. The other dominant community from Coastal Andhra the Kamma community was forced to join the Communist party as it could not be accommodated in the Congress.¹ This community as a propertied class hardly believes in Communism in its pure form. Selig Harrison's well-known thesis is that the main factor determining the strength of the Communists in Andhra is the caste homogeneity of the Andhra Communist leadership. He argues that "since the founding of the Andhra Communist Party in 1934, the party leadership has been the property of a single caste, the kamma land-lords."² Economic theories about political violence and terrorism are preposterous. Nowhere in the world has terrorism been, or is, a produce of economic distress. It springs solely from racial or class hatred. This is seen more clearly than ever before in our age. Andhra Communists had their headquarters at Bezawada (presently it is called as Vijayawada) in the Krishna district, which is geographically contiguous to

Nalgonda and Warangal districts of Hyderabad State. In Nalgonda there is a Mungala enclave. Although Mungala is physically located in the dominions of the Nizam, it was under the control of Government of India. The Krishna district Collector used to administer it. Owing to its location being far away from the administrative headquarters, Mungala almost became autonomous and there was no law enforcing machinery. It was a bolt hole for fugitives from Indian justice. Communists took advantage of the vacuum and established themselves. They made Mungala as their operational base and made inroads into Nalgonda and Warangal districts.³ In Nalgonda for instance, the district headquarters was without railway and telegraphic communications. In addition to this the terrain also, with its outlying forests and lack of communication, was ideally suited for guerilla warfare. The Communists exploited to great advantage.

REDS UNDER BEDS:

The Government of India banned the Communist Party in 1940, they made inroads to Mungala Enclave.⁴ They took advantage of the impecunious, indigence, ignorance and illiteracy of the people and they created mayhem. They were aided and abetted in their endeavours by the Andhra Ministers of the Madras Province. Even the Government of India connived at it, because Communists were the protégés of Madras Province, Hyderabad State Congress by itself was divided and weak and it could not do much to embarrass the State authorities, and the Communists activity in Telangana was therefore the only alternative means left to weaken the Nizam's regime.⁵

The trendy slogan is what 'One man's terrorist is another person's guerilla freedom fighter.' It is true that many people in applauded them when they killed landlords and burned their houses as a part of struggle against landlordism. However, a Communist in those days is between a common criminal and a guerilla. However guerillas fight by the rules of war. Communists killed civilians in order to so terror in support of their political struggle. By contrast common criminals have no political motives, while guerillas do not

intentionally kill civilians. Communists were violently opposed the existing order. They resorted to terror because they were too weak and Hyderabad State too strong to be challenged in more conventional guerilla warfare.

Communists' temerity was evidence of the ineptitude and malevolence of the Nizam's administration. The Nizam's 'army' was fit only for ceremonials and officered by sinecurists, the countryside was cowed by the retinues of landed gentry and Muslim plutocracy gangs of toughs and braves, licensed by authority, like the *rurales* pre-revolutionary Mexico. The Nizam army's apathy, police forces' inertia and administration's callousness enabled the Communists to raid village after village and pillaged. It is not out of place to mention, that Communists killed only Hindu landlords did not touch Muslim Jagirdars. Interestingly Communists occupied the lands of Hindu landlords but scrupulously avoided the lands of Muslim Nawabs. Those Andhra-led Communists ostensible goal was to wrest land from Deshmukhs and Jagirdars but their real aim was to occupy everybody's land and distribute among their toadies and collect the money in the name of party fund. In this bid, they did not spare even Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy. He was a Congress leader and later on became Dy.Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. His lands at Sarajipeta of Nalgonda District were occupied. He was not a cruel Deshmukh who perpetrated miseries among common people. Interestingly, Reddy had a pen of 200 sheep. Communists made off with them to their hideout and made a feast of them.⁶ It was during this period many Andhra Kammas with the help of Communists could become owners of the fertile lands in Telangana. Andhra Communist leaders also facilitated their co-casteists to migrate to Telangana districts, particularly where irrigated lands were available and even helped to occupy tribal lands without any qualms.⁷ Communists also helped the new migrants to occupy government lands and to buy private lands at a throw away price.⁸ Some leaders even coerced big land lords in Khammam and Warangal districts to sell off their lands to migrants at some price, lest their land should be occupied.⁹ Exodus of Kammas to Khammam Taluqa of Warangal district

changed the demography of the area, consequently government made it a district.¹⁰ The lowest of all flatteries is the flattery of the common people.

COMMUNISTS AND THE NIZAM:

In Telangana, the Communists claimed to have 'liberated' at least 2,000 villages and set up : People's Independent committees (village soviets) were set up, and actually took over the running of a very extensive area: landlord and police control was broken, and peasant tribunals "liquidated" many of the old functionaries.¹¹ Andhra leaders, systematically and brilliantly controlled by the Communist Party, distributed land, cancelled debt, seized stocks of food, and generally won firm peasant backing. The Delhi Government afraid of Communism generally, was undoubtedly perturbed by the uprising.¹²

Communists took advantage of the lifting of the ban on their party within Nizam's dominions to make Hyderabad territory as the base for their operations in Indian Territory. The Govt. of Madras particularly Andhra ministers were responsible for the serious situation that had arisen in Hyderabad. They were not only tolerant to Communists but also supportive as long as they confined their activities to Hyderabad State.¹³

Laik Ali, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State utilized the hostility of the Communist Party of India towards the Nehru Govt. and resentment of local Communists towards the Standstill Agreement. He began to send feelers to Telangana Communist leaders, representing to them the advantages of an alliance against their common Indian enemy who was reported to be preparing for a military intervention. Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Raj Bhahadur Gour and Ravi Narayan Reddy two leading Communist figures from Telangana, who were underground, were contacted.¹⁴ Although the Communist ranks were divided on the issue, the deal was struck on 4th May 1943.¹⁵ The Nizam lifted ban on the Communist Party in Hyderabad. The year 1943 was a climacteric year in the history of Hyderabad, because that year saw the Communists joining hands with the Frankenstein organization of Razakars.¹⁶ The Razakars which later proved itself Frankenstein, and they wanted to establish a

Muslim oligarchy in the State, the Communists' purpose was to exploit the turmoil and confusion so that they could spread their tentacles to the rest of India. Each wanted to use the other for its own ends. The tables had thus turned, and it was India which was now hampered in its fight against the Communists of the Madras region by Hyderabad State. There was no doubt that this turn of events weighed adversely in the conduct of negotiations between Hyderabad and India. Similarly, it is arcane information as to why 15th August was chosen for India's independence and transfer of power in the midnight. The Nizam seems to have figured that the Communists' success threatened India more than it did him; he tried to divert rather than to suppress their activities. He ascribed his loss of control to India's refusal to supply his state with arms; and claimed the emergency as vindicating the necessity of the Razakars. The Nizam's government, the Indian Government, and the Communists each at some point accused the other two of working together. And to each was a measure of truth.

THE RED TERROR

In the Telangana districts of Hyderabad, and particularly in Nalgonda and Warangal, a menace was growing which, if allowed to continue, would have brought upon the people of Hyderabad the same tribulations and sufferings as had been heaped upon them by the Razakars. It was popularly known as "Communism". But nothing would be more wrong than to confuse what has been happening in these "Communist" districts with a fight between opposing ideological forces. The only "ideology" of these anti-social elements of Hyderabad who go by the name of "Communists" is to exploit a confused situation for their own ends. The adoption of the Marxian jargon and unorthodox, violent methods of agitation does not convert a body of gangsters into the liberators of workers and peasants. In one district alone the "Communists" of Telangana have murdered more than 200 persons and have looted or destroyed 37,000 maunds of grains worth a crore of rupees.¹⁷

These activities can hardly be described as being in furtherance of a social objective!

Moreover, the morale of the State Police, who feared the anger of the people in view of the past repressions against them by the force as a whole, was of doubtful quality. It was apparent that they could not be relied upon entirely to deal effectively with the "Communists". In fact, there was reason to believe that it was from them that the "Communists" had acquired automatics, sten guns, rifles and muzzle loaders at a low price. It was therefore decided to draft special armed police from the Indian Union into the affected areas to supplement the troops already operating there.

The dislocation following the Police Action was quickly turned by these individuals to their own advantage. They went about "distributing" land and dispensing with law and justice. Rightful owners of land were driven away or done to death, and their lands were given to others, who were told that the good earth belonged to them. They were not told, however, how long it would remain in their possession. In return for these benefactions handed out by them, the "Communists" thought themselves free to indulge in orgies of arson, loot and murder. They destroyed houses, mowed down smiling crops, seized cattle, and murdered in cold blood those who dared refuse to subscribe to their creed. In some cases even murder did not meet their idea of sadistic delight, and they cut up the bodies of their victims and left them to suffer pain and agony. At a time when it was most important to build, they burned. At a time when food was precious, they destroyed it. At a time when order and peace were of supreme importance, they deliberately created disorder and confusion. **And all this they called "Communism".** In this process, they could not help doing some good to themselves. To save the ignorant people from being robbed by the landowners and the Government, they appropriated their money by collecting funds out of their hard-earned annas. It was of course an accident that many of them after amassing large fortunes abandoned the movement and tried to live under false names. Thus Kamma Sesayya, the popular 'Communist' leader who was arrested in a nursing home in Madras, along with seven lakhs rupees.¹⁸ It was his plan to leave Hyderabad State for good and

live a luxurious life in Madras. But destiny shaped the end even of this defiant personage. Communists' religion is sedition, whose creed is violence, whose weapon is sabotage, and whose end is anarchy. History hangs heavy on Government of India. It is of paramount importance to note that while counting the trees one should not lose the sight of wood. Similarly, in a bid to weaken the Nizam's government, Andhra ministers of Madras province aided and abetted Andhra-led Communists and Govt. of India connived at it. Interestingly, Communists before the so called Police Action masqueraded as Razakars in day time and Communists in nights. However, after the Police Action they camouflaged as Congress workers in day time and Communists in night.¹⁹

DISTORTIONS:

It was a deliberate attempt to falsify history, in a bid to promote selfish interests and denigrate political adversaries. However, neither the Nizam nor the officials of that period were alive to defend the allegations. Similarly, BJP and Hindutva elements were not there during that time, but they are now fore runners in denigrating the Nizam. It is a paradox that more than 4,000 Communists were killed and another 10,000 kept in concentration camps for more than one year, after the so called Police Action, however, the present Communist leadership joined the hand of BJP in their vicious campaign.

Another distorted version of history is the lyric "*Bandi enuka bandi katt*", which was written by one Yadagiri.²⁰ This lyric aimed at the excesses of the landlords of Nalgonda District especially of Janna Reddy Pratap Reddy. However, this was fudged to lampoon the Nizam in the cinema by name "*Maa Bhoomi*" directed by Gautam Ghosh in 1979. This picture was based on the stage-play written by Sunkara Satyanarayana at the behest of the Congress.

COMMUNIST SCRIBBLERS:

The Andhra Communist leaders like Putchalapalli Sundaraiah (Sunder Rami Reddy), Makineni Basava Punnaiah, Chandra Rajeshwar Rao, Chandra Pulla Reddy, sunkara and others did not visit Telangana let alone participating in the movement. However,

ensconcing themselves in Bezwada (now Vijayawada), wrote expositions in defence of Communists activities in Telangana. In this category comes oft-quoted Putchalapalli Sundaraiah written '*Vishalandhralo Praja Rajyam*'.²¹ In this book there is no mention of phrase 'Telangana Armed Struggle'. It is only after thought, when Indira Gandhi declared political pensions in 1972, they started writing books and in a bid to give respectability to the movement, they used the phrase of Telangana Armed Struggle. Even for that matter the communist party published the newspapers like '*Swathantra Bharathi*' and '*Praja Shakthi*' did not use the phrase 'Telangana Sayudha Poratam'. It was only in 1972 for getting political pension this phrase was coined. It should be known that no contemporary daily newspaper either in English or in vernacular has ever mentioned the movement as Telangana Armed Struggle especially from 1943-1951. However, sordid deeds of senior Andhra Communist leaders can be gleaned from the book '*Communist Agranayakula Nagna Satyalu*' by Chadalavada Pitchaiah, who was none other than the Secretary of the Communist party.²²

Andhra Communist writers adopted double standards in writing books. When the Naxalbari movement was not called as 'Bengal Armed Struggle', and the Srikakulam Poratam as 'Andhra Armed Struggle', it is not proper to call Nalgonda and Warangal districts Poratam as Telangana Armed Struggle.

THE TRUE COLOURS OF THE COMMUNIST REVISIONISTS:

The Communists also misread the situation. Initially as they were aided and abetted by the Government of India to stir up violence in Hyderabad and they assumed that bonhomie would continue further. Major General J.N.Choudhary who became the Military Governor of Hyderabad after the Police Action took a wrong decision to disarm the Hyderabad Police and the Army. All had to surrender weapons.²³ However, the Razakars handed over the weapons to Andhra-led Communists. This gave impetus to the armed struggle. The Communists dalams (gangs) spread out from Nalgonda and Warangal, demolished armless police

stations, killed so-called '*class enemies*' and set up their rule over the area. The Communists boasted that Nalgonda and Warangal districts were liberated and called them as '*Indian Yennari*'. Most of the Communist leaders of Andhra belonged to one of the two dominant communities and other one was in the Congress. The affluent of them would normally suffix honorific '*Choudhary*' to their names. The Communist leaders conjured up an apocryphal that Major General Choudhary also belonged to that dominant community and their forefathers moved from Andhra to Calcutta in search of green pastures. They started disseminating this apocryphal not only amongst their cadres so that they would resort to arsons, plunders and pillages with apparent impunity and without qualms but also in the administration so that it would connive at their shady dealings. It should also be noted that, the real beneficiaries of the Communist depredations were the coastal Kammas and Telangana Reddys, not the dalits. In reality, they became cannon fodder.

Another recondite information is that on 17th September 1948 the Nizam sent a cable to the Security Council (UNO) to the effect that he would be withdrawing the case of Hyderabad. However, the Chairman of the Security Council, Lord Congdon (British) did not accept and said that it was sent under the duress. There was an international opprobrium about the military invasion. Keeping in view, the Government of India directed the Military Governor Maj. Genl. J.N. Choudhary to concentrate only on establishing peace and tranquillity and provide good governance. The army should be confined to only barracks and not to be visible outside. The Communists took advantage of the discomfiture of the Government of India from 17th September 1948 to 1st December 1949 and started occupying lands and distributing them. They created mayhem in Nalgonda and Warangal districts.

By aiding the Communists in Hyderabad, the Government of India hoisted its own petard. As the situation was going out of hand, Vallabhai Patel, the Home Minister replaced the Military Governor with a civil administrator K.M. Vellodi, a senior ICS officer of Madras cadre. He was designated as a

Chief Minister of Hyderabad and launched an operation of liquidation of the Communists. This was done only to give an impression to the world that Hyderabad administration was establishing peace and tranquillity. Patel replaced I.G. Police of Hyderabad with Monappa, an I.P. officer of Madras cadre and also caused to deploy ten battalions of CRP and placed under the command of a second world war veteran Captain Nanjappa, who was seconded to the police. These two police officers bore down upon the Communists in full force. The heat of the LMGs and rocket launchers forced the Communists to capitulate and begged for mercy. Their mercy petitions are still there in Telangana archives. Now they have been posing as apostles of freedom fighters and drawing pensions.

As things are getting hot, the Communist leaders Basava Ponnaiah and Chandra Rajeshwar Rao badgered their central leadership in Calcutta to send a delegation to Russia and solicit its army support. Having yielded to their pesterings, the Central Committee constituted a delegation of four members - S.A. Dange, Joshi, Basava Ponnaiah and Rajeshwar Rao. They visited Russia and had an audience with Joseph Stalin. Having heard the plea of the delegation and did not see any merit in their demand and he bluntly blurred big NO. They were crestfallen and returned empty handed to India. As the whole cadre in Telangana was already liquidated and most of them begged for the mercy, the Andhra Communist leaders, to save their faces, gave a statement of ceasefire.

THE COMMUNISTS - ANTI-NATIONAL:

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Communists were against India taking part in the '*imperialist war*'. As this was also the Congress view, the Communists could then pretend only to be giving active effect to the Congress policy. But with the entry of the Soviets into the war, the Communist attitude had perforce to change. The imperialist's war became overnight transformed into the anti-fascist struggle and the Communists became active supporters of India participating wholeheartedly in the war on the side of the Allies. Here they had to part with the Congress and worked against the Quit India Movement. As

per the directives from Moscow, Communists started anti-Congress propaganda. M N. Roy, a leading Communist leader accepted money from the British Indian Government for propaganda against the Congress.²⁴

In addition to that when the Cabinet Mission came to India to negotiate the withdrawal of British authority from India, the Communists urged that there should be no united India but the country should be split into 15 states on the model of Balkans. The Communists also demanded separate constituent assemblies for fifteen states in India and to that effect submitted a memorandum both to the Cabinet Mission and the Prime Minister of India.

With the help of Andhra Ministers of Madras Province the Communists occupied lands in the Princely State of Hyderabad and declared as a 'liberated area'. Similarly, their demand for 15 countries of which many were Princely states, would enable them to make Communist counties.

The Communists unabashedly importuned Soviet Russia to extend help to them to continue skirmishes in Telangana after the merger of Hyderabad into Indian Union on 26th January 1950.

SKULLDUGGERY:

In a bid to stir up violence in Hyderabad State, Andhra ministers of Madras government had no qualms about it and had certain lurid dramas written up and got them enacted in the border districts of Nalgonda and Warangal. More often than not, those dramas were punctuated with naughty limericks, and pandered to masses. That's why those dramas had a large clientele. One of the dramas which became very popular was '*Maa Bhoomi*'. After formation of Andhra State in 1953, Andhra Communists enacted the same '*Maa Bhoomi*' drama in Andhra districts as well. However, Government of Andhra State banned the drama. Andhra Communists MLAs raised the issue of ban in the Andhra Legislative Assembly at Kurnool in 1955. While replying to the question, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, the then Home Minister of Andhra State averred that '*Maa Bhoomi*' was intended to run passions high and set one

section of society against other, thereby create troubles for the Government of Hyderabad. That's why, Congress ministers of Madras State patronized those dramas. As this drama had potential to paralyze dissensions within society and caused law and order problem, the fledging Andhra State could not afford it.²⁶ That's why it was proscribed. The trouble is that Andhra ministers find it very easy to strew noble little homilies far and wide but considerably less easy to follow those homilies themselves.

POLITICAL PENSIONS:

It is interesting to note that as all political parties were not having any role whatsoever in the police action they had rightly kept aloof from it, until Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India declared to introduce political pensions in 1972. It was from that year, all political parties especially Communists had started eulogizing it as a freedom struggle and started claiming political pensions. Especially agitprop writers became very busy to strut their wares at every conceivable place. Since there was a split in the Congress Party, Indira Gandhi's minority Government depended on the support of the left parties. It was during this time the Naxalite movement started in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. It was denounced by Andhra communists. They averred that they had already experimented this type of militant movement in Telangana, however, they could not achieve much. Government of India wanted this sort of statement from the Communists against the Naxalites. Consequently, she connived at the ruse. Another important thing is that all the Hindu convicts who were incarcerated during 1944 to 1951 for any crime got political pensions. Of course, the Government of Andhra Pradesh as its wont had not considered the claims of even the genuine Muslims who fought against the atrocities of the Razakars and jailed during this period. Andhra Communists leaders left them high and dry. Few people practice what they preach and no one less so than Communists leaders. Few are more capable of having the best of everything both ways. Their spiritual home is no doubt earlier in Russia now in China, their native land is Coastal Andhra, but they live in comfortable

Telangana. They are at once acquisitive capitalists and sincere communists. It is a paradox that, the Communists who opposed the accession of Hyderabad into Indian Union and declared "Azad Hyderabad" and fought against the Government of India between 1948 to 1951 and yet have been recognized as Freedom Fighters. The Government of India granted Communists (Revisionists) leaders with monthly pension of Rs.26,000/-, 10 Acres of land, free medical

aid, house sites and all India first class railway pass.

It is not out of place to mention that our founding father of the Indian Constitution Dr.B.R.Ambedkar said that communism would not flourish in India similar to that of Soviet Russia and Kuomintang, because the leadership of the Communist Party of India was in the hands of upper cast boys epically the Brahmins, who do not need a change in India.

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HISTORY OF RAYA VELLORE

Dr. G. Devaraj

It is an event of immense pleasure to make a study of early History of Tamil country. Every part of the Tamil Country had been a great center of human activity. Many of the sub-regions here were historic centers which by their dynamic impulses made significant impact on the Tamil Country. Each region and sub-

region had played a remarkable role which had been less understood by posterity.

Innumerable sources are available to trace the history of South India. Yet in the reconstruction of early history, epigraphy plays a vital role. The numerous inscriptions that are found in and around of Vellore. They are of two

kind's viz. those engraved on stones and those written on copper plates, supported by literary and secondary sources.

It was a vast region in the northern part of the Tamil country. Early Vellore district consisted Kalastri, Karuvattu Nagar, Vengupattakur, Chanyanthapuri, Kannakudi and Krishnagiri. In fact eight taluks of Vellore district, six taluks of Thiruvannamalai district, two taluks of Villupuram district and two taluks of Chingelput district were the solid units in Vellore of the Mediaeval period. Thiruvannamalai district was bifurcated on 01.10.1989. These eighteen taluks formed and functioned more or less as a single unit.

The citadel city Vellore was the capital city of the Vijayanagar rulers. Vellore was mentioned as a small village inhabited mostly by hospitable huntsmen in an ancient classical literature of Sirupannattrupaddai¹

Vellore is known as "Raya Vellore" to distinguish it from Eluru in Godavari district, it is also known as "Uppu Vellore"² Vellore Fort's architecture resembles the Madura ruler's architecture. The Original settlement was Velappadi now a suburb which derived its name from the circumstances of its being situated in the midst of a forest of vela or boboo tree. Vellore similarly signifies the village of boboo trees and prefix Raya was added in consequences of its becoming a stronghold of the Rayas of Vijayanagar³

The river Palar, route cause for the district fertile originates at Nandidurgam in Karnataka state and flowing through Eastern Ghats, Javad hills entering into the Vellore district, passing several historical towns Vaniyambadi, Ambur, Pallikonda, Gudiyattam and vellore the famous historical towns. It has its tributaries of Cheyyar, Poondi, Goddar, Koundianadi some minor tributaries and empties its water in to the Bay of Bengal.⁴ Some of the important towns which exist on the banks of the river Palar are Tirupattur, Vaniyambadi, Ambur, Gudiyatam, Pallikonda, Virinjipuram, Katpadi, Brahmapuram, Sevoor, Serkadu, Ammundi, Thiruvalem, Arcot, Puduppadi, Kaveripakkam, Takkolam and Arakkonam.

Vellore consists Madras and Chengaleput. Villupuram districts formed two divisions -

Aruvanadu and Aruvadatalainadu and further divided Aruvava south, Aruvava North.⁵ Ptolemy has noted this territory which was roughly extending between the South Pennar and North Pennar as Aruvarnai or Arvarnaio.⁶

These two divisions Aruvanadu and Arvavdathalai-nadu combinedly came to be called as Tondaimandalam or Tondai-nadu perhaps after the conquest of this place by Tondaiman- llamTirayan who ruled from Kanchi. However according to the collections of Mackenzie the earliest settlers who ruled over this area before it was conquered by llam-Triayan were the Kurumbas and the region was then known as "Kurumba Boomi". It is said that they divided the country into twenty-four divisions or Kottams and these each had a fort⁷

The occupations of the Vellore district by the Kurumba is proved by the extensive but ruined forts in Padavedu near Polur.⁸ Again traces of these old fortifications have been further discovered in Mahendravadi, Ambur, Narayanavaram and Vallimalai. During that time certain parts of Vellore region was known as RajakambiraRajyam. After the rule of Tondaiman-llanthirayan the portions of Vellore had been ruled by almost all the emperors of South India- Pallavas, Cholas, Rashtrakutas, Pandiyas, Hoysalas and the Vijayanagaras.

During the sangam age this region was a part of Tondai Mandalam. It was ruled by Perumbanas whose king lladirayan was immortalized in Perumpanarruppadai.⁹ Malaipadu Kadam one of the poems in pathupattu reveals the rich life pattern of the people of Vellore. It is believed that the Kalabhras who overran the entire Tamil country about fourth century A.D did not fail to cause damage to Vellore. Their rule brought darkness on the historical scene. When the political darkness vanished this region came to be ruled by the Banas. The Banas were minor chieftains of South India. The rule of the Banas came to an end when they were defeated by the rising Pallava power.¹⁰

Mahendravarman (590-630 A.D) one of the great Pallava kings held away over Vellore. A good number of epigraphical evidences that are found in different places of Vellore give evidences to the rule of Mahendraverman. A cave temple was built by Mahendraverman at

Mahendravadi of Arokkonam taluk in Vellore. An inscription in this temple give the name of the place Mahendrapuramu.

Nandivarman II (731- 795 A.D) his general Udayachandran famous for his Valour defeated successfully the Pallava dominions from the enemies. In his honour Udayendram a town near Vaniyambadi, on the bank of the river palar was founded at Gudiyattam in Vellore.¹² Nandiverman III founded alliances with the Gangan the Rastrakutas and defeated the Pandiyas at Thellaur he was called "Thellaru Erintha Nandivarman."¹³ After Nandhivarman, Nirupatungan and Aparajita the two pallavan princes engaged themselves in fratricidal wars to establish their claim to the throne. Since the battle of Tirupurambiyam in 885 A.D.

The Cholas under Aditya I steadily rose in strength.¹⁴ He invaded Tondaimandalam in the battle of Tirupurambiyam that ensured he defeated the remnants of the pallava power and put an end to the pallava rule completely. After the death of Aditya I his son and successor Parantaka I inherited not only the throne but also the enmity of the Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakutas under the leadership of Krishna II met the Cholas in the battle at Vallam in 910 A.D. which is the modern Tiruvalam¹⁵ in the Vellore district and inflicted a defeat on Krishna II and his allies.

The Rashtrakutas ruler Krishna III occupied the major parts of Tondaimandalam and strengthened his position in the PadaividuRajyam, one of the administrative units of vijayanagara in Vellore district. The Chola s power was revived worth the ascension of sundrachola who extended his power not only in the south but also in the north. Rajaraja I completely put an end to the Rashtrakuta rule. By 985 A.D. the whole of Vellore was reconquered by the Cholas.¹⁶

The decline that set in the Chola Empire encouraged the remaining rulers of the Tamil country viz, the pandyas and other chieftains like Sambuvarayas to clamour for independence. After the rule of the second Pandya the Hoysalas rose to prominence in South India during the later half of the thirteenth century. In 1322A.D. the Hoysalas ruler Ballala III moved into unnamable the very

important town in North Arcot, which later came to be known as Tiruvannamalai. According to "Koil-olagu" when the Brahmanas were celebrating a festival in Sri Rangam a Muslim army had come in and after occupying a few parts of Tondaimandalam, Vellore, Tiruvanamalai and Chingleput marched towards Srirangam.¹⁷

After the decline of the Hoysalas, the Sambuvarayas became the ruling class of this region. They were the chieftains under the imperial Cholas and later under the Pandya's. They gradually developed their power, position in and around PadaividuRajyam from 1264 A.D. to 1310 A.D. till the assassination of Kulasekarapandya, the Sambuvarayas were in the service of the Pandya Kingdom. "Virasamban or EthirileCholaSambuvarayan" (1306-1317 A.D) was the most important chieftain during this period.¹⁸

Ekambaranatha Kulasekara Sambuvara was the important chieftains.¹⁹ He was succeeded by his ablest son Tirumallinathan who carried the titles "verumankondan" and "Sakalaloka-Chakravarth."²⁰ He ruled from 1322 to 1339 A.D. He extended his rule from Vellore to parts of Chingleput and Villupuram. His Son Rajanarayana I ruled from 1337 to 1363 A.D. Raja narayana II, Sambuvaraya ruler was defeated by kumarakampana, the ablest son and successor of Bukka I, the Vijayanagar ruler in the year 1362 A.D. The Rajyam was elevated as one of the provinces in the vijayanagar empire existed in the palar river basin²¹ He saved the Tamil country from the hands of the Muslims. He reorganized the temple and the judicial administration and brought them under his direct control through subordinate officers.

After Kumara Kampana, his son Jammana Udaiyar became the second Mahamandalesvara and ruled from 1374 to 1377 A.D. He gave the gift of land to ternples.²² Virupanna udaiyar became the next Mahamandalesvara, governed it from 1377 to 1400 A.D.²³ After virupanna udaiyar prince Bukka II acted as governor for few years, probably between 1400 to 1405 A.D.²⁴ Prince vira vijaya Bhupatiraya was the Mahamandalesvara of the Padaividu Rajyam

from 1406 to 1421 A.D.²⁵ He concentrated mostly on economic and religious activities.

Saluva Narasimha was the another Mahamandalesvara of the region from 1452 to 1485 A.D.²⁶ The Samgama dynasty of Vijayanagar came to end in 1486 A.D. He usurped the throne and founded the Saluva dynasty.²⁷ Krishnadeva Raya 1509 to 1530 A.D. was the greatest ruler among the Vijayanagar emperors. He sent an army to control the Nayaks. The army encamped near Vellore in the Palar basin, all the chief of the Tondaimandalam met, and arranged to pay the tributes to the emperor.²⁸

For administrative convenience Krishnadevaraya divided the whole Tamil country into three divisions under three Nayaks or viceroys. The first was Gingee Nayaka whose jurisdiction extended along the seacoast from the river palar on the north to the river Coleroon on the south. Gingee Nayakship was under the control of Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka, Tanjore under Vijayaraghava Nayaka and Madura under Venkatappa Nayaka.²⁹ According to father pimento, a Portuguese Jesuit' the Gingee Nayakship was further subdivided into three smaller Nayakships, viz, Vellore Nayaka, Thiruvadigai Nayaka and Salavacha Nayaka.

Among these the Nayakship of the Vellore was most prominent. Major parts of the Vellore flourished on the banks of the river Palar.

Bommu Nayaka, the founder of the Vellore Nayakship ruled as vassal from 1526 to 1595 A.D.³⁰ Chinna Bommu Nayaka built a famous historical rock fort Vellore still enlighting the architecture style of Vijayanagar. Recently the Govt of Tamilnadu erected the monument pillar of first war of independence which to place in the fort of Vellore on 10th July 1806 A.D. He paid annual tribute till the outbreak of the Battle of Talaikotta at 1565 A.D. After the battle of Talaikotta, the capital was transferred to Penukonda.

Lingama Nayaka, governed the region from 1595 to 1604 A.D. He rebelled against the emperor Venkata II. Consequently he was deprived from his possessions and Vellore was captured from him. Vellore became the capital of Vijayanagar Empire in the year 1605 A.D., the ruler Venkathathi Raya governed the kingdom from the city of Vellore in the palar river basin. Sri Ranga II a weak successor was fought against the Bijapur Sultan Mustaba Khan, defeated by him at Virinjipuram on 4th April 1646 A.D. Sri Ranga lost his territory and Vellore was Beseiged by Bijapur Sultan.³¹

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TERRORISM IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DEENDAR ANJUMAN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE BANGALORE CHURCH BLAST IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (2000CE)

Drishti V. Baliga

Terrorism is a problem that has been experienced by almost every country in the world in the form of shootings, bomb blasts, etc. It is an act that has brought to the fore the humanity and cooperation we humans are capable of when threatened by a physical evil. When speaking about terrorism, it also becomes very important to define it- "Terrorism is a special form of political violence. It is not a philosophy or a political movement. Terrorism is a weapon or method which has been used throughout history by both states and sub-state organizations for a whole variety of political causes or purposes".¹ But terrorism could have not only political aims but religious as well.

India too has been suffering from the evil of terrorism for a very long time especially since independence. Terrorist activities have increased significantly due to our western neighbour, ever since 1989. Not only have these terrorist attacks resulted in loss of human life, they have also rendered innumerable people homeless. Pakistan resorted to this form of warfare because the defeat it suffered in the 1971 war and the non-gains it made in the first 2 years, convinced it that it could not get India to bend to its will through such conventional warfare. But, India has suffered from terrorism not only due to Pakistan, but other sources as well. It has had the problem of the LTTE in the south, insurgency in the north-east as well as Maoist insurgency issues.²

DEENDAR ANJUMAN ASSOCIATION:

The Deendar Anjuman Association was an organisation that was founded by late Hazrath Moulana Syed Siddique Kibla, who later came to be known as 'Deendar Anjuman Channabasaveshwara'. He was born on June 7, 1886, to a remarried widow in Balampet near Gurimitkal in Gulbarga district of Karnataka. After completing his primary education at Gulbarga, he went to Madras to pursue higher education at the Mohammadan College. Deendar Anjuman was a learned man well-versed in religious texts. He had studied the

Hindu epics, Ramayana and Mahabharatha, the Bible, the Quran, Vachana Sahitya among many others. He was an excellent orator with good people skills, able to talk and establish contact with people from different religions, but had a particular affinity for the Lingayat community and was closely attached to them.³

Deendar Anjuman propagated the belief in 'Eko Dharma, Eko Jagadguru and Eko Jagadeeshwara'. But, in reality, Eko Dharma was Islam, Eko Jagadguru was Mohammad Paigambar and Eko Jagadeeshwara was Allah. His aim was to islamise India and the world at large. For this very purpose, he wrote several books titled, 'Lingayata', 'Pancha Shanti Marga', 'Hindu Muslim Ikamathya', etc. He interpreted the Bible, the Quran, Vachana Sahitya and other religious texts and published them in different languages like Telugu, Arabic, English, Urdu, Tamil and Kannada.⁴

Deendar Channabasaveshwara above all, believed that he was a reincarnation of Channabasaveshwara, one of the most revered saints among the Lingayats. He established himself as a 'Jagadguru' as well, to try and win over the Lingayats living in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Goa and Maharashtra. To further this aim, he concocted a theory that the Lingayats were originally from the Arab country and resided near Egypt but migrated to south India when Egypt was about to flourish. He said that, 2,000 years ago, Hindus would whole-heartedly consume meat and a Hindu that did not eat meat was considered to be an outcast. The Lingayats were forced to give up their habit of eating beef and were asked to change their religious beliefs by the Aryan rulers, according to him.⁵

Deendar Channabasaveshwara gained a following and he continued propagating his ideas. His son, Zia-Ul-Hassan, later became the guru of the Deendar Anjuman Ashram, which had its headquarters at Asifnagar, Hyderabad in the then state of Andhra Pradesh.⁶

BLASTS ACROSS INDIA:

The Deendar Anjuman Association became notorious for bomb blasts across south India. Its members in the year 2000, bombed several places of worship in three states, namely, in the then Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Goa. In Andhra Pradesh, explosions took place at Machilipatnam, Ongole and Tadepalligudem.⁷ Churches at Medak and Vikarabad were targeted. At Machilipatnam, a Christian congregation of around 3,000 people was bombed and around 21 were injured.⁸ At Ongole, the Gewett Memorial Baptist Church and at Tadepalligudem, the Mother Vannini Catholic Church, were bombed. The former injured 3 persons.⁹ Crude bombs were found at a church belonging to the Church of South India at Medak¹⁰ and a bomb that was found, was immediately defused at Vikarabad. There has not been any news of blasts.¹¹ IEDs were also planted at the Kodandarama Temple at Vijayawada and at the Markaz Mosque at Guntur.¹² In Goa, the St. Andrew's Church at Vasco, underwent mild destruction thanks to a crude, low-intensity bomb. There was no report of any casualty though.¹³

BLASTS IN KARNATAKA:

Karnataka was one of the states to fall prey to the blasts orchestrated by The Deendar Anjuman Association. Three places in the state were bombed:

1. Wadi, Gulbarga- Two crude bombs at the St. Ann's Catholic Church ended up damaging the church and injuring two people.¹⁴
2. Hubli- A low-intensity bomb exploded at the St. John Lutheran Church in the Keshavapura area causing damage to the church but no injuries.¹⁵
3. Bangalore- The St. Peter and Paul Church at Jagjivanramnagar (JJ Nagar) witnessed a blast at 10:15 PM in the night. Before this, a Maruti van carrying bombs for another church exploded at Minerva Mills around 8:30 PM killing 2 of the Deendaris and causing grievous injuries to a third man.¹⁶

THE BANGALORE CHURCH BLAST:

The successors of Deendar Anjuman Channabasaveshwara, who were ever trusting of their leader and had blind faith in him, in order to realise his dream, carried out numerous bombings. As per the prosecution, some of the conspirators got together to prepare the bombs. One of them, Zia-Ul-Hassan, along with 4 of his sons, in October 1999, met at Deendar Anjuman Ashram in Hyderabad to begin devising their heinous plan of the bomb blasts. This was followed by more meetings at various places in Bangalore. After that, 4 of the members of the Deendar Anjuman Association, set about putting their plan into action. Bombs were prepared at the house of Sheik Hashim Ali in Hyderabad and the same were transported by another member to Bangalore. Syed Abdul Khadar Jilani, who was specially trained in the preparation of time-bombs, prepared them and transported the same to different places. On July 9, 2000, a month after the blast at Gulbarga, around 7:30 PM in the evening, four of the Deendaris placed highly explosive substances and bombs including an Improvised Explosive Device (IED) near the rear window of St. Peter and Paul Church that can be found on the JJ Nagar Main Road in Bangalore. The time set for the explosion of the bomb was 10:15 PM and without disappointing the plotters, the bomb exploded causing heavy damage to the church building.¹⁷

Sometime before the blast at the church, as three of the men, Zakir, Siddiqui and S M Ibrahim were transporting a few bombs to another location in a Maruti van, the bombs exploded accidentally near Minerva Mills, killing Zakir and Siddiqui instantly and leaving Ibrahim with severe injuries.¹⁸ While the St. Peter and Paul blast resulted in no physical harm to anyone, it did result in significant emotional injuries- the Christians who were not at all pleased with the incident, in retaliation, resorted to large scale destruction of public property. This led to 17 vehicles being damaged and the situation became so tense that it required the deployment of additional forces.¹⁹

INITIATIVES BY THE STATE AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS TO PUNISH THE PERPETRATORS:

The state governments of the respective states along with the Government of India, worked together to catch and punish the

perpetrators. The case that was initially handled by the local police, was later handed over to a team of Corps of Detectives (CoD) which comprised DSPs, V S D'Souza, M B Appanna, G R Hiremath and Manthesh who also filed chargesheets against the accused.²⁰

The Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka pacified their people and assured them that the criminals would be caught. Mr. N. Chandrababu Naidu, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, soon upon hearing of the blasts at Ongole and Tadepalligudem rushed to the places and promised to the Christian community that justice would be served and stringent action would be taken. He even advised Christian leaders to be vigilant and sensitive and the community to be watchful. The then Karnataka Chief Minister, Mr. S M Krishna and Mr. N. Chandrababu Naidu showed remarkable cooperation and exchanged notes on the ongoing investigation regarding the blasts. Mr. S M Krishna also spoke with the then Union Home Minister, Mr. L K Advani and briefed him on the investigation that was underway. The Karnataka CM arranged a trip to Delhi as well, to appraise the Centre and the Congress high command (which was the ruling party), as the then Party President, Ms. Sonia Gandhi, had reportedly taken a serious note of the attacks on the churches in Karnataka.²¹

The Central Government issued a notification on April 28, 2001, declaring the Deendar Anjuman Association as an unlawful association under The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1957.²² The Supreme Court also refused to lift the ban and upheld the Centre's decision when a petition was filed by Deendar Anjuman challenging the decision of a Special Tribunal justifying the ban.²³

SPECIAL COURT AND HIGH COURT'S VERDICT:

There were two judgements passed in Karnataka regarding these blasts. The first was in 2008 by a special court whose judge was The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S M Shivana Gowdar. He tried 27 people belonging to the Deendar Anjuman Association of which 23 were convicted and 4 were acquitted. The criminals were booked under Sections 121 and 121 (A) of the Indian Penal Code.²⁴ Of them, 11 were

given the death sentence and 12 were given life imprisonment.²⁵

A second judgement was passed in 2014 by the High Court of Karnataka presided by The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. Kumar and The Hon'ble Mrs. Justice Rathnakala. Seven of the accused people were absconding and as a result, the cases against them were split up. Two of the accused died in the van when the bombs exploded and two more died before the verdict could be passed. 4 were acquitted. Many more were either given the death sentence for offences under Section 121 of the IPC or were awarded rigorous life imprisonment.²⁶

OBJECTIVES OR MOTIVES BEHIND THE BLASTS:

As mentioned earlier, as per the High Court verdict, the main goal of Deendar Anjuman Channabasaveshwara was to islamise India and the world at large. His son, Zia-Ul-Hassan, who later became the guru of the Deendar Anjuman Ashram and migrated to Pakistan, was of the same mentality. He said that when he had gone to Mecca and Madina in 1998, he got a prophecy which said that India would become an Islamic country within 2 years, there would be a war between India and Pakistan, north India would suffer 70-75% loss and all arms and ammunition would be exhausted. He would then enter India with 9 lakh followers and after setting foot in Punjab, they would create havoc in south India, paving the way for his easy entry into the south. The Deendaris, in order to achieve their objective, needed support. Therefore, they tried to attract young Muslims and held secret meetings every year, after the celebration of Urs in the month of Rajab and encouraged the youngsters to train in activities of Jihad, Nifaaq and Siria. For this, they went to Pakistan and were trained in the preparation of explosive substances, bombs, blasting of bombs, operation of arms and ammunition, etc. Along with all this, the members of the Deendar Anjuman Association were also enraged by the conversion of poor Muslims to Christianity by the Missionaries and therefore conspired to create disharmony, feelings of enmity, hatred and ill-will between two major Indian communities i.e., the Hindus and the Christians, so that India would face the wrath of the western world and would no longer be able to project itself as a secular

nation. In other words, they hatched a plan to make the Christian dominated western countries condemn India and hate the government established by law in the country.²⁷

After these attacks, as mentioned, the Deendar Anjuman Association was banned. But, the terrorist attacks on Bangalore and India

are far from over. Bangalore witnessed around 5 more attacks and India has also bore the brunt of several attacks in various places such as Mumbai, Srinagar, Delhi, etc. But, our nation has not bent its head to any of these terrorist attacks and has fought against them ferociously and continues to do so to this day.

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SENSE OF KINSHIP: A RE-READING OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY SPIRITUAL TEXTS OF MALABAR

T.K. Faizal

The sixteenth century witnessed the beginning of new epoch in the history of Malabar. It is the period of colonial intervention to the Malabar Coast. The contact between

Malabar and Portuguese, which was opened through the first voyages of Vasco Da Gama in 1498, was a unique event in the history of both Malabar Muslims and Portuguese. It was the

success of the Portuguese journey in search of Christians and the spices. The arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of the Malabar at the turn of the sixteenth century was undoubtedly a critical moment for the long establishment Muslim community. It was drastically changed the existing society of Malabar.

The main intent of the study is the critical analysis of the influence of spiritual texts among the Muslims in Malabar during the sixteenth century. It attempts to examine the problems of Muslims after the advent of Portuguese in Malabar and the religious tensions among the Muslims during the period of Portuguese encountering. To analyse the nature of the Muslim resistance against the Portuguese in the Malabar Coast. And also the spirit of the Muslim emerged the sixteenth century against the marginalized atrocities of Portuguese. The study follow that the Muslims of Malabar were the first community of India resist the colonial domination with the religious and national spirit in India.

Problematization is the foremost steps in any research works. A study begin questions are arising. This study is an attempt to find out answer of the research question derived during the time of choosing this particular topic. The research questions are how did Muslims who were not a military force in Malabar fought against the Portuguese? And what was the basic reason of the Muslims defense against the Portuguese power?

For the study I have chosen contemporary Arabic texts like *Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadati al Sulban* [rousing in the people of faith to struggle against the Portuguese], *Al Fath ul Mubeen li Samriyyi Alladhi yuhibbu al Muslimeen* [the manifest conquest], *Al Kuthubat Ul Jihadiya* and *Al Qaseedat Ul Jihadiya*. All these texts show an ideological resistance against the Portuguese atrocities in Malabar. It created a circumstantial situation for the formulation of Muslim community against general enemy.

Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadati al Sulban

The best known work from this period in Arabic literature is *Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadati al Sulban*. The title itself means 'rousing the people of faith to struggle against the Portuguese'¹. It was written by Abu Yahia Zain

al-Din bin Ali in 1515 AD, who was grandfather of Zain al Din Mabari. He was a well-known leader of the Muslim community and a prolific writer on various Islamic topics. It is an ideological poem; the poet suggested a jihadi or holy war against Portuguese. The poem was printed in Abdul Rasheed edited Arabic work, the *Turas al Muqawama Zid allsti amarin* 2008. The poem has 135 verses². It can be divided into several sections. The first seven lines starts with the plea to the Muslim rulers and kings for their support against the Portuguese. It followed twenty nine lines of the poem details the atrocities committed by the Portuguese against the Muslims are obliged to fight against them. Then the author explain the principles of jihad as prescribed by the prophet Muhammad in the holy Quran and the divine rewards that the martyrs receive after their death in forty five lines of the poem. The next then warn the Muslim umma of the punishment awaiting those who trade with the Portuguese, accept their domination and are afraid to fight them. The poem ends by encouraging the Muslim to fight the Christians and describing the state of eternal life in Paradise after this holy war³.

Zayn-ud-din Ibn Ali tries to sensitize the believers of the true situation with a view to awaken their spirit. The atrocities committed by the Portuguese have been well described by him. He witnessed the landing of the Portuguese in Malabar. He says that the Portuguese invaded the home land of the Islamic umma and imprisoned the people of its shari'a⁴. He comments, demolishing their cities enslaving the believers, adorning their women only for seducing them Preventing Muslims from the Holy Haj pilgrimage, canceling the journey to the best of the lands, and killing the Hajjis and other believers with various types of tortures and different ways of mutilation. He narrates that flogging and isolating those chanting the name of 'Muhammed' and abusing the Prophet without any scruples. Taking the captives and putting them in narrow rooms like sheds for senseless cattle, ridiculing Islam and those Muslims who pass by them, and openly laughing at them. The texts of Zayn-ud-din Ibn Ali created a sense of kinship among the Muslims against Portuguese. He was ideologically against the Portuguese conquest. He even suggested a jihad or holy war against them in his famous poem. The content of the

books spread through the Friday prayer sermon in the Malabar.

Al Fath ul Mubeen li Samriyyi Alladhi yuhibbu al Muslimeen

Qazi Muhammad Ibn Abdul Aziz was a renowned philosopher, poet and sufi in sixteenth century Malabar. He had composed more than 12 works and contributed in the growth of Arabi-Malayalam literature. The most important work of qadi Muhammad was *al Fath ul Mubeen*, which is on a historic theme and it seems that he was an eyewitness of Portuguese atrocity and chaliyam war in 1571. The full title of the poem *Al Fath ul Mubeen li Samriyyi Alladhi yuhibbu al Muslimeen* [the manifest conquest], it dedicated to Zamorin who love Muslims. The poem has 537 lines. Which start the narration of zamorins as Muslim friendly. He goes to describing the virtues and noble qualities of Zamorin. Then he pray for the zamorins's welfare and proclaim that it is the duty of every muslim to pray like that. The author then narrates the events that started the arrival of Vasco da Gama in the Malabar and which lasted by few decades, followed by description of the events that took place until the capture of the Chaliyam fort.

Qazi Muhammad Ibn Abdul Aziz was one of the leaders of the Mappilas in the holywar. He described how people came from far off lands to take part in the battle. He described that due to the Portuguese destruction of coastal settlements and the constant bombardments of Mappila centers, people began to walk along the mountains. But they walk in perpetual fear (of the Portuguese)⁵. And also the poem provides a spirit of kinship among the muslims against portuguese atrocities. Qazi Muhammed had been very actively involved in the Chaliyam battle of 1571 with the other Qazis, Sayyids and Yogis. He described how people came from far off lands to take part in the battle. "Men came like ants from far off places" says the author of *Fath-al-Mubin*, "the carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers and laborers with what all arms and provisions they could carry"⁶.

As he was the Qadi of Calicut, the poem also reflected his loyalty and patriotism in favor of the ruler, the Zamorin. Qadi Muhammad says that it is incumbent upon each and every

Muslim to pray for this Zamorin king, he is not a Muslim; he had still fought for the Muslim and protects them from their enemies unlike certain Muslim kings who strike truces with the infidels⁷. Qadi Muhammad reiterates a picture of a united force of Muslim and Nayar soldiers who carry out their attack under the command of the zamorin. In the final verses, the author says, the chaliyam war is famous but I have versified the story as a plea that would benefit me; calling it *Al Fath al Mubeen* of the Zamorin who loves the Muslims. Here national and religious spirit of kinship workout among the Muslims against Portuguese.

Al khutuba al Jihadiya [jihadic sermon] and *Al Qaseeda al Jihadiya* [jihadic poem]

Qazi Muhammad, a well-known sufi who wrote two jihadic works, *Al khutuba al Jihadiya* [jihadic sermon] and *Al Qaseeda al Jihadiya* [jihadic poem]⁸. The manuscripts of the text have been founded in two private collections of Malabar, one at pankil ahamad kutty musaliyar and other ahamad koya saliyath kutubkhana. In the first has 9 pages and second has 7 pages. Both manuscripts are followed three page poem title *qaseedath ul jihadiya*. The style of this text is also worth commenting on. As with any known texts of Islamic sermons, it addresses its Muslim audience repeatedly. This sermon used several quoting from holly Quran and hadith for explain the duty of original believers. *Al kutubat ul jihadiya*, in the form of kutuba prepared by him and send to Chaliyam fortress and neighboring masjid during the war narrated in *Al Fath ul Mubeen*⁹. It is highly instigative speech in written form composed with a view to stimulate the faithful towards a hard battle against the Portuguese till the achievement of total victory. *Al Qaseedat ul Jihadya* is a 43 lines of poem, composed in the context of the war for capturing the Chaliyam Fort. It provides some ethical advice for those mujahids who were active participant during the Chaliyam war. In the poem he congratulates the Muslim fighters for winning this decisive victory over the Portuguese and celebrates their courage, dedication and heroism.

Khutuba provides us an opportunity to understand the complimentary and contradictory aspects of an Indian Ocean sermon in the sixteenth century. It also would help to us realize the political and intellectual

connotation that a sermon could invoke and the way in which the pulpit could become a space for social and political mobilization. The qadi of the masjid or religious leader used the Qaseeda for explain the Portuguese atrocities against the Muslims in Malabar.

The kutubat Al jihadiya reveal on certain emotional background of the indo Portuguese conflict during the period of sixteenth century. This brief text helps to understand how the local community primarily the Mappila Muslims of Malabar, were inspired to the counter the Portuguese ventures in the Indian Ocean. The style of this text is also worth commenting on. As with any known texts of Islamic sermons, it addresses its Muslim audience repeatedly. This sermon used several quoting from holly Quran and hadith for explain the duty of original believers. In this sermon, o people for those who intend jihad this is the right time. For those who desire the highest success, this is the right occasion. The image worshipping idolatory Christian [Portuguese] have entered in to every region in the Malabar provinces. They were executed Muslims and demolished the Islamic establishment. They dominated the Muslims like a master over the slave, ridiculed the powerful Sultan and kings, captured the sovereignty of their land, and guarded themselves with fortification and cannons, even if our forts did not have tactics or cannons¹⁰.

In the kutubha, sermon deals with the Portuguese massacres, they have frontier of the country, shattered the livelihoods of inhabitants; obstructed travel and trade, substitute their profit losses, how many Muslims have been sacked in the prisons! How many vessels have they burned with fire! How many Muslims have been forcibly converted to their religion! And they burnt Quran and masjid etc. o servant of god, are you awake or sleep? Are you distracted away from this matter? Don't you see the ages are passing year by year? There is nothing between you and death but some days. If this is the condition of Adam's children, then good for

those who have spent their blood and soul for jihad, which is the best deed and good for spend the wealth for Islamic methods¹¹.

O believers, get ready for jihad with whatever you can. Don't lose your hearts. Be not as the unbelievers who say to their brothers, when they journey in the land, or are upon expeditions, 'if they had been with us, they would not have died and not been slain'. I encourage you to fight at sea. A military expedition by sea is more meritious than 10 expeditions by land. For the superiority of the war at sea, suffice prophetic saying: whoever missed a war with me, he may fight at sea. Whoever crossed the sea [for war] is equal to one who crossed the sea for hajj.

O the prepare for war against the enemy, you must stay steadfast when the feet waver. Be cautious about the withdrawal, o fighters in the cause of Allah- may He blessed you. O belivers when you encounter the unbelievers marching to battle turn not your back to them. Anyone turn back he is laden with the burden of God's anger. May God include me and you among those who enlivened his religion with their hand, and He inscribes victory on their forelocks. Prophet has said, Allah will empower this religion with bad mannered group¹².

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to indicate the Muslim response against the Portuguese, within the learned to the way of spiritual tests during the sixteenth century in Malabar. Some of the Arabic literary work influenced the Muslims for the fighting against the Portuguese. This entire works concerned to the religious ideas for explaining and inspiring of the Muslim youth for the fighting. It created a sense of kinship among the Muslims against their enemy. This spirit helps to provide a cohesive together resistance against the Portuguese in Malabar. The ideas spread through the Friday prayer religious speech.

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ANDHRA LUMINARIES AT RASHTRA PATHI BHAVAN-With Special Reference to Varaha GIRI Venkata Giri (Labor house to Rashtra Pathi Bhavan)

B. Gangadhar & I. Nageswara Reddy

It was the task of the Indian National Congress, which acted as the pioneer of the Freedom Movement for about six decades to overthrow the British and free the motherland from the clutches of the foreign yoke. But the responsibility fell on the shoulders of the Indians after obtaining Independence in 1947. Thousands of Indians lost their lives and many persons had taken great strain to give proper shape to the New Democratic Republic Government of India. Leaders from different parts of the country played a vital role to strengthen Modern India. Prominent among them were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Krishna Menon, B.R. Ambedkar, and Acharya Prapalani.

Being a very important state in Modern India, Andhra Pradesh has contributed many outstanding stalwarts apart from its service rendered during the Freedom Movement. In this connection it will be appropriate to have a bird's eye view on **Andhra's Participation in Contemporary Indian History**. Andhra Pradesh is fortunate enough in having a glorious heritage that dates back to prehistoric times—heritage that has been continuously enriched through the ages by a succession of great men and women. Andhra Pradesh was the first state to be carved out on the linguistic map of free India. Its birth was a significant landmark in the history of modern India accelerating the process of division on linguistic basis.

In this article we are tried to highlight the circumstance led to the Congress split in 1969 and how differences within Congress party led to the V.V. Giri election as the president of India. Before he became Vice President of India in 1967, he assumed various positions in the Government of India.

The Presidents of Indian Republic belong to different regions of India. Andhra Pradesh has led the privilege of having three Telugu speaking stalwarts as presidents. Telugu is the second largest linguistic group in India. It is interesting to know that these three presidents S. Radhakrishnan, V.V. Giri and N. Sanjeeva Reddy belong to three different fields of activity. Radhakrishnan who became the president of India on 13th May 1962 had a different background from his predecessor Rajendra Prasad. He was not a politician, but a scholar, a religious philosopher of wide repute, well versed in Indian culture. Thus we can say that his journey from **Education House to Rashtra Pathi Bhavan**. V.V. Giri's path to the presidency in 1969 was different from that of his predecessor i.e., S. Radhakrishnan. He started his career as agitator especially organized B.N. Railway strike successfully, which in turn elevated to position of first rank labour leader of the country. Thus we can say that his **journey from labour house to Rashtra Pathi Bhavan**. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the sixth President of India and the third from Andhra region is one of the front ranking politician and statesmen of

Modern India. His background to become president of India is totally different from those of his two ancestral presidents from Andhra Pradesh. He roused to highest position from the humble position of a village Munisif who was virtually did the job of farmer proving that his journey “from farm house to Rashtra Pathi Bhavan” was correct.

Thus Giri was elected president of India on 20th, August, 1969 as independent candidate in a keenly contested election which evoked not only national but international interest. President elections held so far four times, it was only in this election that the count of second preference votes became necessary. In fact this was a unique election inasmuch as no party candidate won since Giri stood as an independent and perhaps for the first time in electoral history he won as an Indian President.

V.V. Giri, who was elected India's president, is the oldest person to be elected to the nation's highest office at 75, after K.R. Narayanan who was 77. Though he was 75, full of energy and vigour. He used to receive all those who sought interview from 7.A.M to 6.P.M. As soon as he occupied the presidentship he had to face great challenge for this unbending nature. The Congress internal politics from which he benefited, led to open struggle and virtually split in December, 1969. The congress president NijaLingappa expelled the Prime Minister from the congress party itself, inturn working committee of congress party led by Smt. Indira Gandhi elected her as president and finally split in to two. Thus political conditions in India were became turbulence. Being a head of state V.V.Giri carefully watched and maintained neutrality, since, those developments did not affect the smooth running of Government. Missionary and upheld the dignity of the office of India. Of course in the changed scenario, parliament had a new appearance for the first time since independence especially after Smt. Indira Gandhi Government was fall in minority and advised the president to dissolve the parliament. This was one of the most crucial movements in Giri's presidential career. He used his experience and acumen to avoid test by following constitutional procedure and on the advice of the prime minister he dissolved the Lok Sabha.

V.V. Giri's period witnessed yet another epoch making event when a new country, Bangladesh wanted to emerge as the independent country from Pakistan. Almost ten million men, women, children Muslims, Hindus were started to enter into Bengal State in India. No civilized state could turn back persons feeling from that kind of terror from Pakistan, the boundary simply gave away and the refugees flooded into Bengal. The tide was on a scale that was unheard in human society. They were all poor, hungry, sick and wounded accounting about 10 million people. At the critical juncture president using his powers advised the prime minister to undertake relief and rehabilitation measures immediately to meet this unexpected burden, and prime minister responded in an exemplary fashion and acclaimed worldwide appreciation.

When the question of imposing president's rule in various states, came to the president notice, Giri acted as the constitutional head of the state and acted on the advice of the council of ministries. He signed dissolution notification of U.P Assembly in 1970, Orissa Assembly in 1973 and Gujarat State. Of course his signing emergency proclamation in the case of U.P while he was on a foreign soil created much cry in the opposition. But there are some occasions where president Giri didn't act on the advice of the council of ministers i.e. in the case of Manipur Assembly in 1973.

Once again our arch rival Pakistan invaded India on 3rd December 1971, and President Giri immediately called for Cabinet Meeting and declared internal emergency. The whole nation stood as solid rock behind the government decision to give a be-fitting reply to the invaders. Of course, the Government of India came out with glories success by crushing Pakistan armed forces in just Fourteen days.

Though Giri maintained cordial relations with the Prime Minister at the beginning of his tenure, but as the time passed the president became critical of the Government. He openly criticised the politicians and said that there was corruption, nepotism, and communalism had been increase in the country. While addressing the gathering at Chandigarh about Indian society he said that **there was politics without principles**, wealth without work, knowledge without character, pleasure without conscience,

commerce without sacrifice. He also said that "I feel we walk too much every project seems to be on paper. Our Great leaders should not talk much but instead doing some constructive work for the less privileged people".

V.V.giri also played an important role in exploding a nuclear device underground in the Rajasthan desert on 18th may 1979. It supported the everyone in the country and elsewhere cutting across all political party lines. India had become the Sixth Nuclear Power in the world after all five permanent members of UNO Security Council i.e., USA, USSR, China, Britain and France. It seemed to be a matter of special pride that India should be the first to break into that close nuclear arena. Many an important Amendments which were focussed both national and International attention was passed during V.V.Giri tenure. They includes 24th Amendment which was aimed at abolish the Privy purses and privileges of the former rulers of Indian States, 27th Amendment which was meant for the creation of new state of Mizoram, 28th Amendment which was aimed at providing special privileges to Indian Civil service Officers.

The 31st Amendment Act which was enacted in the twenty fourth year of the Republic of India which rises Upper limit for the representation of States in the House of the people from 500 to 525 members and reduces the upper limit for the representation of the Union Territories from 25 to 20 members in the House of people Lok Sabha. The Act which was given effect to the sixth point formula to the Andhra Pradesh State was also enacted during his period. Thus, about 20 such laws were included in schedule IX of the constitution.

Thus, V.V.Giri successfully completed his tenure of five years. He said about the position of the president on 18th, August 1974, just a few days before laying down his august office, still holds true about the position of the president to quote him "having contested successfully as an independent, he had tried to maintain his position throughout his five year tenure. That's why he believe not only congress men but also leaders of the opposition parties had come to him so often to represent their views on matters of national concern and importance. Emphasising the importance of the relationship between the prime minister and the

president under the Indian system of Government V.V.Giri said "the President could play a useful role by exchanging views frankly and freely concerning the government constitutionally as I and Prime Minister done".

When one correspondent asked V.V.Giri about the criticism that the president is mere rubber stamp, he replied that the rubber stamp idea is a political non-sense. We functioned under a written constitution. The essence of this constitution is a harmonious relationship between different organs under it. They have to function not in competition with each other but in mutual trust and esteem, so that the traditions of constitutional government are observed and maintained. The concept of a president functioning in opposition to the government will be a distortion of our constitution. But this idea does not take away the right of the president to insist on strict adherence to well-understood principles of democratic functioning. V.V.Gir further said that "acting on advice of the Council of Ministers does not mean a ready acceptance of such advice. The president has right to tell a Minister or Ministry that the advice tendered is wrong and should be reconsidered. In the ultimate analysis, the Ministers view may prevail because that view will have the sanction of parliament to which it is responsible. The president does not function in competition with his council of Ministers. Even when he expressed his views publicly on matters of common concern, he does not do so to embarrass the government but to strengthen their hands in leading with them.

So, the president Giri proved that through he was frank and criticise government openly he should stand above party politics. He is a sort of umpire who sees that great game of politics is played well and according to rules. He is ceremonial head of state and the nation looks to him for guidance and support, for he is not a leader of particular group of majority party but the representative of the whole nation. Indeed Giri followed Radhakrishanan's example and in public speeches blamed the congress government for mal administration and for its failure to check black marketing, hoarding etc. He openly advised the government to give a sympathetic treatment to the railwaymen after their unsuccessful general strike of 1974. In September 1973, on his annual visit to

Hyderabad he spoke on the condition of the Harijans in India. He was reported to have called for death penalty for any person who practised untouchability. Some eyebrows were raised at this outburst, but nothing more was

done to challenge the president's right or functions to speak out his mind. No doubt, within the limits of the constitutional position as head of state, it remained open for the president to question, encourage, exhort and to warn.

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QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY: A STUDY OF ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

R. Gopinath

Introduction

Madras Presidency was quite often called a 'benighted' presidency in political parlance but from the beginning of the 20th Century there were many struggles in the presidency to dispel that notion. Various forms of freedom struggles were waged against the English domination in Madras Presidency, more particularly in Tamil Nadu which was part of that Presidency. Among the various movements, study of Quit India Movement acquires a considerable significance as it was considered a final militant and violent movement against the British. It was the movement planned to be launched on 9th August, 1942 by Mahatma Gandhi. But the movement began without leadership as the prominent leaders were arrested. The movement spread throughout the country. In interior regions of Tamil Nadu the leaders actively participated in the movement, the people indulged in violent activities questioning the legitimacy of the British rule, agitated and courted arrest. In Tamil Nadu the Movement was organized and led by many prominent leaders like V.V. Giri, Satyamurti, Kamaraj and

M.P. Sivagnanam. The participation of the women, students and the marginalised in the movement was notable. An attempt is made in this paper to discuss this aspect of the movement with focus on role of leadership.

Gandhi and Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement of 1942 is a landmark in India's freedom struggle. It was the last and undoubtedly, the bitterest fight for freedom ever waged against the British in India. It surpassed all the earlier movements in its dimensions and intensity. It was spontaneous movement against British and foremost leaders participated in it. It spread over almost all the provinces from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin (Kanniya Kumari).¹ The violent upsurge of the masses and people ready to sacrifice everything for the emancipation of the motherland showed their grim determination to throw off the foreign yoke. It warned the British that they were not wanted in India and all section of people were opposed to the British rule.¹¹

After several rounds of discussion with All India Congress Committee, Gandhi introduced

the slogan of 'Do or Die', there was not a word addressed specifically to the workers or to the peasants. He made his appeal fervently to journalists, to the princes, to government servants, even soldiers and to the students, telling them separately what they should do to help the struggle.² No particular role was allotted to the workers and the peasants; instead they were expected simply to line up in the manner directed by their superiors. A 'draft of instructions' had been prepared by Gandhi for the working committee. The draft called for a day of hartal, like the one in 1920 with which non-cooperation was first inaugurated, but in case the hartal went beyond bounds, it laid down that on the day of the hartal no processions should be taken out nor meetings held in the cities, and all people should observe a twenty four-hour fast and offer prayers. Meetings and processions were allowed only in villages 'where there is no fear of violence or disturbance'. Obviously, the 1942 movement, as envisaged by Gandhi, was to bear all the usual marks of his non-violent struggle and every precaution was counseled against militant demonstrations and mass action.³

Quit India Movement in the Indian Context

In India freedom Movement is viewed uniquely as Political Revolution in England, or Revolution in France and Revolution in Russia.⁴ But Indian Freedom struggle had its own uniqueness for its ahimsa in all its battles. We cannot see anywhere in world history which is neither equal nor parallel to Satyagraha in winning the Independence of the Country. Such is the uniqueness that India possesses in Freedom Struggle.⁵ In this perception several extended periods of non-cooperation and civil disobedience against the British rule in India from 1920-22, 1930-32, 1942-44, when the Congress entered upon open defiance of the Government. The last of these rebellions, from early August from 1942 through September 1944, was the most serious. This was the so-called Quit India Movement; many important leaders worked clandestinely against the British rule accepting the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Quit India Movement in Madras Presidency

The AICC organized a meeting in Bombay on 7th August, 1942 to review the

political situation in India and to adopt a course of action to be followed for the liberation of India. On behalf of the TNCC, Bhaktavatchalam, Satyamurthi, Muthuranga Mudaliyar and a few others went to Bombay to attend the meetings.⁶

After a prolonged discussion on 7th August, the committee reassembled at Gowalic Tank Maidan on 8th August, 1942 at 3 p.m. Nearly 250 members of the AICC and 10,000 visitors attended this historic session wherein the famous 'Quit India' resolution was passed. The resolution had been drafted earlier by Jawaharlal Nehru, who moved the resolution and Patel seconded it. The historic Quit India resolution was passed with only 13 members voting against it thereby unfurling a flag to be upheld, indicating a mission to be fulfilled and declaring a nation to be born.⁷

President of the Congress explained the meaning of the resolution thus: "Let us not depend on promises. Let us have a declaration of independence forthwith... the slogan Quit India means nothing more and nothing less than the complete transfer of power into Indian hands."⁸

The AICC appealed to the people of India, to face the dangers and hardship will fall to their lot with courage and endurance and to carry out. Gandhiji stated, "... from this moment onwards consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free and we are no longer under the heel of imperialism ... Do or Die, we shall either free India or die in the attempt. We shall not see the perpetuation of our slavery." On 9th August 1942 Congress leaders like Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel, Azad and twenty other Congressmen were arrested in Bombay and taken to unknown destination. Rajendra Prasad was arrested at Patna. The Congress organisation was declared illegal forthwith. As a result of this, meetings, procession, hartals and demonstration took place all over the Tamil districts.⁹

At Bombay, before his arrested Gandhiji had left a written message with his wife who in turn revealed the message to Satyamurthi. He at once called a meeting of all the remaining members of the AICC, numbering about 70. After arranging the dispatch of cyclostyled message of Gandhiji, Satyamurthi left for Madras by train on 10th August 1942. Other Tamil

Nadu Congress members like Kamaraj, Bhakthavatchalam, Muthuranga Mudaliar and others also travelled in the same train to Madras.¹⁰

The British had already drawn up a list of the leaders who attended Bombay session for arrest. The police were already deployed at every station. Apprehending the intelligence reports, Kamaraj, the President of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee decided not to go straight to Madras. While coming to Madras Kamaraj had got down through back door at Arakonam station. As advised by Gandhiji to Kamaraj went underground and helped pass the message to all and organize the movement to the extent possible.¹¹

But others like Muthuranga Mudaliar, Bhakthavatchalam, etc., reached the Central railway station and were arrested by police. Satyamurti was arrested earlier at Arakonam junction and was taken him to Vellore jail and was detained therebefore transported to another place.

Organizational efforts by Kamaraj during this period were of great significance. Unnoticed by police, he went to the house of a veteran congress leader Kalyanarama Iyer. Along with him Kamaraj went to Tanjore and met congress leader T.R.V. Narayanasamy. From whence they visited some other places in Tamil Nadu organizing and meeting the congress workers. Constant police vigilance cut short the organizational activities of Kamaraj and he was arrested on 16th August, 1942 and detained under D.I.R.¹²

Other Congress leaders carried the message of Gandhiji to the people in Madras very secretly in all the districts in the State, and they started the vigorous campaign against the British. A large number of people and students eagerly participated in the movement.

The August movement broke out immediately after the news of the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders reached people. Initially it was marked by non-violent popular demonstrations in the form of meetings, hartals, processions and strikes all over Tamil districts.¹³ In course of time as the police started repressive measures the movement turned violent more particularly in the southern parts of Tamil Nadu. The distinguishing feature of the movement was the participation of the women

students from Queen Mary's College. In South Arcot district, a protest meeting was held at Cuddalore and passed the resolution condemning the action of the Government in arresting the congress leaders.¹⁴

A public meeting was held at Tanjore on 9th evening at Tilak ground under the auspices of the Town Congress Committee. It was addressed by T.K. Srinivasa Iyer and Chockalinga Pattar. Nearly 2,000 people had assembled for the meeting, but they were dispersed by the police and the leaders were arrested. In Trichy town and Karur, hartal was observed. Here a majority of the students in the college boycotted their classes.

In Ramnad district, about 1,000 people took out a procession. The crowd raised congress slogans and in the meeting the Government action was condemned. In Vellore, the congress workers organized hartals and in Tirunelveli district on 9th August some college students went out without taking dinner and marched in procession. A public meeting was held at Tuticorin.¹⁵

From 11th August, 1942 the movement was directed against the symbols of tyrannical government as programmed in the secret circular of the TNCC. The instruments of police administration and magistracy were hated and attacked. The system of communication and transport were the main targets of attack of the people. The government on its part enacted a number of ordinances like Penalties Enhancement Ordinance, the Special Court Ordinance, and the Wrapping Ordinance etc., to crush the movement. Arrest, lathi-charge, shooting became very common during this movement.¹⁶ Madurai, Ramanad, and Dindugal became violent centers of political activity.

Conclusion

The movement marked the climax of the freedom struggle. It was the last, yet the most important mass movement for complete emancipation of India. The earlier Congress movements were restricted to activities like hartals, processions, demonstrations, public meetings, picketing, boycotts and the refusal to pay taxes. But, the 1942 movement was the open rebellion. The crowd chose as their targets of attack, trains, railway stations, post-offices, police stations, telephone and telegraph lines, public buildings and property because they

were the outward symbols of British rule. The movement in fact prepared the ground for the transfer of power. The slogan of 'Do or Die' entered the souls of the people, shaking the British rule to its roots in India. Even the Englishmen had to admit and that if the British failed to find soon a way of handing over power smoothly, there was likelihood of a greater revolution to drive them out.

There was a complete breakdown of law and order in many parts of the country and the setting up of parallel independent governments by the people made them realize that they could not hold their sway over India for long. The violent mass upsurge of 1942, the enthusiastic response of the people from one end of the country to the other, many instances of

individuals and collective heroism and bravery in the face of heavy odds their untold sufferings and sacrifices hastened the British decision to quit India.

In so far as Tamil Nadu was concerned, organizationally the Indian National Congress made preparations for any kind of movement as it was led by a group of young dedicated leaders, more particularly, K. Kamaraj, who were all trained in leadership under the congress veteran S Satyamoorthy. Their organisational skills were already demonstrated in the 1937 elections when they defeated the Justice Party. Quit India Movement amply demonstrated the spirit of nationalism that was sweeping across the Tamil region.

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"THE COLONIAL REACTIONS TO THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT."

Dr. M. K. Gurulingaiah

The Quit India Movement of 1942 launched by the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji is significant in the history of India's struggle for freedom. It is interesting to study the British government reactions and attitudes to the "Quit India Movement" by the Congress. Here an attempt has been made to examine the reaction of that contemporary leaders and its impact on British policy towards India.

The British war time British government headed by Winston Churchill made a futile attempt to solve the Indian constitutional deadlock by sending sir stafford cripps in March 1942 with an offer to effect constitutional changes at the end of the war. The cripps

mission failed. Indian nationalists were bitter and had no hope of a settlement with Britain and they wanted to show their anguish in action. The Congress working committee meeting at wardha in July 1942, urged the British to withdraw from India. The resolution declared that frustration in India over British intransigence give rise to ill will against Britain and the Congress would change the ill will against Britain into good will it India felt the "glow of freedom" on the withdrawal of the Congress it decided on the formation of a provisional government representative of all important sections of the people of India. The provisional government would then confer with

the British for the adjustment of relations and co-operation in the common task of meeting aggression.¹

The Congress working committee pleaded with the British for the acceptance of its demands. If the demands were not accepted, it decided to utilise all its nonviolent strength for the Vindication of the political rights and liberty of India under the stewardship of Gandhiji. The Congress working committees Quit India Resolution was to be ratified by the All India Congress committee a month later. We can understand the Limited objectives of America and the motives of the British towards India and their collaboration by reviewing the British and American reaction to the Congress demand for the withdrawal of the British from India.

The general impression was that America was favourable to Indian demands and that the British had sent the Cripps mission largely due to the pressure of President Roosevelt of America. American influence was one of the several factors which had influenced the British authorities to despatch the Cripps mission to India. Soon after Roosevelt came to know that the Cripps mission had failed, He sent a message to Churchill pleading with him to postpone Cripps departure from India until one more final effort has been made to prevent air breakdown in the negotiations. He did not agree with the Churchill that negotiations failed on broad general issues, but expressed the feeling Universally held that the deadlock was caused by the unwillingness of the British government to concede the right of self government to India.² Churchill did not accept the point of view of Roosevelt and threatened that he could not take responsibility for the defence of India if everything has again to be thrown into the Melting Pot at this critical juncture. finally Churchill attempted to pacify Roosevelt without changing his attitude to India and pointed out that a serious difference between them would injure both our countries at the height of this terrible struggle. Thus Churchill cleverly laid emphasis on Anglo-American friendship and indirectly Persuaded Roosevelt not to interfere in Indian affairs.

The viceroy Lord Linlithgow was relieved after the failure of the Cripps mission and he held that even a satisfactory solution would not have improved the war effort. He thought that

failure made it clear that Congress was irreconcilable for the edification of the world at large and in particular of the United States and of certain circles at home. There was a unanimous feeling in the cabinet and a very general feeling in Parliament and outside that Cripps did the best he could that Congress was supremely unreasonable but that on the whole the after effects of the mission may be good in India and immediate effect excellent in America.³ The secretary of state for India Leopold Amery was happy that Congress was unpopular and held that nothing could be of greater benefit to India, or better help her future self-government, than that Congress should disintegrate and be replaced by more realist statesmanship. Amery emphasized the importance of publicity both internally as organ for studying morale of Indian public and extremely for putting across India's view of affairs particularly in the United States and China.

The Government of India wanted to have their plans ready and they held it to be of primary importance that public opinion in England and even more in America should be prepared well in advance for any strong action. Linlithgow suggested to take the press and American correspondents into confidence. when the authorities knew that Gandhiji might start civil disobedience movement, as early as June 1942 itself the war cabinet emphasized that quick decision and decisive action should be taken as soon as it was clear that Gandhiji activities must be repressed.

Indian nationalists were planning to launch mass civil disobedience movement. Gandhiji wanted to wage the final struggle for Indian Freedom. He wanted recognition of India's Independence immediately as reality and formness could be introduced in defence on that basis. He did not intend to start the movement unless, he was forced to do by the British policy. though Congress and Gandhiji disassociated with the British war effort they did not obstruct military operations. Gandhiji made it clear that he was anxious to help China but British government and policy stood in the way of effective Indian help. He emphasised that Indian Independence was the only way for utilizing India's great resources in the cause of world freedom.⁴ In his Letter to Chiang Kaishek

of China, Gandhiji pointed out that it was not his intention to weaken India's defence against the Japanese when you wanted the British to withdraw from India.

Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a letter to Roosevelt (sent through Col. Johnson personal representative of president in India) requesting him to do his best to give them an opportunity to organise a real national and popular resistance against the Japanese. He stated that negotiations were possible only if the British government acknowledged the independence of India and requested to all parties to get together and form a provisional government.

He wanted underwriting of British promise by United Nations or by Roosevelt to reassure the Indian public. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad also proposed that Roosevelt should guarantee the fulfilment of the promise of Independence to India and submit an arrangement for an interim government. The American officer in New Delhi wrote to Roosevelt that the situation in India has deteriorated and the government was not helpful and Indian nationalists were planning to launch mass civil disobedience movement.

Chiang Kaishek of China sympathized with the aspiration of the people of India for freedom and believed that the Congress represented the desire of the Indian people.⁵ He was convinced that India was considered a test case by other Asian nations and held that question was of utmost importance and the outcome might determine the outcome of the war in the Far East. In a letter to Roosevelt (July 25th 1942), Chiang Kaishek wanted the United Nations to do their best for the sake of our common victory, the United Nations must seek to stabilize the Indians situations and to secure the Indian people's participation in the joint war effort. He said that the only way to make the Indians reconsider their course of action was for the United Nations and especially the United States which they had always admired as third parties and offer them sympathy and consolation he pleaded with the American president to intervene and avert the crises. The British authorities told the Americans that if the AICC approved the resolution the government would take a strong position and arrest Gandhiji and other political leaders. Roosevelt in his letter to Chiang Kaishek pointed out that the British government felt that suggestions

from other members of the United Nations would undermine the authority of the only existing government in India would tend to create that very crises in India which it is your hope and my hope may yet to be averted.⁶

As early as June itself the British authorities had made preparations to meet the eventual threat of the Congress under Gandhiji. It wanted the Government of India to deport Congress leaders including Gandhiji to Uganda or some other African state. But important British officials in India opposed deportation of Congress leaders. The War cabinet regretted the decision of the viceroy against deportation of leaders but wanted an assurance that they would not in any circumstances apply the cat-and-mouse procedure and that they were determined if Gandhi fasted while under detention in India to continue his detention whatever the consequences.

The AICC approved the Quit India resolution and the Congress leaders were arrested in the early hours of 9th August 1942. The British carried on a regular propaganda against the Congress opponents to criticize Congress party.⁷ He emphasized and in China. In propaganda, the authorities wanted prominence to be given to these points action was supported by this viceroy's executive Council. The Congress resolution was the beginning of a for reaching scheme designed to undermine India's co-operation in the war effort, action taken in the interests of the UN as a whole and not merely for the protection of British interests in India. The speeches of persons and articles in the press critical of the Congress were all reprinted and circulated widely in Britain and America.

Clement Atlee, acting prime minister in the absence of Churchill sent a message to Roosevelt and pointed out that the government of India would take most vigorous steps, The intention was that as soon as the AICC approved the resolution to order the detention of Gandhiji and other members of the working committee under the defence of India rules and the more prominent of them would be deported from India. All bodies would be made unlawful. The main object of this action will be to be to render the movement abortive by removing and detaining its leaders. Thus Roosevelt knew

about the impending arrest of Congress leaders. But he did not reply to that letter.⁸

Only Chiang Kaishek of China was realistic and addressed another letter to Roosevelt. He held that developments in India were set - back to UN and wanted the UN should demonstrate to the world by their action the sincerity of their protest the principle of ensuring freedom and justice for man of all races. He appealed to him to take effective measures Roosevelt in his reply pointed out that they could exert their influence and efforts more effectively in the matter by refraining from offering active mediation to either side in the controversy. Roosevelt had been influenced by the British propaganda and was not anxious to support the cause of Indian Nationalists. Though American government favoured independence of all people, Roosevelt held that

the successful winning of the war was superior to every other consideration. He felt that his intervention would not be conducive to the military objectives which he had uppermost in mind.⁹

Thus it is evident that American people in general were sympathetic to the aspirations of Indian nationalists and were critical of the British rule in India. But the president and the administration were interested only in the war and never cared to view the Indian problems in its proper perspectives. Roosevelt was mortally afraid of Churchill and the way in which he replied Chiang Kai-shek is indicative of his timid and unhelpful attitude to India's freedom. He wanted to help Indians gain their freedom but not at the risk of disrupting his military coalition with Britain.

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RELIGION VERSES RELIABILITY: POLICY OF THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN MALABAR 1792-1858

V. Haridasan

Introduction

British East India Company, established in 1600, had got political control over Malabar in 1792. It was through the treaty of Sreerangapattanam of 1792 after the defeat of Tipu Sultan in the Third Anglo-Mysore War. The Company rule continued in the district till 1858. When the Company assumed the authority of Malabar, the region was crawling in its political infancy. The centuries old socio-political relations of Malabar region was shook by the revenue and political reforms of the Mysore rulers. When protests and counter-protests were going on, the Company came as the political master of Malabar. Immediately after the peace treaty, the district was put under the Bombay Presidency and a Commission with members from both Bombay

and Bengal Presidencies was constituted for making administrative arrangements with local powers. The Joint Commission, as it was called, concluded temporary settlements with the local rajas and chieftains of Malabar and reported it to the government. During the visit of the members of the Joint Commission in Malabar, they collected information about the social, political, religious and cultural aspects of Malabar. Their report was the basis of the early administrative reforms of the Company in Malabar. Besides, special commissions were constituted in different times for studying and reporting particular subjects and they also were based for future reforms. In 1800, Malabar was transferred to the control of the Madras Presidency. This paper is an analysis of the attitude of the

Company towards different religions of the district and the influence of it on their administrative policy.

Caste Distribution of Malabar

When the British came to Malabar, Hindus¹ and Muslims were the two dominant religions in the district. Hindus were the rulers and land owners of Malabar. Among the Hindus, Nairs were the leading caste. They served as the assistants to the local rulers and Namboothiri landlords. In actual practice they were the proprietors of land. The Nair militia was the most important force to protect the property and territory of the landlords and local chiefs. They were experts in martial arts and in the use of traditional weapons of Malabar. The Muslims were came to Malabar along with Arab traders and settled in the coastal regions of Malabar. By the advent of the Europeans the Arabs lost their domination in the Malabar Coast and the Muslims their job opportunities. Gradually they migrated to the interior parts of Malabar through the river routes and settled in the plains of the district. They resorted in agriculture and petty trade activities for their livelihood. The Malabar Muslims were known as Mappilas. When Mappilas became tenants under the Hindu land lords the religious harmony hitherto existed was disturbed and it took a serious nature during the Mysorean rule over Malabar. The migration of Hindu land lords and chiefs of Malabar to Travancore facilitated the Mysore revenue officers to conclude settlements with the Mappilas, the actual cultivators. Thus the new reform raised the status of the cultivators as the owners of land.

Previous Experiences of the Company

The policy of the East India Company towards different castes of Malabar was evolved on the background of its experiences from the region before the Sreerangapattanam treaty. Before the Company became the political master of Malabar, it had trade settlement at Tellichery. The Muslims of the coastal area and inland regions acted as barrier to the Company for their smooth trade activities. In many occasions the local Hindu rulers supplied their forces to the Company in their campaigns against the Muslims. In 1768, one such expedition was conducted against Ali Raja of

Cannanore. The detachment of Captain Thomas Henry consisted of 80 Nairs, and 175 Thiyyas. Besides, the prince of Kolathunad and the raja of Kottayam joined in the detachment with 1700 Nairs.² When Malabar was conquered by the Mysore rulers, new revenue reforms were introduced. The Nairs and Namboothiris lost their proprietorship over land and the actual cultivators became the owners of land. So the Hindu landlords and chiefs rose in revolt against the new government. The Muslims supported the Mysore rulers. The British exploited the situation. In 1790, the governor General of Bengal directed the Bombay governor to encourage the Nairs to throw off their dependence on Tipu Sultan and to engage them on the part of the Company.³ When the rivalry between the English and Mysore rulers started the polarization of Hindus and Muslims was witnessed with few exemptions. The Nair militia of North Malabar was an important instrument to support the Company army. During the time of the third Anglo-Mysore war the Company troops under Major Dow was assisted by 1500 Kottayam Nairs and 1300 Chirakkal troops.⁴ So it is evident that the Company had, in many occasions, assisted by the Local Hindu chiefs and their Nair militia.

Settlement of the Joint Commissioners

Immediately after the treaty of 1792, the Company sent a Commission with members from both Bombay and Bengal to settle the revenue collection of Malabar. The Joint Commissioners tried to reinstate the Nairs and Namboothiris in their old position and it created tension in the district. The British system of revenue administration forced the cultivators to share the products of the land between the tenants, the *Janmis* and the government. The latter two were the beneficiaries of the system. Naturally, the cultivators, majority of them were Mappilas, revolted against the system. In many areas the collection of revenue was paralyzed. Due to the protest of the Mappila peasants, the Raja of Walluvanad failed to collect the revenue and so his territory was taken back by the Company in 1793.⁵ The Mappila protest was very serious in many villages of Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks. The British

administrators described these areas as 'Mappila districts' and the Mappilas as 'jungle Mappilas'.⁷ During the outbreaks, the British troops sought the assistance of the local chiefs and rajas and their Nair militia contributed much to suppress the outbreaks. It was a great experience to the British for their future recruitments of the natives to the Company service.

To pacify the Muslims, the British at first followed a policy of conciliation. Some important leaders of the rebels were appointed as *Darogahs*⁸ and *Adhikaris*.⁹ But that experiment was not successful. Major Dow, one of the members of the Joint Commission proposed for the formation of a Mappila militia to suppress the disturbances, but it was not implemented.¹⁰ The continuous disturbances under the initiative of Mappila leaders influenced the policy of the Company administrators towards the Muslims of Malabar. They followed policy of avoiding the Mappilas in all levels of government. While recruitments were made for the posts in the revenue police and judicial establishments the Mappilas were exempted.

Recruitments during the Pazhassi Revolt

The revolt of Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja of Wynad was the most important threat faced by the Company immediately after its accession of power in Malabar. His revolt had the support of the native inhabitants including the Mappilas and tribals. The geography and climate of Wynad acted as a barrier to the Company troops for successful operations against the rebels. The troops had many setbacks from the rebels. They had lost many men, weapons and money. Many troopers were suffering out of epidemics and illnesses due to bad climate. As a partial solution to the problem, the Company decided to recruit locals to the revenue, and police establishments. Sibandi Corps of Nairs and Mappilas were formed during the first phase of the Pazhassi rebellion. But it did not bring peace in the district. According to the proposal of the Special Commission of 1797, a levy of irregular troops was raised under the Kootali Nair of Payyurmala, to harass Pazhassi Raja.¹¹ Till the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan, the Company depended local rajas and Nair chiefs for assistance suppressing the revolts

and rebellions. But the forces supplied by them were ill-disciplined and ill-trained. So the government decided to raise a trained force of the natives. The decision for raising a trained native force resulted in the formation of the Kolkar force under Captain Watson. It was a new police force trained and equipped on the model of the constabulary force later formed in London.¹² Watson's Kolkars was the chief instrument for the suppressions of the rebellions of Malabar at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Collector Innes gave the full credit of the suppression of the Pazhassi rebellion to Baber and the police Kolkars founded by Watson.¹³ Baber included 100 selected Kolkars in his final operation against Pazhassi Raja. The representation of the Mappilas in this team was below 25 per cent.¹⁴

Changes after 1815

At the beginning of the Company's rule police, revenue and judicial departments were not watertight compartments. Revenue officers had police and judicial duties besides the collection of revenue. The primary aim of the administrators was to collect maximum revenue. Native inhabitants were widely recruited to these departments as Tahsildars, Sheristadars, *Adhikaris*, Menons and Kolkars. When functions of the government expanded number of natives recruited was also increased. But the proportion of the Muslims in various establishments was very less. After 1815, the Cornwallis system was given way to the Munro system in Malabar. Thomas Munro in his proposals for judicial reforms in Malabar recommended appointing Naduvazhis and Desavazhis as heads of villages.¹⁵ He also recommended appointing Mappila *Adhikaris* in predominantly Mappila areas. The Hindus of Ernad, Walluvanad and Shernad taluks complained to Collector Canolly that there were too many Mappila officials in these taluks. From the 1830s outbreaks of Mappilas were started in different parts of the district. The agrarian discontent of the Mappila peasants was the major reason for these outbreaks. Major instruments for the suppression of these outbreaks were the Tehsildars and the police Kolkars under their control. Majority of the police Kolkars and Tehsildars were from Hindu communities.

Developments after 1850

In 1852 a commission was appointed under T L Strange to investigate the nature and causes of the Mappila outbreaks. The Commission submitted its report with the conclusion that the basic reason for the outbreaks was religious fanaticism of the Mappilas. He reported that there were 31 such revolts in different parts of Malabar between 1836 and 1852.¹⁶ He proposed certain measures including the establishment of a special police force, prevention of the use of arms by the Mappilas and putting responsibility of the loss of property and money to the entire villagers where the rebels belonged. The frequent revolts by the Mappilas were reason for the Company to keep the entire community away from the government establishments and dub them as untrustworthy and enemies of the government.

The recommendations of T.L.Strange were implemented by the Company government in Malabar. A police force of 31 native officers and 150 men under the Command of 2 military officers was sanctioned for Malabar in 1854.¹⁷ Act XXIII was passed in 1854 to fine the entire Mappilas of the villages disturbed. Through this Act the government branded all the Mappilas of a locality as rebels. Thousands of peace loving innocent people became suspicious in the eyes of the government officers. They were closely observed by the colonial government. The observation and surveillance duties were mostly done by the native non-Muslim revenue and police servants of the Company. The payment of fine was an additional burden to the Mappila peasants. T. L. Strange proposed to use the money collected through fine for the expense of the new police force. Act XXIV was also passed in 1854 to prevent the use of war knives by the Mappilas. It empowered the District Magistrate of Malabar to conduct search by his police force to any place suspected to be kept the *Ayudha Kathi* or war knife. The persons who were found to be kept such weapons can be punished with a fine not more than fifty rupees or imprisonment of six months or both.¹⁸

In spite of severe repressive measures, the outbreaks and rebel activities of the Mappilas

continued in Malabar. In 1855, Mr. Canolly, the Collector of Malabar was barbarously murdered by four Mappila convicts.¹⁹ The convicts were shot dead by the British force after a few days. The Mappila Outrages Act was renewed frequently by the government as the rebellion was a continuous phenomenon. It was because of this condition of Malabar that the Mappilas were deliberately excluded from the government services. In 1852, the total population of the district was 15,14,909. Out of this 27 per cent were Mappilas. Out of the 3,277 native servants under the Company there were only 221 Mappilas. It comes nearly 7 per cent of the total strength.²⁰ In the revenue and police establishment, there were 1581 native inhabitants. The strength of the Mappilas was 126. This statistics was the best example to expose the attitude of the Company government to the Mappilas of Malabar.

Conclusion

In all throughout the history of the British rule in Malabar, they preferred the Hindus than the Mappilas for serving their government. The British administrators had positive impression about different castes of Hindu religion. Many of them spent a lot of pages in their writings to describe the qualities of Namboothiris, Nairs and Thiyyas of Malabar. John W. Wye, in a report stated that the Nairs of Malabar were hereditary military nobility, who already proceeded, whether on business or pleasure, with arms in their hands.²¹ In southern division of Malabar, he continued, the Namboothiris, Nairs and Thiyyas were the best and quietest subjects and he had never found any difficulty in managing them. They were obedient and pay the dues to the government without trouble.²² He had opposite opinions about the Mappilas of Malabar. The hostile attitude of the British government towards the Mappilas was the root cause for the outbreaks initiated by them. It continued more or less in magnitude till the end of the colonial rule. The real reason for these revolts was the failure of the foreign government in identifying and solving the basic issues. It was a general and deliberate policy of colonial governments followed in other parts also. Instead of solving real problems they always attempt to divide the people and keep their side riskless. In reality the colonial government was the common

enemy of the people of Malabar. But they won in creating a notion among the Mappilas of Malabar that they were not the common enemy, but only one along with the Hindus. By developing this notion they could easily kept the Hindus of the district on their side.

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THE ELEPHANT IN THE STATECRAFT: THE CASE OF NILAMBUR FEUDATORY IN COLONIAL INDIA

V.M. Haseena

The elephants have attracted kings as valuable resources for royal projects virtually from the beginning of kinship. This is particularly applicable in the case of Indian history. Where kings had access to elephant locally, the attraction was magnetic. Earlier the war against elephants was fought on three levels. First is the clearing of forests for farming, second the defense of farmer's crop, through the extermination or capture and third, the hunting of elephant for their ivory and trunks.

The technique of capturing wild adult elephant and training them for warfare were created in India.¹ In early period elephant was used for war purpose, after the emergence of the state formation in India. The *Gajpati* kings of Orissa took the elephant as their dynastic

symbol. The word *gajpati* literally means lord of elephant or the protector of elephant.

The evidence of use of elephants in Indian history can be traced back to the Indus valley civilization. The Indus seal having elephants shows that the Indus people were familiar with elephants. Kings, *naduvazhikal*, *deshavazhikal*, wealthy *nair* families, other *jenmimar* etc., owned elephants as a symbol of status and wealth. They used these elephants mainly for temple processions, festivals and rituals in the shrines. *Anamala* was an amount paid for selling and capturing elephant, it was one of the sources of revenue to the *samutiri* kings of Kozhikode.² Francis Day has noticed that the people of Kerala captured elephants by making huge pits under the leadership of trained labourers.³ In certain cases the

elephants were resources for ancient Indian kings long before the war elephants were invented, the war elephants served ever after as the standard and all other function became secondary and derivative.⁴

The ancient practice of capturing elephant, training and caring them is continued today, but the modern use of elephant is dominated, rather by timber extractions and other practices. In the nineteenth century, there was increased use of elephants in the local and international human activities mainly because of the demand for tropical hardwood. This was due to the popularity of rail road, which needed an enormous number of sleepers, and steamships which needed hardwood decks. The result was a rapid increase in the use of elephant for extraction of timber from the native forests.⁵ Following the demise of war elephants, the timber elephants occupied the place. The feudal families in Kerala depended upon various sources of income in the colonial period. Linked to that, the Nilambur landlord family was depending largely upon elephants as the chief source of income.

The Nilambur *kovilagan*⁶ is an old landlord family in the Ernad *taluk* of colonial Malabar. The important source of revenue of the family or the *kovilagam* was income from the forest and elephants. The palace of Nilambur was maintaining elephants for a variety of purposes. The management of elephant capture, taming, training and imparting medical care was major activity of palace. The *kovilagam* held large tracts of forest land and that virtually meant control over the resources of the forest including elephants.

Records say that in 1927, there were seventeen trained elephants under the *kovilagam* for timber and other operations. These elephants were named after human names and cost of these animals were recorded in the records as property of the state. Some names are *gopalan* aged 35 which had the cost of nine thousand rupees, *ganapati* aged twenty five with a cost of eight thousand rupees and elephants called *kartyayani*, *karumbayi* etc.⁷ There were special camps opened for elephants in various places under *kovilagam*. There were fourteen elephants in the camp at Edakkara in February 1934.⁸ They were *gopalan*, *ganapathi*, *mozhasakaran*, *kombathiri*, *chandrasekharan*,

vettaikkaran, *ayyappan*, *neelandan*, *narayani*, *devaki*, *ramachandran*, *seetha*, *gaurama*, *malathi*⁹

The *kovilagam* had deployed an administrative machinery to collect its forest resources. For the effective tapping of the resources, the forest was divided into *beats*, namely *pothukallubeat*, *edakkara*, *kallenthodubeat* etc¹⁰. There was a separate department for the maintenance of elephants. The forest department was headed by a forest officer and the *jamedar* looked after the elephant at various elephant camps. The revenue, income and expenditure, maintenance of elephant, training of elephant were maintained by the elephant *jamedar*. The *jamedar* was in charge of the elephant camps. Chief elephant camps in the territorial jurisdiction were at Nilambur, Edakkara, Neerpuzhamukkam and Eyyamkuzhi.¹¹

The elephant *jamedar* was assisted by a forest inspector who inspected the site for elephant pits. The assistant forest Inspector also helped him in finding place for new elephant pits. One forest inspector named Ravunni Nair had inspected newly digging elephant pits at Maradi on 23rd December 1927¹² and 17th July 1928. He also inspected a pit dug at Vazhikkavadu.¹³ The forester and the chief forester prepared the estimate for digging the elephant pit and supervised the pit works. One forester called, UnniRarichan Vellody inspected elephant pits dug at Karakkodu along with the forest inspector.¹⁴

The pit watcher inspected various elephant pits and reported to the *jamedar* of the elephant camp. When there was the presence of elephant in the pit, the *jamedar* with mahouts attended the pit to capture the elephant. The *jamedar* maintained various elephant camps for feeding the elephant, providing training and treatment. The forest officer and the *jamedar* were controlled by the superior officer of the state called the *diwan*.¹⁵

The forest dwellers were certainly associated with the capture of wild elephants and appeared as mahouts and riders. They were also appointed to the *kovilagam* service. The forest people like *paniyas* were skilled elephant hunters. This helped the *kovilagam* to capture and tame the elephants in a quick

manner. The pit watcher was expert in identifying the walking ways of elephant and he directed the arrangement of digging large elephant pits to capture the elephant. The *paniyar* could identify the presence and the smell of elephants and they informed the same to the *jamedar*.¹⁶ These captured elephants were carried to the elephant camps. The legendary tusker of Kerala, *gurutayurkesavan* was captured from the Nilambur forest and trained at the Edakkara elephant camp.¹⁷ Later *gurutayurkesavan* was donated to the Guruvayur Temple by *Manavedanraja* of the Nilambur *kovilagam* in 1922.

The number of elephant capture increased after 1922. This was to meet the increased expenses of the *kovilagam*. There were twenty five new elephant pits dug in Marutha and *karakodebeat* in 1927¹⁸. K. Ramunni Nair, a forest inspector reported that he inspected fifteen pits at Marutha and ten pits in the *karakkodubeat*¹⁹ This shows that after the peasant revolt of 1921 in Malabar, the Nilambur feudatory was attempting to increase its revenue and this was necessitated by the economic problems after the World War.

The field examiners reported to the *kovilagam* forest the cost of twenty five pits dug for the purpose was three hundred and fifty *para* of paddy and the charge for purchase digging materials like baskets, pickaxes, etc., was thirty five rupees. It meant that twenty five elephant pit costs of fourteen *para* of paddy each.²⁰ The *diwan* ordered the *karyasthan*, Kizhakkummuri Cherikal to give three hundred and fifty *para* of paddy to the forest Inspector for digging the elephant pits.²¹ The maintenance of the elephant pits was the responsibility of the *jamedar*, forest inspector and forester. They regularly reported the condition of the pits prepared to the higher authorities.

Every year, the forest department of the *kovilagam* was digging new pits in every *beat*. In 1945, when the country was passing through the miseries of World War, the *kovilagam* was maintaining two hundred pits.²² In addition to them, about one hundred and twenty were under repair and each of the elephant pit costed of three *para* of paddy for maintenance.²³ Besides this, there were plans for digging 20 new pits on a cost of fifteen *para*

of paddy for each pit. The *kovilagam* forester also reported to the *diwan* the plan to dig twenty more elephant pits in February 1945.²⁴ In the reply the *diwan* ordered to repair the existing one hundred and twenty elephant pits and to dig twenty new pits²⁵. This shows the increased interest of tapping of elephants from the forest at the time of desire for additional revenue.

There are references to the passage of information regarding the fall of elephants in pits. This was happy news to the treasury of the palace. On 2nd January 1938, one pit watcher called Kandan reported to the elephant camp at Edakara that a new elephant had felled in the pit at Pothukallu. Elephants named *ganapati*, *mozhassekharan*, *padmanabhan* were sent to drag and bring the new one to the camp. The new elephant had five feet and five inch height and the cost of capture recorded was thirty rupees. Chathan and Kuttivellan were appointed as mahouts of this new elephant on a salary of two and half rupees. The *jamedar* requested the *diwan* to name the elephant²⁶ and the elephant was named as *seetha*.²⁷ It is interesting to know the way elephants were managed by the state in the camps. The newly captured *seetha* was fed with four *edangazhi* of boiled rice daily. In *kanjirapuzha beat*, seventeen old pits got repaired and eight new pits were dug in 1929 for a cost of fifty rupees.²⁸ Ten new elephant pits were dug in Churulimunda in 1945. One Nayakkamaran was appointed as elephant pit watcher with a salary of twelve rupees in this *beat* division.²⁹ The *diwan* accepted the report of *jamedar* and approved the appointment.

All these shows that elephant was the chief source of income of this feudal state. In addition to the sale of these elephants, hiring them to temples and individuals was also practiced. It was one of the main sources of income of the Nilambur *kovilagam* when elephants were kept in the camps for sale in future. Elephants were hired out for various purposes. The *kovilagam* elephants like *kombathiri*, *payi*, *karimpayi* were hired out to a person called Imbichi Mammed who was a timber merchant at Kozhikode. It is seen that four hundred and twenty rupees was collected for one month for renting out of these elephants. These elephants remained with him for about one year.³⁰

Charge for hiring elephant called *pattam* was applicable to all families linked to the *kovilagam*. In 1927, Kochunni Thirumulpad requested two elephants, *payi ganapathi* for timber work and he paid seventy five rupees for five days of the use of elephants as *pattam*.³¹ Besides this, the *kovilagam* elephants were also given for temple processions. The *kovilagam* elephants were sent to the Tripuranthaka Temple of Pokkottur*cherikkal* for temple procession in 1930.³² This also brought income to the treasury. The Trikkalangodu Temple, belongs to the *samutirikovilagam* had requested the *diwan* of Nilambur *kovilagam* to give an elephant for temple procession.³³ An elephant named *kalyani* was sent to the Trikkalayur Temple as per this request. It is seen that instructions were given regarding the maintenance of these elephants under the *pattakkaran*.

The elephant was to be fed four *edangazhi* boiled rice per day and the daily expense of mahouts was also to be met by the temple under the supervision of *Urgattiricherikkal karyastan*.³⁴ The *Urgattiri karyastan* reported that the elephant had only fed two *edangazhi* of rice paddy.³⁵ Then the *jamedar* requested not to hire the elephant to this person next year because the elephant was not fed properly. The *kovilagam* also hired the elephant to other landlords for dragging out elephants from the pits. They were paid *pattam* for the use of elephants. P.M. Tirumulpad of the Manjeri *kovilagam* requested the *jamedar* of Nilambur *kovilagam* to send two elephants to capture the elephant from the pit in the territory of Manjeri *kovilagam* located at the Pannipparamalavaram.³⁶ The *diwan* ordered to send two elephants *paru* and *padmanabhan* to Majerikovilagam for a *pattam* of fifty four rupees for two days.³⁷ Likewise, V.K. Unnikammu also requested the *jamedar* to allot two elephants to drag out an elephant from a pit in Chakkikuzhimalavaram and elephants *kombathiri* and *payi* were sent to him with a *pattam* for two days.³⁸ The elephant of other landlords were also permitted to treat at the elephant camp of the *kovilagam* at Edakkara with a fee. Ahmed KuttyHajee's tusker had permitted to get treated at Edakkara camp for a week.³⁹ When the elephant of P.C. Imbichi Ahmed got injured, the *kovilagam* permitted him to treat the elephant at the Edakkara

camp.⁴⁰ The *kovilagam* also earned income from Grazing License of the elephant. Nicholas, a retired forest ranger had requested the permission to keep of two elephants at Pookottumanna during the rest season. The *kovilagam* permitted him to keep his elephant at Pookottumanna near Chungathara for about two months and they allowed to be grazed in *kovilagam* forest on a charge of five rupees for each elephant for one month. He paid ten rupees as grazing fee and permitted to rest at the *kovilagam* forest from 4th June 1928.⁴¹

The *kovilagam* also sold their elephants by auctions. In 1922, the *kovilagam* conducted auction of elephants. It is seen that twenty four well trained elephants of Nilambur palace were sold in auction on 27th April 1922 at Thrissur.⁴² In 1949, six elephants were sold in an auction conducted at Edakkara.⁴³ In 1954, four elephant were sold by auction at the Nilambur Palace Office.⁴⁴

The captive elephant was to be fed ration of higher energy food to be enable the heavier workload. The Board of Revenue, Civil Supplies had considered arrangements for the issue of ration to elephants after the introduction of rationing system in Malabar. As a result, special rationing for elephants belonging to the Nilambur *kovilagam* was granted by the Taluk Rationing Officer of Ernad.⁴⁵ Each elephant was given ration of fifteen lbs of rice and five lbs of wheat, ragi or *cholam* per day.⁴⁶ In 1944, seventeen elephants got 6910 units per week as per the ration card issued by the Taluk Rationing Officer.⁴⁷

The important source of revenue of the *kovilagam* was the forest elephant. The land lord of Nilambur *kovilagam* who preferred to call himself *raja*, had the elephant as state emblem. It was embalmed on all documents and communication letters of the palace. We can assume that, the elephant was symbol of the state income and existence. When the system of private ownership of elephant begun and free sale of elephants in the markets began to happen, the landlord state began to lose its right over the animal. The nationalisation of the forest also turned against the interest of the Nilambur Kovilagam. The arrival of machines, roads, cranes and railways affected the use of elephants in the timber trade of Malabar and the fortune of the *kovilagam*

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SMT. J. ESHWARIBAI: THE GOLDEN WOMAN AND MAKER OF MODERN TELANGANA, 20TH CENTURY

Dr. Indira

Smt. J. Eashwaribai shines bright among the golden women and the maker of Modern Telangana in 20th Century. Telangana state celebrated her Birthday Centenary Celebrations 1918-2018 as pati of state celebrations. She is

the role model for women empowerment and leadership qualities. She played multifaceted roles as Teacher, National President of Republican Party of India, Political Leader, Legislator, philanthropist, Municipal Corporator,

Counselor, Social Reformer and Activist, Woman Leader of Telangana Movement, Chairman of Women and Child welfare and holder of other positions. She made immense contributions for industries, tourism, irrigation, agriculture, etc.

Her contributions in multiple ways to the society were great and such woman leaders and their role are the need of the hour to move towards the modern Telangana. Therefore the objective of the paper is to highlight Smt. J. Eashwaribai's role and her contributions in making modern Telangana.

Key Words: woman, role, leader, contributions, empowerment ...

Smt. J. Eashwaribai was born on 1st December 1918 to the parents Ramaswamy who was in the service of Nizam Railways as goods Master and mother Ramulamma in Secunderabad and married to Dr. J. Lakshminarayana, prosperous doctor from Pune and survived with only daughter Dr. Smt. J. Geeta Reddy, honorable former minister of Telangana and breathed last on 24th February 1994.

Under the guidance of parents and family members she joined as a school teacher in Paropakarini School, Secunderabad. This was the first step of her self empowerment. She had this spark from the beginning. She never looked back. It is from here her remarkable journey of self-reliance and determination began. Her valor as a woman leader from the downtrodden community is unparalleled, especially in those days when women in general were at a disadvantageous position in society.

POLITICAL LEADER:

Smt. J. Eashwari Bai as 'Fire Brand Lady' and 'Lady Tiger' of Telangana never compromised her stand when it comes to the welfare of the downtrodden people. She served the State with the highest dedication as a legislator. Her services shall always be a source of inspiration in our struggle for a just and egalitarian social order. In AP Legislative Assembly during 1967-78 she occupied a prominent front seat in the row of the opposition benches and her voice was

commendable which is still unbeaten by any Legislator.

AMBEDKARITE:

She walked on the path showed by Baba Saheb Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, Great humanist, Philosopher, and Maker of Modern India. She protected Democracy, fought for Constitutional Rights and Creation of Telangana State, raised her voice for social-economic and political justice of downtrodden people and educated them to represent in politics. She was the cause for Unveiling the Statue of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar on Tank Bund. She installed many statues of Baba Saheb in the two cities in 1970's and 1980's.

ADMINISTRATION:

She supported administration by giving valuable suggestion to the government in bringing administration and economic measures during critical financial position in the state as opposition leader to save the state and its people. Her suggestions for transfer of IAS officers to avoid corruption and to bring honest officers to increase revenues to the state are unforgettable.

She also raised her voice for permanent buildings of government offices, and appealed to the treasury benches and the chief Minister to rise from the above problems and cooperate with the opposition in accepting their constructive suggestions in the larger interests of the state.

She is known for daring leader which we saw in the 1969 Telangana Movement. She raised her voice for Telangana state in and outside the Assembly and fought for it for the progress and prosperity of its people. We followed her path in the last phase of the movement to achieve the state.

ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION:

Smt. J. Eashwari Bai gave importance to education especially for girls and downtrodden also supported with scholarships for them and educated her daughter as Doctor. She started in a humble way with her own funds a primary school named "Geeta Vidyalaya" at Chinta Bai in Chilkalguda, Secunderabad in 1950's, the most thickly populated locality during those

times by downtrodden and backward classes. The school served much needed necessity of this residential area. With this objective and will power she moved ahead to fulfill her endeavours. It was a commendable and unimaginable task she undertook in those days.

As Chairperson for the Women and Child Welfare Corporation she visited several villages and town in Telangana area of erstwhile A.P. to know the problems faced by women and children with regard to their education. She suggested reforms in this direction to benefit them. She was instrumental in bringing legislation for free education of girl students up to the college level.

REFORMER:

As a Reformer, she brought important reforms for downtrodden people and women through education, economic empowerment, family planning, healthy and hygiene habits, sports and through many ways. Her

contribution for police and prisoners reforms is unforgettable.

WELFARE STATE:

She made immense contributions for industries, tourism, irrigation, agriculture, etc., and told Telangana is having unexploited potential tourist destinations to generate economy. Her idea of town planning in the city was in such a way that everybody irrespective of caste and religion can stay together in the society to keep alive secularism

CONCLUSION:

Her contributions in multiple ways to the society were great and many more. Such woman leaders and their role are the need of the hour for the society to move towards the modern Telangana. Remembering Smt. J. Eshwari Bai, The Golden Woman and The Maker of Modern Telangana on the eve of Birthday Centenary Celebrations, 1918-2018 is our privilege.

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- Interviewed other relatives and closely related people.
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- Interviewed RPI Mahesh Babu and other Leaders of Telangana.

UNKNOWN SWADESHI NATIONALISTS OF TAMILNADU

Dr. R. Jaganath

The Swadeshi Movement and the emergence of the extremist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, B.G.Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Feroz Shah Mehta impinged a great change in the history of freedom struggle. It gave concrete and determined objectives which comprised of economic and political ideology. Swadeshi and its boycott programmes were clarified definite shape to freedom struggle. The British Government did not expect such an agitation and alarmed at the success of the Swadeshi

Movement, the government took strong measures to suppress the movement. It passed series of Acts such as Public Meeting Act, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, the Seditious Meeting Act (1907), the Explosive Substance Act (1908), the Newspaper (Incitement and Offence Act 1908) and the Indian Press Act (1910) were passed to suppress extremist activities. The Swadeshi Movement spread throughout India. The word 'Swadeshi' implies use of goods made in one's own country. The

boycott of foreign made goods and the promotion of swadeshi enterprise the twin pillars of the Swadeshi movement saw various activities in Madras Presidency. G.Subrahmania Iyer played a key role in spreading the ideas of Swadeshi. His lectures in Madurai aroused powerful nationalist feelings among the students of Madurai Native College in 1906.¹ In November 1897, Hawett, Seceretary to the Government of India, Home Department instructed the Chief Secretary of Madras to forward any information "regarding matters of political or administrative importance or events which have excited public interest".² During the anti-partition agitation of Bengal, the Madras Government closely watched the activities of its servants. In 1907, Parameswaran Iyer, a Government Chemical Examiner was asked to explain his 'inflammatory speech on the subject of Swadeshi'.³ Thus, the Madras Government made it clear that it did not approve of government servants attending political meetings.⁴

CHAKKARAI CHETTIAR

Chakkarai Chettiar, the man who created first labour union was born on 12th December 1878 in Chennai. His ancestors were from the village of Vengal near Thiruvallur which is adjacent to Chennai. He was born to Kesava Chettiar and Andal Ammal. In his young age, Chakkarai Chettiar was taught by his grandmother to affiliate to religion, be disciplined and respect their culture.

He started his public life by joining the Congress party. He worked as the secretary of the Madras city's congress committee. In 1907 he attended the Surat session of Congress with V.O.Chidambaram, Subramaniya Iyer and Bharathi. In this session, there arose difference between the Moderates and Extremists on the issue of choosing the leader. The extremists headed by Thilak put forth Lala Lajpat Rai as the leader. But the moderates headed by Dadabhai Naoroji elected Raj Bihari Ghosh of Kolkata as their leader. Men from Chennai- Chakkarai Chettiar, V.O.C, and Bharathiyar joined Thilak's faction in this session.⁵

When Gandhi started his Non Cooperation movement Chakkarai Chettiar worked with Rajaji, E.V.R. Krishnasamy Sharma and Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaram for this cause. Chakkarai Chettiar took active part in organizing

the protests in Chennai against the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the boycott the visit of Prince of Wales. As he was also the leader of the labour union he was able to mobilize the workers for the Non cooperation movement.

Thiru.V. Kalyanasundaram and Chakkarai Chettiar approached B.P.Wadia of the Theosophical Society. Soon the Madras Labour Union was started with B.P.Wadia as the President, Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaram and Chakkarai Chettiar as Vice Presidents and Selvapathi Chettiar and Ramanajalu as Secretaries. Following this MSM Railway Workers Union, Tramway Workers Union and kerosene workers Union were formed in 1919. The leaders who guided these Unions were mostly Congress Party leaders. Thiru. V. Kalyanasundaram, Chakkarai Chettiar, E.L. Ayyar, V.O.Chidambaram, Kasturi Renga Ayyangar and M.S.Subramaniya Ayyar were all men who had worked with the Congress party. Therefore the protests headed by these men were not merely for the demands of the workers but were also nationalist protests against the British colonialism.⁶ Chakkarai Chettiar was a person who learnt law, was well versed in Tamil and English, one who fought for the welfare of workers, member of the corporation, Mayor, Upper House Member and so on. He struggled for the working population throughout his life. Chakkarai Chettiar died on June 1958 at the age of 82. The life of Chakkarai Chettiar stands as an example for all those who fight for the rights of the proletariat.

PARALI SNELLAYAPPAR

Nellayappar was born on 18th September 1889 at Parali Kottai a small town of Tirunelveli District. His father was Subramania Pillai, and mother was Muthu Vadivu. Nellayappar was unmarried till his death.⁷ The main occupation of Nellayappar was writing editorials, articles and editing and publishing books on Tamil literature. He was a close friend of Bharathi. In the beginning stage, Bharathi called Nellayappar as 'Mapillai'.⁸ But later he called Nellayappar as 'Thambi'(brother). Nellayappar worked in V.O.C's Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company in his early days. His brothers also worked in same company. He met Bharathi in 1908 at V.O.C's house.⁹

In 1909, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai was arrested and the court sentenced him to double transportation imprisonment. Nelayappar vehemently condemned the judgment. Meanwhile, Neelakanta Brahmachari called Nelayappar at Puducherry. At that time, Bharathi wrote articles and editorials in the news papers of the *Vijaya* and the *Suryodayam*. The owner of the *Suryodayam* was Neelakanta Brahmachari. The salary of Bharathi was 35 rupees, and the salary of Nelayappar was Rs.15 only.¹⁰ In the meantime, Nelayappar met Aravinda Ghose, and discussed the situation of Tamil province. Meanwhile, *Suryodayam* stopped its publications. At that time, Nelayappar joined in Bharathi's *Karmayogi*. Bharathi's translation work of Bhagavat Geetha was published in the *Karmayogi*. The young daughter of Bharathi namely Sakuntalai called Nelayappar as *uncle*. In 1912, V.O.C.Pillai released from jail. At that time, V.O.C completed his works namely, 'Manam Pol Valvu' and his autobiography with the help of Nelayappar.¹¹

Nelayappar served as the sub-editor of newspapers namely *Bharathi*, *Narathar*, *Desabakthan* and *Dravidan* newspapers. In 1922, he purchased the newspaper namely, *Lokopakari*.¹² Nelayappar created simple style of Tamil articles. At that time he edited by Bharathi's *Kannan Pattu*, *Papa Pattu* and *Nattu Pattu* (Folk songs). While Bharathi was in jail, Nelayappar met Bharathi.¹³ Nelayappar also published Bharathi's songs and plays. Most of the songs of Tamil namely, *Parukkulle Nalla Nadu* and *Sentamil Nadenum podhinile* were first published by Nelayappar in his newspaper.¹⁴ Apart from that, *Lokopakari* was also in favour of Gandhian ideals. The historians call Nelayappar, as "the originality of Bharathi was visualized throughout the world". Nelayappar passed away in 1971.¹⁵

S.V. ALAGAPPA PILLAI

Alagappa Pillai was born on April 15, 1893. He was well-versed in Tamil literature. His main occupation was agriculture. He joined the Swadeshi Movement in 1907.¹⁶ He was one of the accused in the Ashe Murder Case 1911, and got imprisonment in 1911-12 and imprisoned in Madras jail for 9 months and was treated by the government as a dangerous political suspect.¹⁷

BABU PILLAI

Babu Pillai was otherwise called as Ramaswami Pillai. He belonged to Vellalar community. His main occupation was agriculture. He took part in the Tirunelveli conspiracy and was accused in Ash murder case, in 1911. He was arrested at the age of 24 and sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment.¹⁸

CHAVADI ARUNACHALAM PILLAI

Chavadi Arunachalam Pillai, a native of Shencottah was born in 1892. He was a Medical Practitioner (Doctor) and one of the active members of Bharatha Matha Association.¹⁹ He was convicted in the Ash murder case. He died in April, 1973 at Shencottah.²⁰

MUTHUKUMARASAMI PILLAI

Muthukumarasami Pillai was otherwise called as Muthusami Pillai. He belonged to the Vellalar community. His occupation was selling pots. He took part in the Tirunelveli Conspiracy and was accused in the Ashe Murder Case in 1911.²¹ He was arrested at the age of 45 and sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment.²²

MADASAMI PILLAI

Madasami Pillai was born in 1886. He was a scholar in Tamil literature. He was a member of Bharatha Matha Association.²³ He had close contact with V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and Neelakanta Brahmachari.²⁴ He was one of the accused in the Ash Murder Case but he escaped to Paris, France in 1912 and his whereabouts was not known.²⁵

JAGANATHA IYENGAR

Jaganatha Iyengar was a good look and hailed from Brahmin community. He was a participant in Tirunelveli conspiracy and was accused in the Ashe Murder Case in 1911. He was convicted under section 121A of I.P.C and sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment.²⁶

HARIHARA IYER

Harihara Iyer was one of the merchants of the Brahmin community. He was a member of the Bharatha Matha Association. He took part in Tirunelveli Conspiracy and was accused in the Ash murder case in 1911.²⁷ He was convicted under Section 181A of I.P.C and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment.²⁸

MADATHUKADAI CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI

Madathukadai Chidambaram Pillai a native of Tuticorin was one of the members of Bharatha Matha Association. He belonged to the Vellala community. He was a grocer. He took part in the Tirunelveli conspiracy and was accused in the Ash murder case in 1911. He was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment.²⁹

SANKARA KRISHNA IYER

Sankara Krishna Iyer, a native of Krishnapuram at Kadayanallur in Tirunelveli district was one of the member of Bharatha Matha Association. His occupation was agriculture.³⁰ He belonged to Brahmin community and participated in the Tirunelveli conspiracy and was accused in the Ash murder case in 1911. He was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment.³¹

SUBBAYYA PILLAI

Subbayya Pillai was otherwise called as Subramania Pillai. He belonged to Vellala community and he was a Vakil Gumastha (clerk to a lawyer) by profession. He took part in the Tirunelveli conspiracy and was accused in the Ash murder case in 1911.³² He was convicted under section 121A of I.P.C and sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment.³³

GURUNATHA IYER

Gurunatha Iyer was one of the Head Constables in Tuticorin district. He was closely associated with V.O.Chidambaram Pillai. He was one of main accused in Tinnevely riots.³⁴ At that time of arrest of V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, the Tinnevely district was totally collapsed by revolutionaries.³⁵ The government buildings were set on fire. The police arrested Gurunatha Iyer charged of setting fire on government

buildings of Tiunnevely.³⁶ He got four years rigorous imprisonment. After release the jail, he went to Berlin. While he was in Berlin, he supported the revolutionaries of India.

Dr.SENBAGARAMAN PILLAI

Dr.Senbagaraman belongs to Nanjil country. He was one of NRI (Non-Resident Indian). He disseminated the status of India throughout the western countries. He created some organizations against British in Europe. He started a newspaper called 'PRO INDIA'.³⁷ Apart from English, some other newspapers were run by Senbagaraman. He was in favour of Kaiser William II of Germany. Senbagaraman sought the help of Germany to abolish the British rule in India. In 1914, he threw a bomb at Madras High Court with help of 'Emton' water steamer. The Indian revolutionaries created a new organ in Afghanistan namely, "Temporary Republic of India". Senbagaraman was one of the Ambassadors of this organ. He dedicated his life for India's Independence. He firmly believed that armed revolutionary was the only way to abolish the alien rule in India.³⁸

Tamil Nadu played a significant role in the Swadeshi Movement from 1905 to 1912. The prominent swadeshi leaders like V.O.C., Subramania Bharathi, Subramania Siva, V.V.S.Iyer Vanchi Iyer involved themselves in a consistent way during the Swadeshi Movement. Apart from these prominent leaders, the leaders like Neelakandan, Parali Nellaiappar, Madasamy Pillai, Madathukadai Chidambaram Pillai, Sankara Krishna Iyer, Padmanabha Iyengar, Harihara Iyer and others also exhibited their anti-British sentiments in a deep way by participating each and every activities of the Swadeshi leaders.

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EVOLUTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Dr. P. Jayachitra

The Growth of Legislature in Madras Presidency

An administration is assessed through its outcome. If the outcome is beneficial and welfare oriented it is appreciated by all. Democracy and Political parties play vital roles in the formulation of a legislature. It Paves the way for a person to exhibit his or her skill and ability in administration. Legislatures have both the elected and nominated representatives and whichever political party commands the majority it forms a ministry. Each and every political party has its own socio-economic and political policies. When a political party gains power it strives to policies through the ministry it forms. Without legislature, there is no ministry in democracy. It will be appreciated if the growth of legislature is dealt with, in this research work.

Administration under British Rule

In the early decades of its origin, Fort Saint George in Madras, no less than Fort William, had a strong fortification with support of a Navy. Behind this fortification, the foreign merchants with their accountant, writers and packers lived a life connected with their business and not minding with what was happening around. But the patterns of things were changing since the **Carnatak Wars (1746 to 1763)**. However, till the in implementation of the **Regulating Act (1773)**, administration of the company in the province was nothing more than a robber state whose main object was to extract as much as possible from the territories it was supposed to

bead ministered. It was the **first Mysore war (1767 to 1769)** that strained the company's exchequer and consequently the Company's requestor loan ultimately paved the way for the enactment of Regulating Act, which came into operation in 1773. This Act was the first step in the direction of consolidation of British rule and centralization of administration in India. Thereby, the first seed was sown for the genesis of a legislature through this Act. Though it was criticized as "an infringement of national rights, national faith and national justice by **Edmund Burke**, its importance in the Constitutional Development in India call not be minimized.

The Justice Party in Madras Presidency

The birth of the Justice Party constitutes a landmark in the history of South India. The long shouldering discontent, hatred and suspicion of the elite non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency towards Brahmins "to promote the political interest of the non-Brahmin caste". The leaders of the Justice Party were "all men of substance and standing, highly educated, and conscious of the direction and goal of their endeavour. They were not mere idealists, but practical politicians. They accepted diarchy with a view to employ the available power of the government for the upliftment of the non-Brahmin communities.

The Act made provisions for the council of members. The council consisted of four members to assist the Governor-General in the day-to-day administration of the company. **Lord Warren Hastings** was the first Governor-

General and his four Councilors were General Slaving, **Richard Barwell**, **Cl. Monson** and **Phillip Francis**. The term of office for the Governor-General and the Councilors were five years. The salary of Governor-General was to be Rs.25,000 per annum while each Councilor was to get Rs.10,000 a year.¹ The Governor-General of Bengal was bound by the decision of the majority of the Council. He was given a casting vote in case of tie. The Governor-General in Council was given the power to control the subordinate presidencies of Bombay and Madras in all their activities with natives states. The Court of Directors were required to lay before the Treasury and Secretary of State for all the correspondence dealing with the revenue, and with the civil and military affairs of the company.²

The Act created a Supreme Court consisting of the Chief Justice and three puisne judges. **Sir Elijah Impey** was its Chief Justice. The King appointed the Barrister of England as puisne Judges of the Supreme Court to hold office at the king's pleasure. They can enforce the law equally to that of the Judges of King's Bench in England. The Judges were empowered to appoint subordinate office, but their salaries were fixed by the Governor-General and Council. The Judges can regulate the court fees with the consent of the Governor-General.³ The powers of the Supreme Court were wide in character. The court possessed both the original and appellate jurisdiction. According to this Act the Governor-General and Council were empowered to act as Justices of Peace and able to hold quarter sessions. The court was given ecclesiastical, civil and criminal jurisdiction over the British subjects in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and also over the persons who were in the service of the company the Supreme Court empowered to punish the treasons, murders, and piracies committed under its jurisdiction. The salary of the Chief Justice was fixed at Rs.8,000 a year, and that of a judge was to be Rs.6,000 annually.⁴

In January 1784 Pitt brought a new Bill for India and that was known as **Pitt's India Act of 1784**.⁵ This Act made the East India Company a subordinate department. The civil and Military matters were controlled by six commissioners known as the "Commissioners for the affairs of India" otherwise known as the

"Board of Control".⁶ It consisted of a chancellor, a Secretary of State, and six privy councillor appointed by the Crown. All real powers were vested with the President of the Board of Control. The Board of Control transmitted the orders through a secret committee of the Director of India. The court of proprietors were deprived from the right to suspend and resolution approved by the Board of Directors. The Government of India was placed in the hands of the Governor-General and a Council of three members. The presidencies were subordinate to Bengal in all matters of wars, revenue and diplomacy.⁷ The Act of 1784 remodeled the Councils at Madras and Bombay on the basis of Bengal Council.⁸ The important amendment of Pitt's India Act was made in 1786. **Lord Cornwallis** became the Governor-General to override the majority of his council.⁹

By the **Charter Act of 1793** the company's monopoly of trade in the East were renewed for another twenty years.¹⁰ Through this Act, **Lord Cornwallis** made arrangements to improve the existing judicial system. His first intention was to separate the departments of revenue and judiciary. Therefore the collection of revenue separated from the justice.¹¹ **The Charter Act of 1813** renewed its monopoly of trade for twenty years. The Act enlarged the powers of the Board of Control and restricted the powers of Directors regarding the appointments of the Governor-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief. The company's territorial position was retained for another twenty years through the **Charter Act of 1833**. The Governor-General of Bengal was shifted as Governor-General of India. The Act extended the Legislative authority of the Governor-General in Council.¹² It was also strengthened by the additional member called Law members to the Executive Council. The Governor-General was empowered to make laws for all places.

The Act of 1853 was the last Charter Act. The number of Directors were reduced from twenty-four to eighteen in which six were nominated by the Crown. The tenure of Directors were reduced from thirteen years to ten years.¹³ The Governor-General in Council was enlarged and he was empowered to manage the territories which was under the possession of the company with the sanction of Director and Board of Control. The chief

commissioner empowered to exercise the powers in Central Province and they were under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council.

After the **revolt of 1857**, the British Parliament passed an Act and that was known as Queen's proclamation. With this Act East India Company's rule came to an end in the British India. Hence forth India came to be governed directly in the name of Queen or king and through one of the Secretaries of State. In the same year the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India.¹⁴

Queen Victoria's Proclamation

On November 1st 1858, the Queen's Proclamation was read by **Lord Canning**, the First Viceroy at Allahabad.¹⁵ The lower officials were the agents and they were entirely responsible to higher officials. The Secretary of State for India was assisted by a Council of fifteen members among them eight were nominated by the Crown and remaining were elected by the Board of Directors of the East India Company. The Act abolished the Board of Control.¹⁶

The next constitutional measure after the Act of 1858, was the council Act of 1861.¹⁷ The Act amalgamated the two judicial systems, that of the Crown and of the East India Company.¹⁸ The Act introduced certain changes during the time of Lord Canning. The provisions of the Act provided the additional member to the Executive Council of Viceroy. It also defined the functions of the legislative council and the council could legislate on all subjects. Every Bill passed by the council needed the assent of the Viceroy to become an Act. The Secretary of State could disallow the laws with the assent of the Crown. The new members were added to the Central Executive Council.¹⁹

The Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was founded by **A.O.Hume** and **Surendra Nath Bannerjee** in the year 1885. The leaders of the Indian National Congress made resolutions and petitions to the British Parliament for more representative element in the enlarged Legislative Councils. In 1892, the Council Act of 1861 was repealed by a new Amending Act

of 1892. The Act of 1892 was a decisive step forward in the direction of constitutional progress in India. The Act made provision for an increase in the number of additional members in the Central and Provincial Councils. In the central councils the additional members were raised from eight to ten and maximum limit from twelve to sixteen. Out of sixteen additional members in the central council ten were non-officials of whom four were nominated on the recommendations of the non-official members of the provincial legislatures. On the remaining, one on there commendation of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce and others were represented by landlords, and other interests in the country.²⁰

The Act provided for a maximum of nine officials in addition to the Governor and two Executive Councillors made the official strength twelve. The officials were always expected to vote only on the side of the Government, there was no question of any non-official move at anytime in the Council. All the members could hold the position for a period of two years and they were eligible for re-election or re-nomination. The presidency election held from 1893 to 1909 in that eight elections thirty eight non-officials were elected. Under the Act of 1892 the members had more powers. The non-official members had no right to vote on the budget. But they had the opportunity during their '**Budget Speeches**', to focus the attention of the officials on the grievances of the people and to suggest remedial actions.²¹

The Annual Financial Statement of Madras was explained in Council every year and printed copies supplied to each member. Questions were in the form of a request for information and should not be argumentative, hypothetic or defamatory. The press and political associations also demanded for reforms. Hence in 1905 **Lord Curzon** the Viceroy partitioned Bengal into East and West which made a hue and cry among the nationalist who launched an agitation in the form of **Swadeshi movement**. The leaders like **V.O.Chidambaram Pillai**, **Subramanya Siva**, **G.Subramanya Iyer**, **Subramanya Bharati** launched the Swadeshi movement by which they boycotted foreign commodities. Thus the nationalists gathered all over the country against the British Government.²² The

Government announced the third Indian Council Act (1909) commonly called as the **Minto-Morley Reforms**. The Councils were enlarged both in central and provincial. For the legislative purposes the additional members were added to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Act retained the majority of official members in the Imperial Legislative Council. The members of the Central Legislature were raised to sixty nine and it was divided as thirty seven officials, five nominated non-officials and twenty seven elected members.²³

The remaining forty three seats were given to the Provincial Legislative Councils. The term of the office were fixed for three years. The seats were allotted on the basis of communal interest. In the central officials. In the provincial legislature the majority of non-officials were non-officials. The preponderance of official majority in the central Legislature and Pro-Government bloc in the Provincial Councils were continued. The Madras Legislative Council had twenty one elected members and equal number of nominated members. In that members, sixteen were nominated as officials by Governors and five members were generally filled with persons who were submissive to the Government. The additional rights gained under the new Act were the right to move resolutions on matters of public interest and right to ask supplementary questions. Most of the resolutions were defeated in the Council on account of the negative votes of the officials and of nominated members. But the debates on these resolutions show the determination of the nationalist against the colonial power in the Legislative Council.²⁴

Although Government officials may, under the rules, be qualified as candidates for election to the Legislative Council by Constituencies other than those consisting of Local Boards and Municipalities, such officials shall not, on grounds of public policy be permitted to offer themselves candidates. Under the new councils Scheme the elective constituencies are primarily intended for non-official representations. The Governor could nominate any Government officer to the Legislative Council.²⁵

The Act of 1909 did not satisfy the Indians in all respects. There was absence of specific changes in the Government. The Act introduced the communal electorates for

Muslims. So it created the political barriers between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. The Act had not given any Parliamentary form of Government. Franchise was limited and only the privileged classes were allowed to vote.²⁶ The provisions given by the 1909 was less compared to that of which it was retaken by the Government. The members of the councils were not satisfied with the powers given through the Act. The non-officials in the provincial councils were not effective. Among them some of them were nominated non-officials. The Act developed the dissatisfaction and discontentment among the Indians. The Indians were allowed only to enter into the Executive Councils and other powers of the members were totally discriminated. Under these circumstances the enactment of Government **India Act of 1919** was passed.²⁷

The first election to the **Madras Legislature under the Act of 1935** was held in February 1937. For the first time in the history of Madras, Madras had a fully elected legislative body. The Ministry was formed under the **Premiership of Rajagopalachari** on 14th July 1937.²⁸ The necessity arose for setting problems of a multi-lingual and multi-racial character and welding together diverse communities living over a vast areas into a single, and for compact Governmental system federation alone offered a possible solution. That is why the framers of the Constitution tuned to federalism as a solution for number of problem they confronted in their attempt to frame a Constitution for a new, United India.²⁹

The choice of federalism as a Constitutional form as the basis of a national Government in India was not a sudden development upon the transfer of power on **15th August 1947**. It was there for many years and in a Constitution envisaged a strong centre after the pattern of the Government of India Act. The provided for the federal system of Government, distribution of powers between the centre and state, division of subjects into three separate lists, emergency powers of the president and special powers of the Governor.³⁰

Conclusion

For the first time popular Government was made in Madras by the Justice Party in 1920, The Hindu Religious Endowment Act, the

Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act and Local Board Act were the note worthy contributions made by the Justice Ministry in the Madras Presidency. Thus the modern Administrative System Prevalent in India owes its origin to the British rule which was ensured

by the East India Company and by the Crown of England. The unity of the Country emphasized by the Constitution. We the people of India must be grateful to them for giving us such an wonderful and remarkable Constitutional System.

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DUTCH ARCHITECTURE IN KERALA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DEFENSIVE STRUCTURES

M.U. Jidhu

The arrival of the European powers has resulted in drastic changes in all walks of our society. Architecture is of no exception. They made lasting impressions and many new styles and features were introduced in architecture. The balconies¹, arches, cast iron grill works, large windows, pillars, forts, churches and bungalows² are all related to the Europeans.

Changes also came forth in the technology of construction. Their architecture took into consideration the indigenous elements.

The architecture of the Europeans was greatly influenced by certain factors. One was climate. They had to modify their buildings so as to cope with the hot climate. Features high roofs, large windows and verandhas are related

to this. The Europeans gave prime importance to trade and hence the location and building of ware houses and factories was in such a manner that satisfied the availability of goods, its transportation. The European powers were in Kerala- the Portuguese, Dutch, English and French were in competition with each other and also their relation with the local rulers was not always cordial. In such a case protection and safety became central aspect of the structures they made. Thus forts became crucial and were strategic points. They were centers of power and efforts were made to protect them at any cost. Capture of the enemy's fort or its destruction was marked as victory. Here attempt is made to look into the Dutch architecture in Kerala, how it was related to the above mentioned idea of defense and protection and how much importance they had given to the defensive structures.

Dutch were present in Kerala for a comparatively short period but still had considerable influence on Kerala's culture. They had more hold in Cochin than Calicut. It is said that, whenever a settlement was in charge of a Governor or Commander, the Dutch maintained forts and an armed force and exercised some sort of sovereign powers. The Dutch records even say that fortifications were necessary so long as India possessed no settled government and that the greatest expense of the Dutch were under the heads garrison and fortifications.³

The Zamorin had allowed the Dutch to build a fort at Calicut in 1604 AD, but soon the relation between the Zamorin and the Dutch worsened and the Dutch were left without any permanent establishment at Calicut. The Dutch moved on to Cochin, which was another important trading centre. Cochin was under the control of Portuguese at that time and the Dutch realized that in order to make strong hold at Cochin they will have to defeat Portuguese. The Dutch had captured the Portuguese fort at Kannur in 1663 AD.⁴ They built a fort on Vypeen islands and from this island Cochin could be bombarded.⁵ This fort is said to be a small one with four bastions and was called 'new orange'.⁶ The Dutch used this fort to start attacks on the Portuguese fort at Cochin.⁷ There were many temporary forts too. For example the church called Nossasradi Bova Esperance at Vypeen was converted to a fort by the Dutch

during their attacks on Cochin.⁸ The Dutch had made strong and constant efforts to capture the Portuguese fort at Cochin and the Portuguese made efforts to protect it at any cost.⁹

Cochin was captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1663 AD. After that a fort was constructed by them at Cochin. It was a large fort with more than five bastions. A wall about one and a half miles in length was built with a bastion called Gelderland on the sea-front. The fort no longer exists. The present Thakur house at Cochin is built on the site of the Gelderland bastion of the Old Dutch fort. Along with forts the Dutch also built godowns to store products like pepper. These structures were built of stone.¹⁰ The Dutch records speak of the artisans in service and mentions that about thirty-four Europeans were assigned for works related to fortifications, thirty-two related to armoury and about forty-seven to ship building yard. They had a good team of masons, smiths and carpenters.¹¹ After the capture of Cochin, the Portuguese schools and other institutions were turned into godowns by the Dutch.¹² The Portuguese fort at Quilon was captured by the Dutch in 1659. This strong fort was of strategic importance since Quilon was an important centre of pepper trade. The wall of this fort was made of mud and wood and there was a moat surrounding it.¹³

Bastion Bungalow at Cochin, which exists even today is said to have followed the Dutch architectural style. It is one of the oldest buildings in Kerala and the site earlier used to be a fort called fort Immanuel built by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. The Dutch captured it in 1663 AD and they destroyed most of the fort. The Bastion bungalow is said to be established in 1667 AD and got the name Bastion as it was situated on the site of the Stromsburg Bastion of the old fort. The bungalow is spherical in shape and has tiled roof with a long open verandah on the first floor and is a perfect example of Dutch architecture. It is made of brick, laterite and wood. It is also believed that the bungalow has secret tunnels underneath, but is yet to be discovered. The building began to be called as 'Bastion bungalow' during the British period and was used as office residence for government officials.

The Dutch had another fort at a place called Chettuvai. The place was famous for the availability of pepper and the Dutch realized the importance of the place and decided to build a fort there. A fort at such a place would give enough protection for their trade and would mark their boundary. But the zamorin of Calicut knew that the fort would make the Dutch more powerful and will be a threat to his power. The Zamorin attacked the place but was defeated. The Dutch finished the construction of the fort and it was named Fort William. It was made of laterite and the foundation was made strong using thick teak wood. The walls were high and strong. The Dutch records speak of special lime mixture that was used to make the fort walls strong. Guns were kept on the bastions. It was one of the strongest forts in Malabar at that time.¹⁴

Apart from forts there are few other buildings which are related to the Dutch. The Mattanchery palace or the Dutch palace was actually built by the Portuguese for the ruler of Cochin, Vira Kerala Varma. Later when the Dutch gained control over Cochin, in order to please the Raja of Cochin; they rebuilt the palace on a large scale and thus came to be known as the Dutch palace.¹⁵ It is a two-storied long quadrangular building. The architecture of the palace is a blend of traditional Kerala architecture and European style. The palace has a courtyard which is central to the indigenous architecture whereas the presence of arches shows the colonial influence. The Bolghatty

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THE RISE AND FALL OF ANNIE BESANT IN NATIONALIST POLITICS IN TAMIL NADU

M. Kalaiselvi

“The greatest woman in the world”, said George Bernard Shaw. The greatest orator of the world”, wrote W.T. Stead. “Her radiant spirit” observed Sarojini Naidu.¹ Annie Besant is one of those foreign personalities who inspired the love of the country among Indians. Besant made India her home from November, 1893. Before she came to India, Besant passed through several phases of life-housewife, propagator of atheism, trade unionist, feminist leader and Fabian socialist. Besant started the Home Rule League in India to attain freedom and independence of India from the yoke of the alien British rule. She started newspapers such as *New India* and *Commonweal*. She attended the 1914 session of the Indian National Congress and presided over it in 1917.

End of Married Life

Annie Besant was born in Clapham London on 1st October 1847. Besant gained good education and in 1867, aged only 19, she married a clergyman, Frank Besant. Besant acquired radicalized views on social and political life sooner. She supported the rights of workers and poor farmers.² Therefore, the marriage soon experienced difficulties because her husband was a conservative person. Besant began to question the religious tracts and, in 1873, she stopped receiving Communion because of her views against religious beliefs. This was the final knock of their marriage and the couple filed for separation.

Theosophical Society

Besant joined the Theosophical Society and came to India in 1893. During her early years in Theosophical society, Besant actively participated in its activities. She lectured on behalf of the Theosophical society and attended various meetings. She wanted to spread social reforms but hated politics. Besant became the President of Theosophical Society in 1907 after the death of its founder-president Colonel Henry Steele Olcott.³ In several years following that, Besant was absorbed in the Theosophical issues. But she became fully involved in politics through a series of eight lectures (later

published as *Wake Up India*) released in 1913. The lectures were on the subjects of social reform, industrial growth, and education for women. Though they were very vague, they gave clear understanding of Besant’s view of politics.

Besant’s Journals

Besant found the idea of new governance from Indian *panchayats* which practiced self-governance through local indigenous government.⁴ The economical and educational reforms suggested by her were replicated from Moderates of India such as Dadabhai Naoroji. In 1914, Besant delivered a speech in England’s Queen’s Hall on the topic of India’s politics and wrote many letters to newspapers demanding “justice for India”. Besant started a weekly in Madras called *Commonweal* on 2nd January 1914. *Commonweal* had articles written by many English and Indian people on politics and religious topics of India. In July 1914, Besant acquired an old English newspaper, *Madras Standard*. She renamed it as *New India*, its first copy was issued on 14th July. Her political ideas were all propagated through the *New India*.⁵ *New India* soon became widely read as it turned out to be a battle weapon for Indian Home Rule. According to Besant, *New India* was a “deeply loved child”.

Home Rule League

The intention of Annie Besant to launch a Home Rule league was revealed through her daily, *New India* in September 1915. Besant wrote in *New India* thus: “It has been decided to start a Home Rule League with ‘Home Rule in India’ as its only object, as an auxiliary of the National Congress here and its British Committee in England, the special function of the League being to educate the English in democracy in relation to India”. She had asked Dadabhai Naoroji to lead the proposed organization. She also sought the support of Indian National Congress in December 1915. Because of her efforts, two resolutions were passed by the Congress. The resolutions were related to the constitutional reforms needed by the Congress.⁶ However, the Congress did not

immediately agree to the idea of Home Rule. Though Annie Besant was let down by the delay, she continued her propagandist work. Due to her propagandist work and her condemnations of the British government in her journal, *New India*, there were charges against her and the journal to pay high securities under the Press Act of 1910. Because of this, the public began to support Besant.

On 3rd September 1916 the Home Rule League became an actuality. Besant poured all her time, effort and money into spreading the Home Rule league.⁷ The President of the League was decided as Annie Besant; G. S. Arundale became its organizing secretary, C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer as General Secretary and B. P. Wadia as Treasurer. The Manifesto of the League stated its aim is to be "strong, steady and sustained agitation". Many lectures were given on behalf of the Home Rule League on the issues of Swadeshi notions, boycott of foreign goods, resistance, national education, labour welfare and reliable government.

Besant became a prominent national leader since the inception and propagation of the Home Rule League. Other than journals, Besant also published books and pamphlets in the favor of self-rule in India and condemning the existing British rule. She thus earned the wrath of the Government.

Opposition by Non-Brahmins

Since Besant was a foreigner and her companions were mostly Brahmins, her campaigns focused on a complete Brahmin conquest of political power.⁸ Due to the fear of Brahmins' capture of political authority, a non-Brahmin party was formed in 20th November 1916 led by Theagaraya Chetty and T M Nair.⁹ The announcement of the party's formation was published in *Hindu* and *New India*. The organization was called the South Indian Liberation Federation (S.I.L.F) and later called as Justice Party after its journal, *Justice*. It became a chronic rival of Annie Besant and her ideas. She was also targeted by the other two Tamil and Telugu journals of the party, the *Dravidan* and *Andhra Patrika*. The *Justice* released many contentious articles about Besant and Theosophical society. T M Nair, the editor of *Justice* wrote a series of articles condemning the actions of Besant compiling them as *The*

Evolution of Annie Besant. He described Besant in his papers saying "a white woman particularly immune from the risks of Government action" used the Home Rule movement to promote her own self.¹⁰ Annie Besant replied to the attacks of *Justice* as "they injure justice, not me". She also described T M Nair as "a writer with a savage pen".

In addition to journalistic attacks, the Justice Party held many conferences against the Home Rule League and self government. Since Besant gave an agitational style to the political affairs of the Madras Presidency, it was chastised by the non-Brahmins. Instead, Besant characterized the Non-Brahmin movement as 'mischievous and unpatriotic'. She failed to notice the growing force of the non-Brahmin cause and its expansion as a remarkable political adversary.

Charges by British and Imprisonment

While expanding the Home Rule Movement, Annie Besant made herself the enemy of the British authorities. Her significant books about India's independence were *How India wrought for freedom* and *India - A Nation*. She also issued 10,000 copies of leaflets on "Self Government". Because of her continuous attacks on British government, the British authority made her pay high securities for *New India* under the wartime Defense of India Act. Besant described the act as a part of a poor system misusing powers. She wrote about this as:

*The Act was meant to strike at treason; it strikes me, and I am branded as a traitor. I repel these monstrous accusations made against me; never a word of violence, or treason, of sedition, has stained these pages. I feel insulted at being herded with traitors and assassins, and so long as this security is imposed on me, so long this insult remains.*¹¹

This dictatorial action of British Government was chided by public and the press. Besant challenged the action of the government in the High Court but her petition was dismissed. Yet the Home Rule movement was not disturbed by the restraint. It rather gained much support from the public including the students of educational institutions in the Presidency. Dreading that the students would become the fortitude of the Home Rule

Agitation, the Imperial government passed a government order forbidding the students involving in politics. Governor Pentland also notified that if Besant and her companions don't give up the Home Rule Movement, he would resort to harsh and strict measures.

The Home Rule League garnered large amount of support from people of Madras Presidency.¹² She also propagated the Congress League Scheme. Feared by this and her popularity, she was suppressed and imprisoned by the government on 16th June 1917 for doing an educative propaganda about the Congress League scheme. She was persecuted by the then Governor of Madras, Pentland.¹³ About her internment, she wrote to her followers as: "I write plainly, for this is my last word, I go into enforced silence and imprisonment, because I love India and have striven to arouse her before it was too late. It is better to lose liberty than to lose honor. I am old, but I believe, that I shall see India win Home Rule before I die. If I have helped ever so little to the realization of that glorious hope, I am more than satisfied. God save India! *Vande Mataram*".

After much effort by many leaders and Besant's associates, Besant was released on 17th September 1917. Besant had given assurance that she would help to attain a calming atmosphere in Madras Presidency.

Annie Besant emerged as a 'national champion' after her release. In December 1917, she was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress. But, after her internment and release there was a drastic change in the attitude of Annie Besant. She became

inconsistent in her temperament towards the British government. The 24th session of the Madras Provincial Conference marked the degeneration of Besant. In this session, Besant moved a resolution petitioning India's absolute participation in war efforts.¹⁴

The final descend of Annie Besant came when she supported the Rowlatt Act. Because of this, Besant faced opposition from almost all the Indians. She also opposed the Satyagraha movement and eventually Gandhi. She blamed Gandhi for the shooting incident at Delhi during the "Protest against Rowlatt Act". Ultimately in 1920, the Home Rule League declined her as President and elected Mahatma Gandhi on 28 April. The League was renamed to Swaraj Sabha. By the time Gandhi had launched the Non-Cooperation movement, Besant totally became pro-British. This marked the end of Besant who played a major role in Indian politics.¹⁵

An excellent orator and writer with poetic disposition, Besant was an absolute whirlwind of power and passion. By her elegant way of oration and expressiveness and sincerity she garnered the support of the people of Madras Presidency. She declared in 1918 in *New India* "I love the Indian people as I love none other, and... my heart and my mind... have long been laid on the altar of the Motherland." Though there were many inconsistencies and oppositions, Besant was responsible for creating a political and social awareness in Madras Presidency. From her social reform lectures in 1913 until her tenure as Indian National Congress's President, the Madras Presidency remained as the epicenter of Home Rule agitation.

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WOMEN AND WORK MOBILITY. SOME DISQUIETING EVIDENCE FROM FISHER FOLK COMMUNITY IN KERALA

Dr. M.L. Lekha Rani

Introduction

The fisher Folk community in Kerala state is rich in custom, tradition and local knowledge, reflecting this in its communities, their established beliefs and practices. The vicinity to the natural resource base has a dominating influence on the culture and thinking of the fishing community. This paper documents the work mobility of traditional fisherwomen in Kerala based on a questionnaire survey conducted in 17 fishing villages. The social mobility of Mukkuvar community is quite a different one from other agrarian, tribal, and caste communities due to their occupational nature as marine fisheries. Their social relations and behaviors are developed from their occupation. Their primary occupation, fishing, had a pivotal place in the early stages of the progress of humankind as it evolved as a chief economic activity and preceded even agriculture and farming.¹ Fishing has naturally been the major occupation of the inhabitants of the coastal belt of Kerala from time immemorial. The Sangam works like *Akanannooru* and *Kurumthogai* gave references to fishermen communities especially about their economic, social, religious and cultural life. The keenness of it was more felt during the stages of emergence of civilizations than during the recent centuries or present.

Socio-economic organisation of traditional fisher folk women

Kerala state in South India has an elongated coastal line of 590 km on the western part of the state sharing the border with Arabian Sea and decorated with world famous beaches. This area, known as the low lying areas or coastal areas is situated 10 m below sea level.² Fisher folk form an important segment of the population of the state. Kerala has the eighth position, with regard to the population of fisher folk among the fourteen coastal states. The total populace of fisher folk residing in the state of Kerala is estimated to be 11.114 lakh, which includes 8.55 lakh in the marine sector and 2.55 lakh in the inland sector. Out of this, the number of active

fishermen is 2.28 lakh (1.90 lakh in marine sector and 0.42 in the inland sector).³

Out of the two types of fishermen, the marine and the inland, the concentration of marine fishermen is more in Trivandrum district, followed by Allapuzha, and then by Kollam and Kozhikode districts, while the inland fishermen are concentrated in Ernakulum, Allapuzha and Kollam districts respectively.⁴

Fisher folk in Kerala come from three different religious groups - the Hindus, Muslims and the Christians. Each of the groups has its own social organisation and mostly occupies separate places in a typical fishing village, although they do share some commonalities. The distribution of the three religious groups varies according to regions.⁵

Problems

The natural hazards, including the increasing problems of coastal erosion, cyclones, the climate change, especially, floods, tsunami, sea-wave formations etc. seriously affects the livelihoods of the coastal communities in Kerala. Recently, the coastal regions of Kerala, had experienced the major problems caused by the devastating cyclone called Okhi during November and December 2017, which had resulted in the loss of life of a large number of fishermen, destabilizing their families.⁶ In this backdrop, this paper examines the major livelihood challenges facing the fisher communities in the seaside regions of Kerala, with a case study of mobility of fisher folk women. The case study was focused on the empowerment status of fisherwomen in Kerala.

Fishing has been a survival support base for traditional fish workers especially women. But when fishing activities are expanded and mechanized, the production is taken over by men. Modern technological facilities are also controlled by men. In fisheries sector the activity is broadly classified based on gender. As men are only engaged in fishing and unraveling the marine wealth using different type of gear, women are active in shore based activities and marketing of fish. Mechanization has drastically

limited the role of women and men in the fishing business.⁷ Big contractors and merchants run most fish markets. The reduction of human resource means that men are losing their jobs and for some, are indulging in irresponsible activities like drinking liquor and gambling. . This forced the women to take the role of an earning member in the family to satisfy the domestic needs and other unexpected expenses. Big corporations likewise pose a threat to the traditional fish sellers. With their huge capital and technological resources, they can easily manage the fisheries business quite fast. Because of the policy of indifference the fisher folk men in due course became heavily addicted to alcohol and gambling which had adverse effect on family relationships and the position of women along with overall social decline.

All these factors forced the women to wake up much earlier in the morning and to travel miles and miles for their fishes, rushing through one catch center to another.⁸ The routine is also dependent on the supplier they are obliged to patronize. With the prices dictated by the contractors and the resources they invest to access these goods, these women feel a greater pressure to sell these goods in the market. Men have access to most technological gadgets like mobile phones, two-wheelers, boxes to carry fish, among others. Through their mobile phones, they obtain quick information about the availability of fish and price rates from any coast at any time. Meanwhile women have no access to the modern facilities and tools due to economic and cultural reasons. Although the conditions in the markets became better, gender discrimination still exists as modern technological facilities and freedom of movement are accessible only to men even in ideal markets.

Majority of the women in Kerala sell their fish outside the markets or on a door-to-door delivery system. Organizing women and other members of fishing communities has been a key in checking the industrial aggression against the small fishing communities as well as the seas. The Kerala fish workers federation, Kerala Swathanthra Matsya Thozhilali (KSMT), has actively worked for the rights of fish workers for decades. By the end of 1980s, its women members decided to form a women's

wing of the federation: the Theeradesa Mahila Vedi (TMV). TMV has been actively involved in various women's issues, spearheading many historical agitations that have influenced and changed government policies.⁹

These main issues include the discrimination against fisherwomen in transportation; the lack of basic market and sanitary facilities for women; and the gender based violence from a skewed fish trading system. The lack of transportation was a major impediment for women selling fish. As they were not allowed to travel on public transportation with their fish baskets and other utensils, women had to walk miles to reach the market with a heavy load on their shoulders and their homes late in the evening. Their business is a story of fluctuating fortunes.¹⁰

Violence and sexual harassment against fisherwomen are on the rise. Much of domestic violence is not even considered as violence against women while sexual harassment is not reported due to fear of social stigma. Even reported cases are not given serious attention, that culprits can escape using political influence or threatening the survivors with dire consequences.

Gender discrimination and women's marginalisation are also intense in disaster and emergency situations. The tsunami that swept coastal South India in December 2004, shelter became a major issue for women. The temporary shelters had no privacy while the sanitation facilities are not satisfactory. Life in the relief camps was cause of trauma for women. Separate toilets, place for drying clothes and space for cleaning kitchen utensils were among the major concerns for women. But with the dominant norms of socialization fisher folk, women were too hesitant to insist or even express their needs. Instead, they silently cope with several problems, including sexual and physical harassment by men in the camps, particularly near the toilets. During disaster and emergency situations, pregnant and lactating mothers also failed to obtain adequate nutrition and access healthcare facilities. Inadequate supplies of water and sanitation made women susceptible to reproductive and urinary tract infections. Women and girls often opt not to avail of medical services which are organised in the relief camps as the doctors are all male and

the facilities lack privacy. Because of their loss of income and inability to access cash, women are at risk of sexual exploitation and dependency. The fisherwomen were politically empowered and less empowered legally. Perishable commodity like fish in most of the coastal villages where chilling and freezing facilities are least available.¹¹ Their business is a story of fluctuating fortunes.

The vulnerability of women is further accentuated by gender-insensitive relief and rehabilitation policies. Women's work is also not recognised in most rehabilitation programmes. Livelihood rehabilitation measures focused more on the loss of boats, thus ignoring the livelihood issues of women who are involved in processing and marketing of fish. It is widely known that women's earnings generally go directly towards meeting the basic needs of their families, while a substantial proportion of many men's earnings is often spent on personal habits such as drinking, smoking and gambling. As households are usually registered under a man's name, women encountered problems in accessing rations and compensations for assets that were lost. Experience shows that it is vital to collect gender-disaggregated information before determining relief and rehabilitation packages.

In a fisher's family, the responsibility of household management-food, childcare, education, health, sanitation, financial management and the responsibility of getting and repaying debts will be mostly on the women's shoulders.¹² The burden of her responsibilities doubles in the off-season. After mechanization and intensification of multi-day fishing, the household responsibility of fisherwomen has increased to a greater extent.

The indirect role women play are concerning decision making, financial management, family welfare, net making, running petty shops and mobile food supply for the workers at the landing centres and fish markets. The more direct involvement of women are in post-harvest related activities viz. peeling, fish trading, export oriented works, making value - added products, small scale

In order to examine the various vulnerability issues faced by the coastal communities, a small survey was undertaken

among the coastal communities, covering a small sample size of 25 households. The major problems were identified based on a rapid assessment survey and included: (a) drinking waters supply and availability problems; (b) health related problems caused by poor water supply provisions;(c) the amount spent for treatment during rainy season due to drinking contaminated or poor quality water; and (d) sanitation situation in the households, etc. The households were selected from three areas in Thiruvananthapuram city suburbs, viz. Poovar, Beemapally, Anjutengu. It is known facts that in Coastal communities' majority of fishermen families depend on marine fishing. No one can ensure daily minimum income to fisherman families in Kerala. Often poor families who depend on marine fishing activity buy their daily food grains after returning from fishing. If there is no fishing there is no income for that day. Poor families dependent on marine fishing suffer from insufficient nutritive food.

Conclusion

Fisher folk women form an important segment in Kerala society, but remain neglected and marginalized in spite of the higher socio-economic progress the state has made as a whole. They are truly the subaltern class in Kerala. When most of the people of Kerala got organized and politicized the fisher folk women have remained one of the most unorganised groups in the state. The process of coastal erosion increased with human activities such as urbanization, building and expansion of harbors etc. Hence, the coastal state has been facing serious issues and challenges in terms of declining fish stock along with various climate change related problems impacting the livelihoods of the coastal communities. This paper examines some of the important challenges afflicting the coastal communities in Kerala in the larger context of the depletion in the stock of fisheries resources alongside the threats emanating from climate change induced impacts. The paper suggests the importance of protecting the marine resources and the environment in order to sustain the economic and social well-being of the marine communities besides protecting the fishery resources from the point of view of maintaining inter-generational equity in the access to the use of fishery resources.

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SALARIES OF THE KHODADAD SARKAR OF TIPU SULTAN

Dr. Madhabi Roy

Responding to Sipahdar Syed Ghaffar's enquiry about the salary of his brother, recently promoted to the rank of risaladar, Tipu Sultan says

It is written in the earlier memorandum from the jaish kachari that the monthly salary (*darmahe*) of that rank is ten hoons and the receipt for each person (mustered by him) is twelve annas falami. In conformity therewith, allowance and salary should be given, agreeably to the number of men musterred.¹

The hukmnama for the citadel of Seringapatam, the capital of the Khodadad Sarkar, in the process of comprehensively describing the layout of the fort and the functioning of the garrison of nine thousand eight hundred and forty-four, from the killadar to the humblest employee, carefully specifies that the women beating rice in the husk (*shah*) and crushing whole wheat into powder for the central storehouse, shall receive monthly salary and provisions. In addition, each of them will get half a dek of rice gleanings from the storehouse as a gift.²

Who received what?

In his written compact (*iqramnama*) with his master, Mir Muhammad Sadiq of the Mir Asaf kachari (Revenue Department), one of the top-ranking officers of the sarkar, states his salary to be 1200 rupees a month.³ At the other end of the scale, a khalasi serving in Seringapatnam fort received 8 rupees.⁴ A monthly pay of 125 rupees was settled on Venkaji Pandit, second Diwan of Bangalore.⁵ The Harkaras (messengers) Tolaram and Bhauh received 10 rupees each, whereas 9 rupees were paid to Mahadji, Kishnaji, Santaji and Humaji.⁶ Tipu Sultan's letters and Hukmnamas give plentiful evidence of the government's policy of exact specification and disbursement of salaries and perquisites, from the most exalted of its servants to the lowest. Thus, Huzur instructs Raja Ramchandra to employ a sweeper at 10 or 12 falams a month, a coolie at 15 falams, one Farsinavis Munshi at 35 rupees and settle 4½ hoons on a European chela.⁷ Detailed information regarding salaries were incorporated in the Mukmnamas given to officers who was in charge of distributing them. For instance, Badruzzaman Khan is told that "the salaries of the serishtadars and gomashas must be given in accordance with what is written in your Hukmnama."⁸

Salaries were generally stated in monetary units of hoon, rupee and falam. A hoon equalled 3 rupees or 10 falams.⁹ Some of the more extended hukmnamas, such as the one issued to the Mir Yam kachari (navy/marine department), give very detailed information about salaries and emoluments.¹⁰ The department was headed by 11 mir yams, with 40 mir bahrs, divided into two groups of serving and trainee officers, being next in command. For example, the land establishment of the kachari consisted of 3 mirza-e daftars, 3 hindavi writers, 12 gomashatas, 1 qazi, 2 naqibs, 11 sharbasharans (scouts), 11 hazirbashes, 1 farrash (in charge of carpets and camp equipage), 1 mashalchi (torch bearer) and 1 sarban (camel driver). The first two ranks drew monthly salaries of 20 hoons including an allowance for horse. A gomashata received 15 hoons, the qazi and naqibs 12 hoons each. A sharbasharan got 10 hoons and a hazirbashi 3 hoons and 3 falams. Three hoons each were earmarked for the farrash and sarban. The mashalchi received 2 hoons.

In addition to cash payment, certain allowances such as money for recruiting and maintaining full compliments for troops, upkeep of horses, and food rations were frequently given, as were supplements to regular wages for special circumstances such as temporary out of station posting, injuries sustained and the like. The hukmnama for Seringapatam fort mentions that financial assistance (*musaada*) must be given to jauqdars to recruit new jawans.¹¹ When Sheikh Ali was unable to enlist soldiers, Tipu Sultan ordered his superior officer Ahsanullah Khan to reduce his salary and taking back his *musaada* of 100 hoons, to give it to whoever could successfully raise the required troops.² On the other hand, the enterprising Syed Ahmad Jauqdar was promoted to the position of Risaladar, in consequence of his procurement of recruits, even without *musaada*.¹³ Such allowances appear to have been calculated on the basis of the number of people newly enlisted or supervised by an official. As a typical example, the total salary of a jamadar of the gunners on a battleship in the navy was 4 hoons and 4 falams per month, of which 3 hoons 6 falams was the base amount and the remaining 8 falams computed on the calculation of 1 falam per head for the 8 men serving under him.¹⁴

Food rations were usually dispensed on a daily basis. The hukmnamas issued to the amils of the districts of Raicottah and Waumlloor give a list of items to be supplied to the garrisons of the forts in their districts. Each person received twelve items, in specified quantities. These were rice, flour, pulses (daal), salt, tamarind, ghee (clarified butter), onions, tobacco, garlic, betelnut, chillies (pepper) and turmeric.¹⁵ This tallies very closely with the provisions given to those serving in the Mir Yam department with the addition of a daily allowance of meat for some officers and prepared kabab every two weeks for one and all.¹⁶

Special situations called for special measures. Keenly aware of the difficulties faced by men serving away from their regular place of work, coupled with the necessity of keeping up the health and morale of forces engaged in combat, Tipu Sultan writes to Burhanuddin Sipahdar: "The sarkar's piadas from the taluks who are stationed with you are suffering from want (of money) for expenses. Therefore, it is being written that you give to each of those piadas ten falams per month...so their difficulties are removed."¹⁷

Zakhm-patti or compensation for the wounded was a common feature of Indian armies in this period and the Khodadad Sarkar was no exception. The hukmnama for Seringapatam fort states that 107 individuals were receiving rations for injuries sustained and the like.¹⁸ In his letters to army commanders, Tipu Sultan directs them to make the payments in the customary manner.

"An order has been issued to the bakhshi of jaish for (sending you) 1000 hoons as zakhmpatti... you must write and obtain the regulations (qaeda) of zakhmpatti from the treasury (toshakkhana) and give out (the money) in accordance with it."¹⁹

Ranks and rates

At the top of the military-administrative structure of the sarkar were the heads of the central departments. In 1796, there were 6 departments - Mir Miran (Army), Mir Khazan (Treasury), Mir Yam (Navy/Marine), Mir Asaf (Revenue), Mir Sudur (Forts) and Malikul Tujar (Commerce).²⁰ The hukmnama for the Mir Yam kachari states that the salaries of Mir Yams would be fixed on a case by case basis and

probably the same was true for the heads of the other departments.²¹ Mir Muhammad Sadiq's salary of 1200 rupees/month (about 400 hoons) gives some indication of the remunerations drawn by Tipu Sultan's seniormost officials.

In the army, the salaries of sipahdars, who were the highest ranking military commanding officers, were most likely determined on an individual basis, but those of the subsequent ranks of risaladar (later called teepdar), jauqdar (later called yoozdar), sarkhail, jamadar, dafadar and yzakdar (ordinary soldier) were given according to established rates. Leading a teep of 346 men, a teepdar of the first and second orders respectively received 30 and 27 hoons in all, including base pay and allowance for per person supervised. A teepdar of the Asad Ilahi corps earned only 25 hoons, which, however, was probably augmented by rations.²² In the navy, the mir bahrs, who were the seniormost officers serving on the ships, were paid at a fixed rate of 150 rupees a month (about 50 hoons). Further down the line, a teepdar of the musketeers in a battleship received a base pay of 7 hoons 8 falam together with an allowance of 12 hoons calculated at the rate of 1 falam each for 120 men under him, making a total of 19 hoons 8 falams per month. A teepdar serving with the gunners got 16 hoons 9½ falams in all. These are comparable to an army teepdar's (risaladar) base salary of 10 hoons and 12 annas (¾ falam) for each underling, as cited in Tipu Sultan's letter above. Army jawans received 5 hoons and 1 falam.²³ Approximately the same amounts were earmarked for troops serving in the garrisons of the sarkar's forts. In a letter to Raja Ramchandra, Diwan of Bangalore, Tipu Sultan acknowledges his report of retaining 50 piadas at a monthly salary of 5 hoons for the fort of Cherkal.²⁴ Similar uniformity in salary scales appear to have been maintained for employees other than soldiers and their commanding officers. A gomashta of the navy received 15 hoons a month, while his counterpart in the army earned between 16 and 18 hoons. A navy farrash got 3 hoons and an army one 2 hoons and 7 falams. Twelve hoons were earmarked for a naqib in either department.

Going beyond the army and navy, the same pattern of standardized salary rates can be observed in other departments of the sarkar with the exception, as before, of those serving in the higher echelons of the administration. Khalasies in Seringapatam fort were paid 8 rupees a month and 7 rupees were earmarked for new recruits in far away Muscat.²⁵ Raja Ramchandra was told to pay Yenkat Rao, serishtadar for kandachar, at the same rate as the serishtadar of the mahals and gomashtas for kandachar the same wage as gomashtas of ahsham.²⁶ He was also authorized to employ a new hindavinavis munshi at the same salary as the munshi already serving under him and two coolies for work in the kulari at the same pay as those in the toshakkhana.²⁷

Some employees in the provinces were paid once in two months. Lower order servants such as kahmatis (laborers) as well as peons serving in the kandachar (local militia) belonged to this category.²⁸

The Khodadad Sarkar preferred to pay salaries in cash, to the extent possible. Half of Mir Sadiq's salary of 1200 rupees was paid in cash and a jagir was assigned for the other half. The administrative manual *Zawabit-e Sultani* lists only three jagirdars in 1796 and British records after the fall of Seringapatam name six in the sarkar's revenue rolls from 1797-8. Additionally, four princes held jagirs.²⁹ At the other end of the spectrum, locals such as kandachar militiamen were sometimes given land, with a view to bringing fallow land under the plough.

Progressively, the state took measures to standardize coinage and keep only specific kinds in circulation. An idea of the bewildering variety of currencies in use in eighteenth century India and more specifically in Mysore can be formed from the fact that no less than 25 different types of the gold hoon and 9 kinds of the silver rupee are listed in the revenue regulations for the amils of Raicottah and Waumloor districts.³⁰ The sarkar took the Kanterai coinage as its preferred currency and cash components of salaries are consistently stated in Kanterai units. Raja Ramchandra was directed to make "an inventory of Haidari and Kanterai falams in all the taluks in the jurisdiction of Bangalore et cetera and put into circulation the said falams so that no other

falams except these are in circulation.”³¹ Further, jamabandi of taluks was to be done only in Kanterai in future.³²

Along with specification of salaries and allowances in precise detail, the Khodadad Sarkar placed great emphasis on disbursement in time while meticulously following procedures established for the purpose. Senior officials in charge of dealing with the matter were constantly enjoined by Tipu Sultan to carefully maintain attendance registers and prepare accounts, hand out the money themselves without delegating the matter to others, and closely cooperate with fellow officers and the central departments to ensure that wages were given in a timely and transparent fashion. When Mah Mirza Khan was sent to join Sheikh Omar to seize the recalcitrant poligar Chakra Mall, ensconced in Oalpilly fort, Tipu Sultan gave him detailed instructions about undertaking the siege.

Finally, while keeping a tight rein on fixing salary rates and avoiding excess expenditure, Tipu Sultan left room for accommodation and special concessions, all with a view to entice the best talent to his standard. On a deputation to the Maratha court, Muhammad Ghiyas and Noor Muhammad Khan conveyed to their master their wish to employ one Pir Muhammad Munshi. However, he was unwilling to accept a salary of 40 rupees only as he was getting 60 rupees elsewhere.

When Chishti Yar Khan, Diwan of Farkh Yab Hisar (Chitaldurg) wrote to Huzur saying

that good tarafdars were not procurable for only one hoon a month, he was given permission to decide their salary as he judged “proper and necessary for their subsistence (*be qadr-e guzaran-e anha monaseb didē*) so that the work of the sarkar may be performed in the best manner (*bayin-e bihin*).”³³ Going further, the state undertook to create a favorable environment for its prospective and current employees, in order to attract and retain good people for the smooth running of its affairs. Housing was made available to officers, house servants were provided and assistance such as advances on salary given to help them to settle down in comfort and concentrate on their work.

Salary and service

That Tipu Sultan was considerably successful in drawing faithful and competent people to himself and running an efficient administration is an issue on which contemporaries and modern historians are in substantial agreement. Tales of treachery and betrayal, meandering through popular belief and especially centered on the final British assault and capture of Seringapatam, are now thought to be quite groundless.³⁴ Compensation for service, in the form of clearly enunciated and properly executed regulations regarding salary and emoluments, lay at the heart of transactions between the Khodadad Sarkar and its employees and formed the basis on which an entire ideology of loyalty to the state and sovereign was built up.

Endnotes

1. *Letters of Tipu Sultan*, IOL Persian Ms. Ethé 525, pp.272-3 and William Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, pp.285-6. All translations from Persian are mine. I have also used Kirkpatrick’s translations.
2. *Hukm-Nama (for Seringapatam Fort)*, Persian Manuscripts, Society Collection PSC 1648, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, Article 23.
3. Iqramnama of Mir Sadiq, *Historical Miscellanies*, Ethé 528, , folios 47-9 and Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters*, Appendix H.
4. Hukmnama for Seringapatam fort, article 19.
5. Letter to Raja Ramchandra, Ethé 525, pp.440-1.
6. Letters to Mulchand and Sujana Rae, Ethé 525, pp.316-20, 359-61 and Kirkpatrick, pp.362-6, 100-1 respectively.
7. Sweeper, Ethé 525, pp.7-8 and Kirkpatrick, pp.11-3; coolie, Ethé 525, pp.601-4; farsi munshi, Ethé 525, pp.349-50; European chela, Ethé 525, pp.440-1 and Kirkpatrick, p.213.
8. Ethé 525, p.164 and Kirkpatrick, p.267.
9. The exact conversion rate of hoon to rupee is not found in the Persian documents and there is some variation in the English sources (which also use the terms “pagoda” for “hoon” and “fanam” for “falam”). One British Pound was equal to about 3 Kanterai hoons.
10. Hukmnama for Mir Yam kachari, Kirkpatrick, Marine Regulations, Appendix K.
11. Hukmnama for Seringapatam fort, article 19.
12. Ethé 525, p.530 and Kirkpatrick, p.381.
13. Ethé 525, p.501 and Kirkpatrick, p.306.
14. Hukmnama for Mir Yam kachari, Kirkpatrick, Appendix K, p.lxxxiv.

15. Raicottah Regulations, article 112 and Waumloor Regulations, article 115.
16. Hukmnama for Mir Yam kachari, Kirkpatrick, Appendix K, pp.lxxxviii-lxxxix.
17. Ethé 525, pp.70-1 and Kirkpatrick, p.82.
18. Hukmnama for Seringapatam fort, article 1.
19. Letters to Mir Zainul Abidin, Mah Mirza Khan, Fazal Ali Khan, Ethé 525, pp.227-8, 406-10, 494-5 and Kirkpatrick, pp.150-2, 153-7, 298 respectively.
20. *Zawabit-e Sultani* Ethé 2761, folios 2-3.
21. Hukmnama for Mir Yam kachari, Kirkpatrick, Appendix K, p.lxxx. All figures for the Mir Yam kachari are taken from here.
22. Unless otherwise mentioned, figures for the armed forces are taken from Kirkpatrick, Appendix L, An Outline of Tippoo Sultan's Military Establishments.
23. Kirkpatrick remarks: "This pay considerably exceeded what the privates of the East-India Company's Sepoy corps receive." Kirkpatrick, Appendix L, p. xcvi, footnote 14.
24. Ethé 525, pp.659-60.
25. Hukmnama for Seringapatam fort, article 19 and letter to Mir Kazim, Daroga at Muscat, Ethé 525, pp.454-7 and Kirkpatrick, pp.231-4.
26. Ethé 525, pp.16 and 36-7.
27. Ethé 525, p.66.
28. Raicottah Regulations, articles 103, 104 and Waumloor Regulations, articles 105, 106.
29. *Zawabit-e Sultani* Ethé 2761, folios 47-8 and *Asiatic Annual Register for 1799*, Supplement to the State Papers, p. 305.
30. Raicottah Regulations, article 94, and Waumloor Regulations, article 96.
31. Ethé 525, p.105 and Kirkpatrick, p.185.
32. Two letters to Raja Ramchandra, Ethé 525, pp.262 and 432-3.
33. Ethé 525, p.472 and Kirkpatrick, pp.259-60.
34. Kate Brittlebank, *Tales of Treachery*, pp. 195-211.

CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN HEALTH SECTOR : A STUDY OF KERALA

S. Malavika

In the middle of the 19th century protestant missionaries such as the London missionary society, the American foreign mission board, and the free church of Scotland opened medical mission centers in different parts of India. The arrival of colonialism in India European missionaries particularly protestant missionaries, their religious motives were mixed with the colonial principles and commercial spirit.

The missionaries believed that the medical mission was the prominent way to reach the mind of the rural poor people. They are highly influenced by common people especially lower caste people. In later period women are highly involved with the mission activities. The major mission of the Christian missionaries, which would publicize the humanizing aspects of Christianity amongst a heathen population.

Christian missionaries spread rapidly in all over India. The missionaries characterized for the people in two divisions for the base of the cultural terrain known as Christian and Heathen. The Heathen people were subdivided into two categories known as 'the cultural people and savages.'

The introduction of western medicine was not smooth and easy; the Christian missionaries had propagated it very well since 1811. The missionaries known themselves with Western medicines 'empirical and rational approach' and through it required to counter the authority of their rivals, the 'witchdoctors'. Medical work brought missionaries some conversions, though not a few of those they tended and cured took the missionaries' medicine without surrounding their own religious beliefs and their theories of disease causation.

Christian mission is an organized effort for the propagation of the Christian faith. Mission often involves sending individuals and groups, called "missionaries," to foreign countries and to places in their homeland for the purpose of proselytism (conversion to Christianity, or from one Christian tradition to another). This involves evangelism (preaching a set of beliefs for the purpose of conversion), and humanitarian work, especially among the poor and disadvantaged. There are a few different kinds of mission trips: short-term, long-term, and relational and the one meant simply for helping people in need. Some might choose to dedicate their whole lives to missions as well. Missionaries have the authority to preach the Christian faith (and

sometimes to administer sacraments), and provide humanitarian work to improve economic development, literacy, education, health care, and orphanages. Christian doctrines (such as the "Doctrine of Love" professed by many missions) permit the provision of aid without requiring religious conversion.

Allopathic medicine was introduced by the British during the mid- 18th century to cater to the needs of their civilian and military population. The medical missions entered the Indian subcontinent during the late 18th century mainly in those regions which were directly British rule. The pioneers of Christian missionary work belonged to both British and American medical missions. The earliest among them was the London Missionary Society which started work in late 18th century in the Madras presidency. Some of the other major groups included the English Baptist Missionary Society and the Argot Mission which was founded by Scudder who later established the Christian Medical College at Vellore.¹

During the mid-19th century, the American Baptist Mission and the American Presbyterian Mission started medical relief work² Prominent among them were John Steele in Madurai, Rev John Newton of the American Presbyterian mission in Punjab and the American Methodist Episcopal Board in Neonatal and Pithoragarh in Uttar Pradesh.³ During the same period Zenana missionaries consisting of women doctors set up a number of hospitals for women and children. Women who trained as doctors in UK and US had few employment opportunities in their respective countries hence they opted to work in Africa and Asia with the missionaries.⁴

The early women missionaries came to India during the late 19th century. There was an equal representation of both British and American missionaries who were largely located in the north.

Women medical missionaries were largely limited in providing maternity and child health services which they perceived as a major need of Indian women. The efforts of the pioneers led to the establishment of the Lady Duffer in Fund which aided hospitals and dispensaries for women and children in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal.⁵

In 1937, 25 percent of the mission hospitals were located in the Madras presidency followed by the Bombay presidency which had 13 per cent of the hospitals.⁶ this trend continued through the 1940s and is seen even to the present day. Between 1937 and 1947 there was a decline in the number of institutions from 246 hospitals to 131.⁷ the decline was partly due to the partitioning of the Indian subcontinent whereby parts of Punjab and Bengal became a part of Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively. However this could not explain the sharp decline of institutions in the Madras Presidency from 62 in 1937 to 38 in 1947.⁸ The decline between 1937-47 was barely restored by the marginal growth of institutions from 1947-96 with 249 hospitals.⁹ This was approximately the figure for the late 1930s.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY WORK TODAY

Right from the late 1930s it is evident that there are regional variations in the distribution of mission hospitals and dispensaries. Under the Christian Medical Network which includes several denominations like Protestants, Methodists, etc, the dominant forms of provisioning are hospitals which outnumber dispensaries with a ratio of 3: 1. There were 250 hospitals and 37 dispensaries under this network in 1996.¹⁰ Questionnaires were mailed to all member institutions under the Christian Medical Network in order to elicit data, is regarding date of establishment, bed strength and services offered. On the basis of the responses from different states. The bed strength of these institutions was calculated. There was a differential response rate across states. The percentage of institutions who responded in Gujarat was 60 per cent, 47 per cent in Uttar Pradesh, 40 per cent in Kerala, 39 per cent in Tamil Nadu. 36 per cent in Bihar and for the remaining states it was below 30 per cent. Based on the response the bed strength was 7,642.¹¹ the dominant form of provisioning under this network was hospitals which outnumbered the dispensaries with a ratio of 7:1.

The institutions were unevenly distributed across the country. Kerala had the largest percentage of hospitals (32 per cent) followed by Tamil Nadu with 15.3 per cent and Andhra Pradesh with 12 per cent.¹² There has not been

much growth of Christian medical institutions in recent times. In a recent review, the CMAI (Christen Medical Association of India) has stated that at the time of independence there were approximately 400 institutions in its network and by 1988 there were 2,500 institutions.¹³ These were mainly small hospitals, health centers and dispensaries located in rural areas. The CHAI (The catholic health association of India) data on their member reveals that there are 459 hospitals with bed strength of 23,323 and 1,300 dispensaries with bed strength of 2,394.¹⁴ Unlike the CMAI; the dominant form of provisioning under the CHAI is the dispensaries which outnumber the hospitals with a ratio of 3:1. As far as distribution of these institutions across states is concerned it is skewed in favor of the southern states, viz, Kerala and Tamil Nadu - 46 per cent of the hospitals are located in Kerala, followed by Tamil Nadu which has 18 per cent of the hospitals. In the case of dispensaries, Tamil Nadu has 22.4 per cent of the dispensaries, followed by Kerala with 16 per cent and Andhra Pradesh with 15 percent.¹⁵ the institutional forms vary in the two networks, CHAI and CMAI. While hospitals dominate the Christian medical network, it is the dispensaries and health centers which predominate in the Catholic missionary network.

Kerala, which has the highest bed strength in the voluntary sector, the ratio of private beds to voluntary is 3:1. In Tamil Nadu this ratio is 2:1 and Andhra Pradesh it is 6:1. However, in Maharashtra and Gujarat where the missionary presence is low, the ratio of private to voluntary beds is 25:1 in the former and 76:1 in the later. Clearly the strength of missionary services relative to both the public and private sector is marginal. However, the trends in distribution of the mission institutions aggravates the regional inequalities between the richer and poorer regions since their activities are restricted to those states which are better developed in terms of institutional and infrastructural inputs.

Given the trends in the characteristics and distribution of missionary hospitals and dispensaries ever important issues emerged consideration. Firstly, the issue of regional variations in the distribution of institutions needs to be addressed by these networks especially if they want to serve poorer regions

where the public sector is weak and the private sector will not want to invest. Secondly, the source and means of financial institutions in these networks is extremely important. This issue had surfaced way back in the late 1920s and was probably an important reason why several hospitals were forced to close down. Many mission hospitals were forced to charge fees which affected their voluntary status and hampered charitable work. Very often it became difficult to make a distinction between private and voluntary services since both provided services at a cost. Here, the respective networks have to debate this issue with their member institutions so that they can evolve some way of ensuring that the poor are not denied care. The identity of voluntary hospitals has been further eroded with increasing privatization as a result of which they are forced to compete with the growing private sector. This is bound to have an effect on the type of services the voluntary sector will provide. Since the private sector largely provides curative services which are dependent on high technology medical equipment, very often mission hospitals are also doing the same. High technology medical care results in increased costs which then needs to be recovered through user fees. Therefore very often mission hospitals are providing care which is a far cry from rational medical care which was the emphasis during the early part of this century.

At last, most mission hospitals have a lower recurring expenditure compared to private hospitals because they pay their doctors and specially the paramedics less than other institutions. They draw their paramedics from religious orders and hence are expected to volunteer their time for a good cause. Given the changing scenario, the mission hospitals may increasingly face a situation where many doctors and paramedical workers may not work in these hospitals for low wages especially when the private sector may be willing to pay higher wages.

The missionary activities of India were evaluated in two ways. First one was the progress and glory of missionaries. In another one was the negative side. Many people accepted the faith to escape from the social evils and to raise their standard of living. The people noticed that the new converts found it

easier to get education and jobs at the missionary establishments. So people got converted in order to get the physical and financial benefits of being a Christian without any change of the heart. This latter on lead to the labeling of many Christians as 'Rice Christians' because the missionaries gave food to the starving converts and many got converted to get the food. The missionaries could not succeed in establishing a new culture. They adapted the local culture after making some essential changes. The lack of a Judeo-Christian culture becomes very apparent at the present efforts to evangelize Kerala. Some missionaries spent almost all their time and energy for education and social reformation instead of preaching the Gospel. Although it was a great asset to the missionaries who came later, their work was limited. Along with the Bible and Christian books the missionaries printed some Hindu literature also. This helped to spread the Hindu theology and philosophy which was later used to stop the growth of

Christianity. It is doubtful whether such open-mindedness was really necessary among the missionaries who were here in the purpose of propagating Christianity. The missionaries were not successful in making disciples capable of continuing their work. Such local leaders were rare in Kerala history. Although there are people like K V Simon, Sadhu, Kochu, Kunju, Upadesi, etc. the vast majority of the people were followers rather than leaders. The lack of leaders was a serious limitation to further mission programs.

The Missionaries concentrated in converting the lower class people. The ignored upper class people were a hindrance to future missions. Christianity was also labeled as a religion of the lower class in many parts of India due to this reason. The Missionaries naturally supported the British rule in India. Due to this the new converts were labeled unpatriotic and anti-Indian. This caused many troubles in the spread of Gospel in the independent India.

End Notes

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- 14 For a comparison with other states and provinces in India see *Census of India* (Travancore, 1901) part 1, report. P 89. See also Nagam Aiyya, *Travancore State Manual*, Trivandrum, 1906, Vol. 1, p. 29. Samuel Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p.25.
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SHANTHAVERI GOPALAGOWDA THE SOCIALIST

K.N. Manjunath

Shanthaveri Gopalagowda was a great socialist and an honest politician of Karnataka. He who was known for his simplicity and his principles, he fought for social justice. Though his family was not well enough he completed his lower secondary education and developed his interests during his childhood days. Later he became a great associate of freedom fighters like Bhashyam and others. He believed that freedom would be incomplete without eradicating some evils of his time and bringing socialism in the society would be a dream forever unless caste and varna systems were abolished. Hence he worked for the eradication of untouchability and involved in the Kagodu Satyagraha movement. As a politician he got elected for the state assembly for three times. When he was the leader of the opposition party, he worked for maintaining the sanctity of politics. At a juncture when he was asked to be the Chief Minister, he politely rejected the offer as he had been hospitalised during that time. He never wanted to fool people by giving false promises because socialism was his life time goal to achieve.

Shanthaveri Gopalagowda played a very significant role in the Karnataka politics. As an associate of Lohiya, he fought for social justice to everyone. Leading a simple and honest life and adopting certain principles, he became a rare politician of Karnataka.

He was born at Shanthaveri near Araga in Thirthahalli taluk, Shivamogga district. He was born into a tenant family on 14th March 1923. Kolluraiah and Sheshamma were his parents. Though his ancestors were rich, poverty was troubling his family. He completed his primary and higher primary education in Araga and Agrahara. He completed his lower secondary education in 1941 along with his brother.

He was very much interested in reading stories and poems, art, literature and cultural activities during his childhood days. He participated in freedom struggle when he was a student and addressed a gathering at Ramamandira in Thirthahalli. This was his first public speech which made him popular.

Getting involved in freedom struggle, he along with his friends destroyed post boxes and cut down the telegraph wires. Though he tried to escape from the police, he was caught and put in Shimogga jail. There he got the chance of serving the freedom fighters like K.T.Bhasyam, Siddaiah, Kumarn and K.C. Reddy and discussed the freedom struggle with them. They were inspired by Karl Mark, Leo Tolstoy, Jayaprakash Narayan, M.K. Gandhi and Lohia. The influence of Basavarajashastri and Kamagodu Narasimha shastri changed Gopalagowda's life style.

Doing social service was his goal besides being a freedom fighter. He believed that freedom would be incomplete without eradicating some social evils. He tried to enter a temple along with untouchables in Shivamogga. He ran evening schools for untouchables at virakthimat in Araga. He also concentrated on running schools for adults, self-employment, etc. As he used to say socialists should become secular, he gave his consent to inter-caste marriage and married Kadidal Manjappa's friend's daughter Sonakka from Dharwad.

If we want to talk about socialism at this juncture, we must be on the way to eradicate class and varna systems, otherwise bringing socialism in the society would be a dream forever. There is slavery in our state even today. Eradicating caste system and untouchability is just a paper work. They are not allowed to public places and temples. The movements started by Buddha, Basavanna and Mahatma Gandhi to eradicate these systems remain unchanged. Gopalagowda often felt that this system is there somewhere in minds and souls of Hindus and this should be eradicated. Gopalagowda involved in this social reformation with the main of bringing in socialism in the society. Hence he involved in the Kagodu Satyagraha movement. After this struggle a new development took place in the Karnataka politics. This movement spread across the nation and attracted nationwide socialists like Ram Manohara lohia and made him involved in the Kagodu Satyagraha which took place under Gopalagowda's leadership.

Gopalagowda wanted to create socially respectable situation for the poor. He was open-minded. He always thought about socialism and spoke about it in the assemblies and public gatherings. Though Gopalagowda became a state and national level leader, he did not make any money or property. When he came back to his village, he mingled with everyone. When he was the leader of the opposition party, he put the party in power in trouble. Unable to tolerate the Congress Party offered him the post of minister. But he flatly refused it. This shows his political honesty.

When Veerendra Patil from Congress resigned the post of Chief Minister in 1971, remaining parties came together to form government offering the post of Chief Minister to Gopalagowda. Then Gopalagowda was in hospital due to his ill-health. When he was asked to accept the offer, Gopalagowda very politely rejected their offer saying that it would be a foolish act because it was not the right time for him to be so. Such an honest politician can't be seen today.

Shanthaveri Gopalagowda was elected to state assembly for three times (1952, 1962 and 1967). He discussed many important matters of society in the assembly. He spoke about economic, political, religious, educational problems of the state. He discussed all these problems from the point of view of socialism. He also discussed other issues like abolition royalty, land army, equal pay, nationalisation of banks, nationalised transport, system of levy industries, taxation, burden of tax, irrigation, problems of drought, rights of farmers, farmers' rights on water, co-operation, decentralisation of power, abolition of liquor, forest land, Kolar gold mines, consistency of prices, direct election, Vihdana Soudha, Vidhana Parishath, Rajabhavana, police system, jail system, problems of tenants, Bhoodan Movement, revolution, land reformations, abolition of Inam system, village officials, national holidays, prescribed textbooks, malnad area, border areas of Karnataka, religious institutions, caste system, education, culture, religion, Khadi, unification of Karnataka, etc. in the assembly.

In the name of caste, religious fundamentalism and economic equality violence is propagated in our liberal society. These are disturbing the very conducive nature

of our society and are misleading the youth. Therefore, the study of Shanthaveri Gopalagowda helps us to get social justice according to our constitution and its implementation in order to make the youth of India rethink about socialism.

The Congress party in power at the centre nationalised all private banks in 1962. It was a historical decision in the history of Indian banking system and its economic transactions. The government did not do it on its own. It did it in the interest of people and labourers. In the backdrop of nationalisation of banks, Gopalagowda spoke about it in the assembly on April 9th 1964. How to implement socialism in the society was the main aim and principle of political socialism. Can we implement socialism in the society by lessening the disparity between the rich and the poor by bringing money or food grains from the rich countries? Of course he said that it was impossible. He emphasized this point in the assembly. The main aim and desire of the Communists was to bring in social equality in the society. Therefore they organised political revolutions in different countries of the world. But Indian socialists did not like this; so they thought of the other better ways to implement socialism in the society. As a result of this political thinking, the main aim of Indian and Karnataka socialists was to nationalise private financial institutions and private banks. Having these ideas Gopalagowda discussed in the state assembly.

India got independence in 1947 and became republic in 1950. These two political developments made Indians dream of implementation of socialism in their social and political life. The Centre and the State governments should have made an attempt to create such an environment in the country. After independence farmers, labourers and communists came forward to protest against inequality in the society. During this time state governments tried to bring some private industries into their custody. As a result, in the last part of 1960s and the beginning of 1970s these developments were clearly seen. With what socialistic idea Gopalagowda spoke about nationalisation of banks in the assembly, in the same way he demanded nationalisation of private transport.

Transport department was run by the public money given by the farmers in the form of tax. The management was in the hands of private people. Therefore, they did not satisfy the needs of passengers. Having observed this very keenly Gopalagowda demanded nationalisation of private transport in the state assembly. He also expressed his desire with the central government to think of doing it.

Now transport system has been divided into government and private sectors in the state. Which sector the people use according to their economic standard and other conveniences is a different matter. But we need to look into is the reason behind the statements made by Gopalagowda in the assembly. Carrying people from one place to another is an important work of a transport system. But people had to wait for buses hours together at the bus stands. So their many hours of work went in vain. Many times the time spent on waiting for busses was longer than the time the passengers spent on their journey. Whether they could produce something if they spent the time that they had to spend on waiting for buses at the bus stands? Even today it appears to be very realistic. Therefore, Gopalagowda spoke about nationalisation of transport in the state assembly forty years ago. If he had been alive today and had seen private bus stands in Bengaluru or in some other parts of the state, his words in the assembly today would have been very emotional. Many years ago the farmers in Malnad area should give some part their paddy production to local farmers' co-operative societies based on the area of their production. In turn, these societies paid money to the farmers according to government prices. The societies which collected paddy from farmers supplied to people in the form of rice through ration cards without much profit. In this system both were benefitted. This system was called levy. The farmers who produced paddy gave compulsorily some part of their production to levy. There were categories among the farmers

who were producing paddy. They were highly rich landlords, middleclass landlords and small farmers. Among these categories of farmers rich landlords and middleclass landlords did not have any interest and necessity to give some part of their production to levy. Because they were getting more benefit by selling their production to private people than giving to levy. Because of this reason the government decided to abolish this levy system. During this time Gopalagowda spoke about the usefulness of the levy system to common people.

Even after his marriage, Gopalagowda did not own any house in Bengaluru, instead he used to stay in Legislative house for some years. As an MLA he spent much of his time on societal development. The amount he spent on his travelling and stay in Bengaluru was usually borne by his followers. He had his food in the houses of his followers without any caste difference. He used to fast when he could not get any food. He washed his own clothes because did not have money to pay the washer man.

When Gopalagowda contested for elections four times, only his followers paid his election amount. He did most his election campaign walking from village to village. Sometimes he used one or two vehicles given by his followers.

He was completely against taking bribe. Whenever he found any officers or politicians got involved in corruption, then and there he enquired about it. If anybody spoke badly about the facilities given to the poor, he immediately reacted and said that they had crossed the lake, but the poor were still to cross it. In this condition if they put race competition for them how they could do it. In this way he expressed his displeasure over the inequality between the rich and the poor. In this way he spent his life time for the development the under privileged and finally he died on 9th June 1972 at the age of 49.

Foot Notes

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THE UNFADED COUP OF BHIMA KOREGAON

(Revisiting Indian history through Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Perspective)

Matta Krishnaiah

The Bhima Koregaon Battle

This battle is significant for many reasons. First, British army fought this battle with a minuscule army expecting the worst. Secondly, the battle of Koregaon was one of the most important events which helped British to tear down the Peshwa Empire and subsequently the Peshwa had to abdicate. Thirdly and most importantly, it was an attempt by the untouchables of Maharashtra to break the shackles of the age-old caste order.

This new treaty formally sought to end the Peshwa's titular overlordship over other Maratha chiefs. Stung, the Peshwa put together an army, burnt down the British Residency at Pune in an attempt to assert his importance, but was defeated in the Battle of Khadki near Pune on November 5, 1817. The Peshwa then fled to Satara, and the Company forces took complete control of Pune. Towards the end of December, the British received news that the Peshwa intended to attack Pune and asked the Company troops stationed at Shirur for help. The troops dispatched from Shirur then came across the Peshwa forces en route to Pune, resulting in the Battle of Bhima-Koregaon on January 1, 1818.

Bhima Koregaon in Pune, Maharashtra, the seat of unrest now, is a tiny village, but is associated with an extraordinary phase of Maratha history. Two hundred years ago, on January 1, 1818, a few hundred Mahar soldiers of the East India Company, led by the British, defeated the massive Peshwa army, led by Peshwa Bajirao II, in Koregaon. Near the banks of Bhima River in Koregaon (north-west of Pune) between few hundred mahar soldiers from the British regiment of a Bombay Native Light Infantry and the Peshwa army that constituted 20,000 horsemen and 8,000 infantry soldiers. After marching down for more than 27 miles, from Shirur to Bhima Koregaon without food and water, the untouchable warriors fought the Peshwas army for next 12 hours and by the end of the day defeated them completely.

The Peshwa had the larger force (the numbers are disputed, but were between 20,000 and 25,000). The Company Army was admittedly much smaller (about 900 soldiers, including Mahars, Marathas, Rajputs, Muslims, and Jews), but the battle was decisively won by Company forces. The dead Company soldiers of Indian origin included 22 Mahars, 16 Marathas, 8 Rajputs, 2 Muslims, and 2 Jews. Maratha power (effectively Brahmin power embodied in the Peshwa), which was anyway on its last legs, was now effectively finished. And, ironically, Mahars were involved in its final battle.

The Memorable History

The men of the Bombay Native Infantry, who fought in this battle, were honored for their bravery. The official report to the British Residents at Poona recalls the "heroic valour and enduring fortitude" of the soldiers, the "disciplined intrepidity" and "devoted courage and admirable consistency" of their actions.

Much praise was showered on the untouchable soldiers, who endured the rigours of difficult marches when rations were low and diseases were high among men and animals. Whether they were charging ahead or were besieged or taken prisoner-of-war, whether they were storming fortresses or making tactical withdrawals, they always stood steadfast by their officers and comrades, never letting down the honour of their Regiments." The saga of the bravery of mahar soldiers was commemorated by the British in 1851, when they erected a Pillar (Vijay Stambh) at Koregaon inscribing the names of 22 mahar soldiers who were martyred in this battle. The pillar still stands today reminding all of us about the bravery of our forefathers and as an inspiration for our struggle against caste-system.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also used to visit Koregaon every year on 1st January to pay homage to the untouchable soldiers and to exhort Dalits to show similar courage and determination to end brahminism from the entire country. On 1st January, 1927, he

organised a big convention in Koregaon and brought the memories of bravery of the untouchable soldiers in public knowledge. Honouring the Bravery of Untouchable Soldiers A stamp was issued by Indian Government in 1981.

On this and every New Year eve, rather than indulging ourselves in mindless rivalry let all of us pay rich tributes to our heroic forefathers who, through their bravery and courage, tore down the powerful Peshwai and brought freedom for untouchables from the fanatic brahmin rulers who ruled the land according to the diktat from Manusmriti. It is also a powerful occasion for all of us to become little more aware towards our rich history.

Another History of Bhima Koregao

A recent, and crucial history of this was at Wadhu Budruk, a village not far from Bhima Koregaon. Vadhu Budruk is where Sambhaji, the eldest son of the Maratha ruler Shivaji, was cremated after being killed by the Mughals in 1689. As the legend goes, Sambhaji's body was mutilated and thrown into a river by Aurangzeb. It was Govind Mahar (Gaikwad), a Dalit resident of Vadhu Budruk, who then gathered the body parts together and made arrangements for the last rites. Sambhaji's memorial was said to have been erected by the Mahars of that village. Consequently, Govind Mahar's tomb was also erected in the village after his death.

Brahmanism Forces are Worried by the Conspicuous Politicisation of Dalits

This battle has attained legendary stature in Dalit history. Ambedkarite Dalits do not see this from the narrow lens of Nationalism versus Imperialism. Over the years, as the battle came to be seen as a victory of the Dalits against the injustices perpetuated by the Brahminical Peshwas, thousands of Ambedkarites have been gathering in Bhima Koregaon on January 1, 1927 to pay their respect at the Vijay Sthamb (victory pillar). The pillar was erected by the East India Company in memory of those who fought the battle and includes the names of the Mahar soldiers who unknowingly brought an end to the Peshwa rule in 1818.

Dalits are unanimous in drawing inspiration from the victory. In recent years, particularly in Maharashtra, since the Bhima-

Koregaon Ranstambh Seva Sangh (BKRSS) was formed, Dalits regard the pillar as a site of positive memory of their valour and a symbol of their renewed political aspiration. Their denunciation of the Peshwas is strategic; it helps them relate to their social and political marginalisation in contemporary times. The debate here, however, is whether such invoking history is effective in hoisting Dalit politics to a new level.

21st Century Peshwas

Being the 200th anniversary (01.01.2018), that gathering in Bhima Koregaon this year was much larger than usual. Many Dalit and Bahujan groups collectively organised a big public conference in the name of Elgar Parishad at Shaniwar Wada, which was the seat of the Peshwas until 1818. The agenda of this conference was evidently against Hindutva politics which was powerfully manifested by projecting Hindutva politics as the neo-peshwa (new Peshwas). Jignesh Mevani and Prakash Ambedkar were invited.

What happened on the day of the battle's 200th anniversary which led to the death of one Prakash Ambedkar, the grandson of B.R. Ambedkar and a prominent Dalit leader from Maharashtra, has said that a few Hindutva organisations planned and perpetuated violence against the Dalits in Bhima Koregaon. He has named Sambhaji Bhide and Milind Ekbote, prominent Maharashtrian leaders who have been actively promoting organisations that advance the cause of Hindutva, as being responsible for bringing the State to a halt. These organisations have been polarising the political landscape on religious and caste lines, particularly against Ambedkarite Dalits who are seen as impediments to their political project.

A few days ago, upper caste Marathas, who refuse to acknowledge the role played by Govind Gaikwad and other Mahars in the last rites of Sambhaji, objected to a sign at the site that recounted the story. Complaints were filed with the police by both sides. In Maharashtra, there has been a consistent effort to situate Maratha history within the anti-Muslim Hindutva framework - in fact, this even predates the rise of the political right-wing in the State. Maratha youth, who are facing unemployment and a lack of educational opportunities, are now

being easily pulled into these conflicts by Hindutva organisations that are consequently built by invoking past Maratha glory. The violent clashes in Bhima Koregaon were an extension of the conflict in Wadhu Budruk. All indications are that this was a pre-planned attack.

The conspicuous politicisation of Dalits against Hindutva, particularly after the Una violence in Gujarat, has been a cause of concern for those who propagate the latter. The Elgar Parishad helped consolidate their apprehensions against the politicised Dalits. The new political articulation of the Dalits (by equating Hindutva with the Peshwai) has annoyed the right-wing forces and exposed the fault lines we are seeing today.

Conclusion

If a nation has to be truly democratic, it cannot be constructed through selective and deliberate historical erasures. Historical events, that hold symbolic value, are important in

constructing an alternative identity for subalterns, crucial in reclaiming their space in mainstream discourses on Indian nationhood. The Brahminical upper caste feels threatened by such assertions of the subalterns and thus tries to marginalise them. Especially after 2014, Hindutva nationalism has unabashedly targeted Muslims, Dalits and Christians. The violence at Bhima Koregaon is a reflection of this tension between divisive Hindutva nationalism on the one hand, and subaltern politics on the other, that has carried on an unrelenting struggle to seek justice. Branding them as “anti-national” is an act of political debauchery, which the movement has to resist. Historical events that hold symbolic value are important in constructing an alternative identity for the subaltern. The Brahminical upper caste feels threatened by such assertions of the subaltern and thus, tries to marginalise them. The violence at Bhima Koregaon is a reflection of this tension between divisive Hindutva nationalism and resilient Dalit politics that seeks justice.

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FORTS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANĀS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

Dr. D. Mercy Ratna Rani

The present paper deals with the forts constructed by Sātavāhanās and their successors in early Andhradāsā. The period from third century A.D. is important for a study of the method that led to the transformation of tribal chiefdom into the creation of early state in Āndhradāsā. The finding of some coins issued by the kings named Gobhada, Samagopa,

Kamvaya, or Narana from Karimnagar region attest to the pre Sātavāhana rule.¹ The Sātavāhanās who established their control first over the western Deccan have gradually spread their dominion to Krishna-Godavari valley as testified by their inscriptions and coins. By the third century A.D. the fall of the Sātavāhanās from political power resulted in the

dismemberment of the Empire into a number of smaller principalities occupied by independent chiefs. Among them the Ikshvākūs who exercised their authority over the fertile area in the Krishna valley with Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakonda) as their capital, continued their suzerainty not very much different from those of the Sātavāhanās. The downfall of the Ikshvākūs resulted in the rise of many small families like Brihatphalāyanās, Sālankāyanās, Ānandās, Vishnukundis and the early Pallavas in the region of the river Krishna.²

The term fort denotes; defence from the hazards of nature like rain and sun and attacks from outside. Forts are built in times of peace, designed to defend political, industrial, transportation and communication centres.³ Their importance is chiefly strategic, erected for the purpose of strengthening a place or position. According to G.T. Data in times of yore, the fortress, was a capital means defence. Defence is the major characteristic feature of the fort. The growth of the fort as a defensive structure depended to a large extent upon the contemporary trends of warfare i.e. the methods of attack and defence, the weapons used and the military organisation of the various kingdoms in different periods. In the opinion of B.P. Sinha, fort grew as a corollary to the existing trends of warfare, which one of the oldest aspects human existence.⁴ He also remarks that the art of warfare evolved from the earliest times with attention paid to both offensive and defensive weapons and it continued to be the most dominant and persistent features of Indian history. The concept of fort, as a military structure, has undergone several changes from time to time in its size, methods of construction, disposition of various structures, additional defensive equipment, etc., depending on the contemporary trends of warfare viz., the methods of attack, defence, weapons and implements used.

The Vedic literature mentioned the forts and fortifications made of stone and iron. While *pura* is a word of common occurrence meaning town or city, enclosed by a rampart or strong hold, *durga* is another word, which occurs frequently meaning hard to approach or inaccessible. The two Epics like *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* also refer to contemporary forts and fortifications (Indrastha and Ajodhya).

Buddhist Jātaka and *Nikaya* literature also refer to forts and fortifications. According to Panini, the most important parts of a city are, moat (*parikha*), rampart (*prakara*) and gates (*dvarah*), which served as the main defences. The plan of the fortified city was usually square, but also rectangular, pierced with four gates; one in the middle of each wall facing the four quarters.⁵

In Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* also we find four kinds of fortifications viz., the water-fortification (*audaka*) such as an island in the midst of a river, a plain one surrounded by low ground; the mountainous fortification such as a rocky track or a cave; desert such as a wide track, devoid of water and over-grown with thickest in barren soil; the forest fortification (*vanadurga*), full of wagtail (*khajana*) water and thickets. Kautilya gives his prominence to hill forts and considers them as the most indisputable. A fort on a hill or mountain is of a self-defensive nature, and not easy to siege or to ascent.⁶ He also mentioned that, a fortress known as *sthaniya* shall be set up in the centre of 800 villages, a *drone mukha* in the centre of 400 villages, a *kharvatika* in the centre of 200 villages and *sangrahana* in the midst of a cluster of 10 villages.⁷ A series of rules governing the construction and maintenance of forts given by Kautilya.

The *vāstu vidyāchāryās* or expert architects were requisitioned for testing the sites. The *Arthasastra* prescribes the digging of ditches (*parikha*) as the first item in the construction of forts (*durga-vidhana*). The moat was first built so that the earth so obtained was utilised for constructing the mud rampart (*pamsu prakāra*) or moulding bricks for the city wall. It also refers to the digging of three moats round the fort, having an intermediate space of *danda* (six feet) between each other. The *Udaya Jātaka* mentioned three types of moats, viz., *udaka* (water), *kaddama* (mud), and *sukha* (dry). Panini suggests a *dāvapatha* or passage above the ramparts. According to Kautilya the wide moat on the top of the parapet built along the line of battlement was called *dāvapatha*. The height of the brick wall above the mud rampart (*prakāra*) is stated to be 11m. from the ground level, on which the battlements were built. The *Manusmṛiti* and the *Purānās* like *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmanda*, *Agni* and *Vishnudharmottara*, all of which ascribe a place of importance to the

institution of fort, and insist upon its possession by a king. For instance, *Manusmriti* says that a king should have a fort, equipped with a spacious palace, habitable in every season and well supplied with water, weapons, money, grains and Brāhmans, artisans, and engines, fodder, etc. It considers that a bowman placed on a rampart is a match for 100 foes and 100 bowmen for 10,000 foes.⁸

In ancient Āndhrad̥sa, we understand through archaeological investigations that habitations in the Palaeolithic period were constructed on the river-banks, forest areas and in natural caves. It is revealed that these natural caves served both as habitation areas and were also used for defence purposes. The excavations at Mucchatlachintamanugavi exposed the sub terranean caves by Mesolithic men. In the next stage the Neolithic man chosen mostly to settle the terraces of the hills. In course of time, they lived in pits, probably to protect themselves from wild animals.⁹ Excavations at Utnoor¹⁰ and Nāgārjunakonda¹¹ attest evidence for this, in the form of post holes mean for planting stockades, suggesting the existence of barricades for small cattle pens. Similar structures were built around habitations and burial complexes at Chinnamarur and Veligonda, clearly show that not only the Neolithic occupancy but also Megalithic culture. So, we find that defence was one of the considerations for pre-historic dwellings; it may be a cave, rock-shelter or hut, which in turn led to the construction of houses, formation of villages, towns and cities. Thus, the beginning of fort as a structure lay in pre-historic period. In Deccan, the earliest mud fortification can be dated between 1500-1200 B.C. in the Jorwe phase, as site of Daimabad and Inamgoan.

The earliest mention of forts or fortified towns occurs in the accounts of Megasthenes followed by Pliny. Pliny mentions the Āndhra territory in the eastern Deccan as including thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and as maintaining an army of one lakh infantry, two thousand cavalry, and one thousand elephants. From this we learn that the strategy of the Āndhras who had defended their settlements with fortified walls. These monumental structures also speak for the planning of the towns that were situated in the Deccan. Several attempts have been made to

locate and identify the towns mentioned by Pliny. Archaeological excavations revealed a good number of early historic sites such as Dhulikatta, Kotalingāla, Bodhan, Satānikota, Dharanikota, and Nāgārjunakonda brought to light well developed fortified towns. The forts in early Āndhrad̥sa were mainly built of perishable materials like mud and brick, as against stone, which became the chief material of later times. The architecture of forts depends, to a large extent, upon the building materials and methods of construction in vogue in a particular period. The earliest phase of fort architecture built of mud, morrum and brick represented by the forts of Sātavāhanās and their successors at Dhulikatta, Dharanikota, Nāgārjunakonda, Kotilingāla, Keesaragutta, etc.

Dhulikatta: Dhukatta is a small village in Peddpalli taluk of Karimnagar district of Telangana region, lays a huge mound extending over an area of about thirty six acres of land. Excavations revealed a mud fortification and brick wall, over rubble foundation with six courses running in north-south direction. Four gateways were traced at the four cardinal points. At the southern gateway bringing out the plan of the guard-rooms, prefaces by a gate-house, to light. The plan of both the buildings is enigmatical as nothing more than the foundations has survived. However, it appears that the guard-rooms comprised two rectangular halls, with a middle path-way and with an outside measurement of 15.13m. north-south by 14m. east west. There is a gap of 4.40m. in the middle for the path-way. While building the guard-rooms, it appears that large chunks of the rampart were cut off on either side of the building for accommodating the structure in the width of the rampart. The flooring inside the halls was paved the brick (56X27X7 cm.).The middle path-way was initially strengthened with rubble and veneered with morrum and silt. The plan of the gate-house, prefacing the guard-room, is uncertain as it was not found in it's entirety. It constitutes a broad gateway outside and stuffed in the middle, which again widens towards the guard-rooms. The central part of the gate-house with space adequate only for the path-way, had casemates or ambush niches on either side. The only existing casemate on the west (1.20X0.90 m.) was actually carved into the mass of the wall. A flight of steps was provided to the

casement. Obviously a room of such small dimensions with a flight of steps could only serve as an ambush niche to post arm-guards, who would not be noticeable to the incoming and outgoing people. At present the *niche* appears like a cistern which was filled up at a later period with coarse red conical bowls, dishes and animal bones. The facade of the gateway must have had one or many storeys with a terraced roof, railings and pillars. Entrance to these storeys might have been provided with stair-case. The representation of the city gates of *Kusinara*, as seen in the lowest architrave of the south gateway of the Sanchi stupa, may be a replica of the city gates during the period under review.¹² The rampart of a height of 5m. was built of the earth dug out side. Traces of the trenches, which once served as moats are visible. The lower portion of the rampart consisted of hard yellowish morrum overlaid by a layer of black soil, which was capped by another layer of disintegrated morrum. Adjoining the mud fortification inside was traces a rubble foundation, super structure of which is now completely ruined. This must have been a brick fort-wall as the super structure and the battlements were built above it. The height of the brick fort-wall above the ramparts was arranged to be 11m. rising from ground level, but we do not have an idea of the height of the brick wall at Dhulikatta. Thus, it clears that Dhulikatta came into existence in the pre-Sātavāhana period and transformed into a nucleus of political activity during the Sātavāhana period.¹³

Budigapalli: It is located in Karimnagar district. The fortification around the early historical mound appeared like a bund of a tank rising to a height of 3m. from the surface. The fortress is in combination of a range of hills, known as Valasagattu on one side.¹⁴

Satānikota: Satānikota¹⁵ is situated in Nandikotkur taluk of Kurnool district, on the right bank of river Tungabhadra, the tributary of Krishna river. The name Satānikota appears to be a alter form of Sātavāhanikota, which indicates that, it was a fortified place during the Sātavāhana period. Excavations brought to light a fortified township of the Sātavāhana period (middle of the third century A.D.). Cuttings lay in different parts of the western mound, namely SKT-1 yielded a huge fortification wall and

moat. Similarly, trenches in SKT-3 and 4 laid in the western and southern periphery of the mound revealed an elaborate gate complex, and the extension of the fortification wall and the moat. Stratigraphically the fortification activity belonged to the middle of first century B.C. to middle of third century A.D. which represents the chief occupational period which falls into three main phases; I, II A, and II B. According to M.C. Ghosh, the fortification wall, together with the moat and the gate, form the main structural activities of phase I. It was also observed that the buildings of the fort followed, in medieval times, the shape of the natural elevated ground, while the existence of the fortification wall could be well established, partially on the western and eastern periphery. On the southern side was exposed a considerable stretch of the wall with a gateway. It was also found that the steep and inaccessible escarpment on the riverside rising to a height of 9 mts. From its bed on the north-east effectively utilised for defence. However, no bastions were noticed. The main fortification wall was built of Cuddapah slabs of irregular dimensions laid in mud mortar. It measures 3.20 mts. In width is with about 10 to 13 courses. It is raised immediately over the red paginated gravels, and provided with backed brick farming rising to an existing height of 5 courses. The bricks measure 56x25x6 cms. On the outside, the fortification wall is skirted by a rock-cut moat cut into the natural bed-rock, as evidenced by chisel marks. The gateway complex on the south is the most outstanding architectural part of the entire fortification complex. It is characterised by a flight of steps, with a width of 3 mts. flanked by a 0.45 mts. wide, north-south running parapet wall, partly of baked bricks and stones. There is also evidence of two sockets on either side of the outer edge of the gateway complex and almost balanced on the inner edge of the moat. This according to the excavations, was meant for heavy posts of a draw bridge used for crossing the moat.¹⁶

Nāgārjunakonda: Nāgārjunakonda is a historical town, now an island located near Nāgārjunasāgar in Guntur district. It is one of the India's richest Buddhist sites and now lies almost entirely under the Nāgārjunasāgar dam. It is named after Nāgārjuna, a southern Indian master of *Mahāyāna Buddhism* who lived in the second century B.C., who is believed to have been responsible for the Buddhist activity in the

area. Nāgārjunakonda rose to prominence after the decline of Sātavāhanās, in the first quarter of the third century A.D., when the Ikshvāku king Vāshishthiputra Sāntamula established his capital Vijayapuri here. Enclosing a trapesoidal area about 900 m. 600 m. the citadel wall ran along the right bank of the Krishna river, on the west at an average distance of 105 m. from it, while on the south, it overlay the summit of the 51 m. high Peddakundellagutta hill, its maximum extant height on the plains being about 4.80 m. above the outside groundlevel. Trenches lay across the wall, both on the east and west showed that it had been built in two phases; the first or lower phase was presented by a rampart of morrum or mud above 24 m. wide at the base, resting on the natural soil, except on the western (river) side, where it overlay an earlier occupational deposit represented by a floor and a few hearths; the second phase was represented by a burnt brick wall 2.75 m to 4.27 m. thick, generally built either directly on the existing rampart or on a secondary filling over it, but on naturally high grounds directly on the bare rock surface. The fortification wall was surmounted by a ditch on all the three sides, 3.65 m. in depth and varying 22.20 m. in width. Two main gateways, one each on the eastern and western sides, and a narrow postern gate, on the eastern, and possibly serving as an emergency exit were exposed; close to the eastern gateway were barracks including stables and a nicely plastered masonry cistern. The western gateway is with a minimum width of 5.10 m. lay near the *asvamādhā* site excavated.¹⁷

Pedavāgi: Pedavāgi is situated near Ellore in West Godavari district; it was the capital of the Sālinkāyanās, who flourished in fourth century A.D. It is referred to as Benagouron situated in the country of Salekenoi by Ptolemy in second century A.D. We also find its mention in the Allahabad *prasasti* of Harisena, while relating the southern expeditions of Samudragupta in the latter half of fourth century A.D. Since then Vāgi continued to enjoy a place of political importance in the history of Āndhrādīsa and even a dynasty that ruled over it latter, i.e. Eastern Chālukyās of Vāngi. The fact that it still contains some antiquarian remains of interest points evidence to its being a fortified city. Excavations carried out by I.K. Sarma, at Kotadibbalu, revealed wide-

ranging ruins including a fortified township surrounding the nearby hamlets to an extent of roughly 6 sq. Kms. They also exposed gravel fortifications adjoining an area of one square km. Trenches cut across the gravel fortifications cut out in the western part, brought to light a moat with silt and water. Brick alignments representing postern gateways were traced on the surface of the north-west and southern sides of the fortifications. The brick size and ceramic ware clearly indicate that the fortifications were used during the Sālinkāyana period and continued to be in use, perhaps strengthened, during the succeeding phases.¹⁸

Kudura: It is located in Krishna district. Ptolemy calls it as Kodura. From the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, we learn that, it was the capital city of the Brihatphalāyanās, who ruled over the kingdom, comprising the region on either side of the river Krishna near its mouth, related to modern Gudivada and Bandar taluks of Krishna district and Rapalle and Tenali taluks of Guntur district.

Pithapuram: Pithapuram in East Godavary district is yet another fortified town in early Āndhrādīsa. The fort also mentioned for the first time in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Pulakīsin II refers to the existence of a Jaladurga there. Its continued existence even during the following period i.e. medieval period is known through the Chelluru plates of Chālukya Chola king Kulottunga II dated 1134 A.D. where it is referred to as Sarasipuri of Kolanu, whose chief as the time was Kātamanāyaka.

Tummalagudem: Tummalagudem is a village in Ramannapet taluk of Nalgonda district, eight kilometres away from Ramannapet, on Bhuvanagiri- Nalgonda road. Ruined temples, votive shrines, brick structures, basements, show that it was a great city which flourished by the name Tummalagudem and adjacent to the river Musi. There is a hillock called Indrapalagutta extending one k.m. in length and half k.m. in breadth. There is an ancient fort on this hillock belonging to the Vishnukundi period.¹⁹ The fort has twelve turrets. The fortification has gates and towers.

Keesaragutta: Keesaragutta was the capital of the Vishnukundis (fourth-fifth centuries) about 40 kms. east of Hyderabad. It is an example of

brick construction over 3mts. broad dressed rubble stone foundation. Keesaragutta has a wide-ranging fortification wall around the hills surrounding an estimated area of 3 to 4 sq.km. The bricks are measuring 46x25x7cms. used for raising superstructure, is still able to be seen all along the fortification wall in remains and at some places intact. The fort was provided with three main gates on the east, the west and the north, prefaced by strategic secondary walls in the shape of crescent bulge; some water gates were also provided at the water ponds for fetching water to the fort. Such numerous ponds are noticeable today. There is a huge tank at the foot of the fort on the west which much have served as a source of drinking water as well as a deep water difficulty for protection of the fort. Similarly, there is a big tank on the eastern side below the fortification. Traces of guards-rooms were found near the main gates and the entire fort is situated with brick structures.²⁰ Further, the site also yielded immeasurable Vishnukundi coins, bearing squatting lion on the obverse and *poornaghata* motif flanked by two lamp stands on the reverse.

A study of the military organisation of various kingdoms and the depiction of arms and weapons in the sculptural carvings of various periods help us to understand the warfare. An Amarāvati rail pillar²¹ shows clearly that the art of warfare and military organisation of these times. Cities were well protected with high walls, ramparts, and gates, walls and gateways were surmounted by *toranās* as at Sānchi.²² Warfare in ancient Āndhra appears to have been based on the conventional form of *chadurangabala*, i.e. four fold division of army into infantry, cavalry, elephant, and chariots. During this period, infantry played a major role forming the front line of attack. Hence, the wide prevalence of field warfare, or land battles, fought at a chosen site or terrain, between the two warring factions, far away from their capital cities, the idea behind which was not to disturb or cause hindrance to the civilian population. The main weapons of warfare, as seen from

the sculptural carvings at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda, are stones, sticks, clubs and mace which are called as crushing or stunning weapons.²³ Kautilya prescribes a series of rules governing the construction and maintenance of forts. He mentioned the office of *Antapāla*²⁴ to command a fort, and refers to revenue from forts²⁵ and lists a series of toll duties, as coming under the head of forts. It is not known, to what extent, the above rules were followed by the Sātavahānās and their successors.²⁶

To conclude, it is clear, that the study of a few sites of the Sātavāhanās and their successors we understand that the art of fortification was well known in early Āndhras. Although the evidences to these forts and fortification of towns are missing in the literature and epigraphs of the period, the evidence of archaeological excavations prove the point. Further testimony is provided by the writings of foreign travellers like Megasthenes, Pliny and Ptolemy. The terms fort and town were one and the same, i.e. every town or city of importance was invariably fortified. The forts in their first phase were constructed of massive mud ramparts which were strengthened and perfected by brick walls. Some of these forts were provided with moats, gates and guard-rooms. Guard-rooms were noticed at Dharanikota and Keesaragutta. Dhulikatta, Kotilingāla, Dhranikota, Satānikota and Nāgārjunakonda are situated both on plains and hills, in close proximity to perennial water sources, which also offered natural protection. Habitation and public utility structures were systematically planned as observed at Dhulikatta, Nāgārjunakonda, and Keesaragutta. Several water ponds are noticeable even today. Almost all the settlements well fortified either by mud or brick walls, surrounded by deep moats. The evidence of bastions appears during period for the first time at Kotalingāla. The forts both earthen and brick have also been reported from Kotalingāla, Dhulikatta, Satānikota, Dhranikota, Nāgārjunakonda, etc.

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COMRADE P.SUNDARAYYA ROLE IN THE TELANGANA STRUGGLE

M. Muniraju

Puchhalapalli sundarayya, or PS as he is popularly known, was born into a landlord family in Alaganipadu village of Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh, on 1 May 1913. His parents had seven children. The eldest was Venkatarami Reddy, followed by four girls, then Sundarayya, and the youngest was Ramachandra Reddy who went on to become known as a people's doctor. Sundarayya's father, who owned almost 50 acres of land in the village, was an influential man and respected by all for his skills as an agriculturist. He died in 1919-when PS was only 6 years old - after which his wife Seshamma took on the responsibility of looking after the family with the help of her eldest son.

The years between 1946 and 1951 were a watershed in the history of the communist movement in Andhra Pradesh, when comrade sundarayya, along with comrades M. Basavapunniah, C. Rajeswara Rao, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, B. Narasimha Reddy, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao and other leaders, organized the resistance of the Telangana peasantry in opposition to the feudal landlords and their hated patron, the Nizam.

One day, towards the closing days of the year 1946, when the guerrillas were training in the Kondapalli forests as a prelude to the heroic revolutionary struggle of Telangana, Sundarayya suddenly appeared amidst them as they lay in wait behind the bushes with their

guns, taking everyone by surprise. The purpose of his visit was not to give them political instructions or deliver a lecture, but to personally participate in the training. He became one of the guerrillas that day. He discussed with them the problems related to their training sessions, helped to solve these, and then, having delivered an inspiring political message, cycled back 30 miles all the way to Vijayawada.

Sundarayya volunteered to take up the responsibility of leading the Telangana movement during these four to five years with great determination. He and his colleagues not only gave guidance to the struggle, but also spent time with the guerrillas sharing their joys and hardships. The people of Telangana had to face not only the Nizam's army and the Razakar bands of the landlords, but also the Indian army, which committed untold atrocities and inflicted brutalities on the Telangana peasants. PS kept the guerrillas regularly apprised of changes in the political scenario. He informed them of the new situation that arose when the union government entered the scene, and discussed with them as to how the liberation struggle against feudal rule had to be advanced in such a situation.

He instilled confidence in the guerrillas caught in the encirclement of the Indian army and showed them the way to move ahead. He talked to them for long hour about the pros and cons, and the new tactics to be employed in

continuing armed resistance in self-defence. He participated in the training sessions that were conducted after decisions had been taken regarding new tactics. Dressed in a half-sleeved shirt and shorts, and with gun in hand, he trained hard in the dense forest all day long, in step with the guerrillas.

PS breathed fire on the battlefield, and was equally stern and disciplined in his daily life. Around 40 years old then, he would wake up at 4 in the morning and go through a routine of rigorous physical exercise for about an hour, after which he was ready for the day's work. In those days of "shoot at sight" order, PS moved around on a bicycle, always armed with a small weapon in his pocket; he also operated through countries, passing on message about further courses of action.

Different member of the guerrilla squad used to take turns to keep guard over the squad, day and night. One night, it was decided that there would be a change of guard every hour. Although the comrades had worked out this rotation system of guard duty among themselves, Sundarayya made it a point to wake up on the hour through the night to see to the change of guard before going back to sleep.

The he did despite a long, hard day of discussions, meeting, writing, reading and training. And then, by the time the comrades were up in the morning, however early, he was

already fully awake, had completed his daily exercise and was listening to the radio. He had kept himself awake every hour throughout the night, and was still up and about before any of them! Sundarayya's capacity for tireless work was a source of inspiration to everyday.

He would read the morning newspaper at the same time as he was listening to the radio. Once a comrade asked him what exactly he was doing, reading or listening. Sundarayya replied with a smile that he was doing both. He proceeded to give him the gist of what was in the paper as well as what he had heard over the radio. Not just that-he said he had also overhead the comrades whispering amongst themselves about him. They were wonderstruck at his ability to do so many things simultaneously.

Then the time came when it was not possible to carry on the struggle any longer, for the lives of hundreds of comrades were at stake. The question was how to retreat with minimum losses. No step could be taken without consulting the partisan squads and without their approval. This resulted in a huge ideological battle. PS had to argue for two whole days and nights to unify the squad leaders in agreement on the strategy to be adopted. The tremendous confidence he had been able to gain from them during the period of struggle was an important element in clinching the issue of withdrawal in 1951.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY THE OPPONENTS AGAINST HOME RULE

K.L.N. Murthy

The year 1916 was one of the most momentous year for India, as the movement for Home Rule was launched by the two most fiery leaders, Tilak and Besant. The movement drastically influenced the people of India and played a pivotal role in strengthening the roots of the Indian Nationalism. In a very short span of time the movement made an expeditious

headway and it became the most dominant political force in India. Its meteoric progress was witnessed throughout India and the whole of Western, Central, Northern, and Southern India were under its sway.¹ The stalwarts of Home Rule made a strong appeal to the people through their vivid metaphors and emphatically justified their claim for Home Rule. Although the

movement witnessed a fervent support, it had to confront a strong opposition from different sections of the Indian society. The strata of society which heatedly opposed the demand comprised of Christians, orthodox Muslims, Non-Brahmins, Anglo-Indians, Zamindars, landowners, Sikhs and Parsis.² Different groups averse to the concept of Home Rule had their own particular views and their apprehensions, which made them resist the demand in unison.

As far as opposition is concerned, it is a veracity that any successful movement has to withstand an opposition. They were not in compliance with the Home Rule ideals of the different sections of the community whether they were Muslims or Christian or non-Brahmin possessed their cogent reasons, keeping in view the sectional interest and the political advancement of their community, in particular. The British Rulers were coherent in their argument. They aspired to achieve Representative Government for the Provinces, which explicitly meant that the Executive would be under the elected representatives of the people. The people who were transparently securing support from the British rule realized that their communal sectional interest would suffer an eclipse and also the political advancement of their community would be impeded. It was in respect to these views that the opponents unmitigatedly countered the Home Rule demand.

There are specific reasons advanced by the different communities for their disapproval of the grant of Home Rule.

1. The Christian community's perspective regarding Home Rule was that the time was yet not ripe and was inappropriate for the Indians to take the governance of the country into their own hands.³ They were apprehensive that, if Home Rule was acceded to in India its condition would be similar to that of Russia. They reckoned that for the proper functioning of the Government of the country unity was a prerequisite and Indians did not fulfill this criteria.⁴ According to them India lacked homogeneity,⁵ and the movement was confined to few politically- educated persons. They were convinced that India lacked universality and was "unfit" to govern her own internal affairs.⁶

2. The orthodox Muslims who posed a vehement challenge to the demand reckoned that the acceptance of Home Rule would only mean the establishment of the Hindu Rule.⁷ They contemplated that Besant was all for Hindus and this would place the Muslim minority under the "iron heels of the unsympathetic Hindu majority."⁸ The Aligarh School of Thought was acutely against the Home Rule creed⁹ and believed that it would result in the destruction of the country.¹⁰

3. Fear of Brahmin predominance was a potent factor in shaping the views of the non-Brahmins.¹¹ They felt apprehensive that the grant of Home Rule would result in the entrenchment of the Brahmins in the administration and lead to Brahmin Rule.¹² They were convinced that Besant was all for Brahmins and regarded her as an "Irish Brahmini."¹³

4. The Anglo-Indians who belonged to an affluent society and were endowed with great power and privileges, feared their future in India was uncertain.¹⁴ They were in support of the existing bureaucratic form of government and desired to maintain their influence, which otherwise, with the grant of Home Rule would either be little or diminish.¹⁵

5. The Zamindars, landowners, Sikhs and Parsis lent credence to the fact that the rise and prosperity of their community was entirely due to the British rule and Home Rule would only result in monopolizing their benefits.¹⁶ They thought on that Hindus would only work for the advancement of their own community, and as far as their community was concerned it would suffer a great setback.¹⁷

When we closely examine the arguments put forth by the opponents, their desire for the peculiarity which we observe is the continuance of the British rule. They displayed a remarkable unanimity on the point that their community's interest would flourish only when the power rested in the British hands, otherwise, they feared the political advancement of their community would suffer an eclipse, and would result in incalculable loss.

Both Tilak and Besant expounded that India was ruled by bureaucrats and that the government of this country must be solely responsible to its own people and not to any

other country or its rulers. It is certainly true that bureaucrats can never identify themselves with the dominated country's interest. The policy makers and decision makers who dominated the administration were generally foreigners, whose allegiance lay with their country rather than the country they came to rule. So how was it possible for Indians to support the English bureaucratic rule. When their country's interests were overlooked and the problems confronted by their people were disregarded. The only viable alternative which the Home Rulers discerned to this problem was the immediate grant of self-government. They regarded self-government as the only panacea to such a problem because this was the only form of government which could provide the national atmosphere for the indigenous development. By self-government the leaders of the Home Rule movement meant Representative Government where the aspirations of the people were valued and respected¹⁸ They lent credence to the fact that there should be a Viceroy who should act in accordance With the counsel of the representatives of the people and the expenditure should be with the consent of the people¹⁹ They claimed that good government; howsoever good it may be, can never be better than the worst self-government ²⁰ and emphatically denounced the bureaucratic form of government,²¹

The opponents attributed the existing peace and progress of their community to the British rule, and feared that Home Rule if granted would eventually lead to the destruction of the country. One fails to comprehend how the British rule could prove to be beneficial for the subject country? The truth is this that a foreign government can more appropriately have cognizance of its own country's requirements rather than a subject country. For any successful government, co-operation and participation of the people is the pre-requisite. A foreign government in case of any conflict of interest between the home and the subject country cannot give preference to the subject country. Besant explicitly discussed the pros and cons of efficiency in her Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress in 1907. She applied Gokhale's Four Tests of Efficiency to judge whether the government was progressive and expressed, that the bureaucracy had failed to improve the moral and material conditions of

life. ²² She remarked — "The British administration while efficient in those matters which concern the British interest is inefficient in the greater matters- on which the healthy life and happiness of the people depend."²³

The opponents inferred that their community's representation would be adversely affected and Home Rule would result in the entrenchment of the Hindus in the administration. In fact the Home Rulers held an adverse opinion for the conviction of their. During the Lucknow Congress, Tilak expressed his willingness to accede to 35% representation of the UP Mohammedans. ²⁴ at a time when Mohammedans themselves were demanding for a 30% representation.²⁵ It was Tilak who immensely found a key to the most perplexing question of the Hindu-Muslim settlement. Tilak was of the view that in order to "gain the desired end there is no objection to accede a greater percentage to the Muslims."²⁶

Presidency	Population	Representation
Karnataka	13%	25%
Bombay	20%	33 1/3 %
Madras	7%	15%
Central Province	4%	10%

The above-mentioned table apparently displays the preference given to the Muslim community, and therefore there should have been no apprehension amongst the Muslims for the entrenchment of the Hindus in the administration, inspite of Tilak's avowed assurance of higher percentage of representation in the Provincial Legislature, which was, indubitably not commensurate with the percentage of their population. As compared to the population of these provinces, the representation accorded to the Muslims was too high.

The opponents were convinced that the demand lacked universal aspiration and was confined only to the politically educated class. Though their claim was right, the fact cannot be shunned that it was only this microscopic minority, which was representing Indian society. It was only their English education that brought

them to a position where their demands could reach the ears of the British upper echelon. To put a cloak over the demand and to say that the movement lacked universal aspiration would be unfair as the claim for Home Rule was put forth by them on behalf of the Indian people. If they lacked the desire then it would have never been possible to establish branches of the Home Rule League in provinces, districts, and villages.

The opponents contemplated that the movement was not mass-based and it lacked unity. Although there is some truth in the statement that the movement was not mass-based, but their opinion that the masses were not ready for Home Rule, cannot be accepted. Those who stayed away from the movement were not so much against the demand as the leadership of an Irish lady. Besant possessed a tremendous following of the educated classes. They had a firm belief both in her pen and tongue. One can never expect the involvement of the illiterate masses in a constitutional struggle. Within a very short span of time when Gandhi launched the Non-Cooperation movement in 1920, there 'as tremendous mass following which was only because he was man of Indian soil and the movement launched by him was not a constitutional struggle. If we converse of the non-involvement of the masses then how was it possible to launch a movement during the World War when Britain was passing through its most crucial time? The answer to this question lies in the participation of the people who made the movement a living gospel. The movement was launched and the whole of Western, Central, Northern and Southern India were under its sway.

The Critics of Home Rule believed that India was not fit for self-government, and conditions would worsen if it was granted. They explained that the Home Rule demand involved neither the denial of the British sovereignty nor changes of catastrophic nature in the existing political relation between India and England²⁷ They drew a demarcation line between fitness for Home Rule and fitness for independence. "When people are fit for independence they do not argue about it; they simply win it—snatch it for themselves. But, the agitation for Home Rule was not for independence, but for the demand

of Home Rule, which clearly meant that we agree to remain within the British Empire and have internal autonomy."²⁸ Tilak neither wanted any change in the Empire nor any change in the relation of India with England.²⁹ He regarded that India should be allowed to determine for herself the form of Government best suited to her conditions as no civilized nation should be governed by any other nation.³⁰ He said without freedom it is impossible for us to attain that position to which we are entitled as a birthright³¹

"Swaraj means the power to rule our homes and hence it is called in short Home Rule. It is your birth-right to govern your house or home; nobody else can claim to do it, unless you are a minor or lunatic. Home Rule is our Jh'ai'ma, you cannot separate it from us, as you cannot separate the quality of heat from fire; both are inseparably bound up."³²

Conclusion

The Home Rulers made it clear that Home Rule was the struggle for obtaining control over the management of their internal affairs only. The term Home Rule itself implies, "a Home to Rule." The Home Rulers explained that demanding for Home Rule does not mean that it is a revolt against the British King and the Parliament, but it means constitutional and orderly changes in the existing system of administration suited to India. They argued that Home Rule was a constitutional aspiration of Indians. The Home Rulers took the view that Indians had a Constitutional right to urge a change in the visible form of the government for the better administration of the country.³³ The logic given by the Home Rulers in justification of their demand made it apparent that their claim for Home Rule was not seditious. With their impressive mass of evidence they successfully proved that India was legitimately entitled for Home Rule. Undoubtedly the movement had to confront opposition, but unity was utterly lacking among the opponents of Home Rule and therefore, it became possible for the Home Rulers to withstand pressure and carry out their demand expeditiously. The ardent zeal of the Home Rulers to attain their object with every passing day solidified.

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HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN AYYAMPALAYAM

Dr. S. Nagaraj

Ayyampalayam is a panchayat town in Dindigul district in the state of Tamil Nadu.¹ This village is located eighteen miles south-west of Dindigul, lies in a valley of the Lower Palani and is watered by a river of the same name. Its temple of Ayyanar is well known. It does a great trade with the Lower Palani in the hill products of that range.² This town deserves special

mention in the history of freedom movement. The unsung patriots of this region created a niche for themselves in the history of anti-colonial resistance right from the eighteenth century. When the freedom struggle started in an organised manner from the inception of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the Satyagrahies of Ayyampalayam town took an

active part in it. Hundreds of people in this town had taken part in the freedom struggle. They participated in the movement without any fear of imprisonment, lathi charge and conviction. Many of them had courted arrests by the British Government. There are 22 names of those who suffered imprisonment for their participation in the freedom movement in this town available in Volume I of *Who's Who of Freedom Fighters*, published by the Government of Tamil Nadu in 1973.³ Civil Disobedience Movement, Individual Satyagraha, Anti-war activities and Quit India Movement were observed in this town vigorously in several places. An attempt is made in this paper to identify such patriots who took part in these movements and sacrificed their all.

Raja Mavalial was born at Ayyampalayam village in 1922. His parents were Palchamy Mavalial and Nagammal. He was married to Nagarathinam and had a son and a Daughter. Mavalial became an active worker of the Congress in his school days. He studied upto eighth standard in the local primary school at Ayyampalayam. Due to the national spirit in his mind he cut short his school. Mavalial devoted his energy to freedom movement by associating himself to Indian National Congress. He started to take part in the national movement when he was 17.⁴

He became a Congress volunteer even of the age of Seventeen. In 1939 he enrolled his name in the Congress Committee Office at Anguvilas in Dindigul Taluk. He carried on the freedom task with utmost sincerity and realised that hard work was the key to his success. So from his young age, he developed a personal honesty pursued through hard work with a passion to serve his fellowmen.⁵

Raja Mavalial was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Individual Satyagraha is a salient feature of freedom struggle. Sale of khadi goods, anti-war propaganda and untouchability were the chief objects of Individual Satyagraha. He strictly adhered these with the sense of devotion and sacrifice.

The Congress Working Committee met at Bombay on August 8, 1942 and passed the famous Quit India Resolution. Gandhi gave the call to the people either *Do or Die*. In 1942, he joined the freedom movement by participating

in the Quit India Movement. Mavalial along with his five friends stick a posture with vulgar words and also set fire on Kannivadi Zamindar Office. Police resorted to firing on the freedom fighters. Mavalial organised meetings and promoted patriotism. As he had revolted against the English Government, he was arrested and convicted for two months and put at Palayamkottai Jail. He was then released in 1942.⁶

During 1944, he met Gandhiji when he visited Palani and the meeting proved to be turning point in his life. He also met Jawaharlal Nehru at Hyderabad after independence. On the advice of Gandhiji, Mavalial began to take interest in the politics.⁷ He was the President of Ayyampalayam Municipality from 1956 to 1958. He always tried for the development of roads, Bus Stand and schools in the village.⁸ Mavalial stood very boldly for the cause of common man and rendered his selfless services for the uplift of the village. As he was a great person, he took keen interest in the welfare of the people. He took leading part in the political and social awakening of the village. Being a dedicated social worker, his only aim was to serve the people and help them in their upliftment. During the Golden Jubilee year of Quit India Movement Raja Mavalial was honoured with a memento on 8th August 1992 in Chennai.

Movement wise number of Ayyampalayam town freedom fighters who courted arrest and suffered imprisonment⁹

1	Civil Disobedience Movement	
2	Individual Satyagraha	2
3	Quit India Movement	8
	Total	2

The table will make us understand how vigorous the Quit India Movement was observed in Ayyampalayam. Satyagrahies who had participated in the freedom movement in Ayyampalayam town were:

Alagarsamy, P.V.: He was born in 1910. He joined the national movement in 1925 and had taken active part in toddy shop picketing in 1930; foreign cloth boycott in 1932; individual

satyagraha in 1941 and Quit India Movement in 1942. He was courted imprisonment and kept in madras jail for two months.

Anandapadman, T.V.: He was an important hero of the Quit India Movement. He was born in 1925 and was educated upto primary standard. He joined the national movement in 1942. He took an active part in August Movement of 1942. He set a fire to a Toddy shop at Nilakkottai. He along with other patriots damaged the Post office at Kannivadi. He was courted imprisonment and kept in Madurai and Alipuram Jails for 11 months.

Chianna Vellan : He joined the national movement in 1929 and took part in the salt satyagraha agitation in 1930. Chinna Vellan was arrested and tried by the government and awarded 6 month imprisonment and kept in Madurai jail. **Manickam :** He was son of Muthuveerappa Pillai, born in 1920. He was joined the movement in 1934 and took part in individual satyagraha in 1941 and Quit India Movement protest in 1942. He was arrested for that and awarded courted imprisonment and kept in Madras, Papanasam and Dindigul jails for 7 months and a week.

Servai Karruppiah: He was a son of Muthian Servai. He was a literate who joined the national movement in 1940. He took an active part in Quit India Movement procession in 1942. He was courted imprisonment in 1942 and kept in Kumbakonam and Madurai jails for 1 ½ months.

Raju Ambalam: He was the son of Alagu Ambalam and a native of Ayyampalayam village. He was born in 1912 and was a literate. He became a member of Tamil nadu Congress Committee. He was a fourannas Congress Member of Dindigul.

He was an active participant in the national movement. He joined the national movement in 1930. He observed toddy shop picketing in 1930; foreign cloth boycott in 1932 and Individual Satyagraha in 1941. Again he took part in Quit India Movement in 1942. He was arrested for that and awarded ten months Rigorous Imprisonment in Madras and Alipuram Jails.¹⁰

Other patriots who participated in the Quit India Movement are listed in the below table. They were courted arrested and imprisonment at various jail located in Tamil Nadu.¹¹

S.No.	Name	Imprisoned at	Duration
1	Ambalam	Nilakkottai Sub-Jail	3 months
2	Ananda Padmanabhan	Alipuram	6 months
3	Jayaraman Chettiar	Alipuram	2 months
4	Erulan	Alipuram	2 months
5	Irulappan	Alipuram	4 months
6	Koozh Pandi	Alipuram	6 months
7	Padmanabhan	Madurai and Alipuram	4 months
8	Marimuthu Paliavarayar	Ramnad	1 month
9	Natarajan, V. S.	Ramnad	17 days
10	Ramlingam, L	Ramnad	2 weeks
11	Ramanathan	Madurai and Alipuram	17 days
12	Sadayandi M.K	Dindigul	2 months
13	Servai Koolu	Madurai and Alipuram	4 months
14	Thangavel A.B	Madurai	2 months

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MAKARA MOTIF IN INDIAN ART

Dr. V.G. Natarajan

Makara is a sea-creature in *Hindu* culture. It is generally depicted in the art as half terrestrial animal in the frontal part and half aquatic animal in the hind part usually a fish or seal tail, snake tail though sometimes a peacock or even a floral tail is depicted. Even though *Makara* may take many different forms throughout *Hindu* culture, in today's modern world, its form is always related to the Marsh crocodile or a water Monitor. In *Hindu* astrology, *Makara* is equalent to the sign of Capricorn, teeth of the twelve symbols of the zodiac.¹

Makara appears as 'the *vahana* (vehicle) of the river goddess *Ganga*, *Narmada* and of the sea god *Varuna*. *Makara* is considered as guardian of gateways and thresholds, protecting throne rooms as well as entryways to temples; it is the most commonly recurring creature in *Hindu* and Buddhist temple iconography, and also frequently appears as a *Gargoyle* or as a spout attached to a natural spring. *Makara* shaped earrings called *Makara Kundalas* are sometimes worn by the *Hindu* gods, for example *Shiva*, the Destroyer, or the preserver god *Vishnu*, the sun god *Swya* and the mother goddess *Chandi*. *Makara* is also the 'Insignia of the love god *Kamadeva*, who has no dedicated temples and is also known as *Makardhvaja* "one whose flag depicts a, *Makara*²

Makara is a Sanskrit word which means "sea dragon" or "water - monster". It is the origin of the Hindi word for crocodile (magar), which has in turn been loaned into English as the name of the *Mugger* crocodile, the most common crocodile in India³

During the Vedic times when *Indra* was the God of heaven, *Varuna* (the vedic water god) became the god of the seas and rode on *Makara*, which was called "the water monster vehicle.

Traditionally, a *Makara* is considered to be an aquatic mythical creature. *Makara* has been depicted typically as half mammal and half fish. Some traditional accounts identify it with a crocodile, specifically Marsh Crocodile because of its etymological roots. It is depicted with the forequarters of an elephant and the

hindquarters as a fish tail. Crocodile was also a form which was used in the earlier days. as shown with human body⁵

Thus composite figure occurs commonly in Indian art. The sculptures of Bharhut Amaravati, Mathura and the paintings of Ajanta represent this mythical animal impeccably.

It is clear that the crocodile and the fish go into the make-up of the Indian *Makara* has the head of the crocodile and the body of a fish with its scales, tail and fins. Sometimes, a pair of legs is added to this and horns are stuck above the eyes. Such a *Makara* gradually acquires a snout resembling the curled trunk of an elephant and the crocodile lower lip slowly disappears.⁶

In early Amaravati sculpture the *makara* is partly a crocodile and partly a fish with the scales and fins emphasized, the horns absent and the ear fin-shaped. In the later Amaravati sculptures the horns are those of the ram. The tips of the horns are sometimes shaped like a fish tail suggesting that the inspiration was from *Jasha* which is a horned fish. Sometimes a pair of legs like those of a crocodile are added. Slowly, the crocodile jaws lose their length but the animal still approximates to the crocodile after whom his ancestor was made. The teeth are prominent⁷

In medieval times the teeth curve up beside the mouth like the side-tusks of a bear while the body shows it is that of a land animal with short legs like that of a rhinoceros and a tail spread like foliage into a descriptive appendage. It is in this strange animal in Chalukyan and contemporaneous temples that we meet the descendant of the original *Makara* although completely transformed beyond recognition. The curling snout of the crocodile that resembles the elephant's trunk is a later development. Cousins thinks that it may be the result of the influence of the snout of the tapir which it resembles. But it is clearly the elephant whose influence we can see on the *makara* as both the *makara* and the elephant as animals of India. Thus, the following animals have lent their contribution in the composition of the *makara*. elephant, bear, rhinoceros, ram, fish and crocodile.⁸

In early Sanskrit literature we get the earliest reference to *makara* in the *yajurveda samhitas* in connection with the *asvamedha* sacrifice but the exact type of animal is not referred to foot note According to *Coomaraswamy*, the general type of *makara* is crocodilian, quite distinguishable from the water elephant. But in spite of their different nomenclature both *makara* and the water elephant are representations of the same animal but each with a special emphasis on different characteristics of the animal. The earliest extant figures of the *makara* are representations of it in the spandril of the Lomasa RSI cave of the Maurya period and are undoubtedly composite figures of an elephant, a crocodile and a fish

Evidently, therefore, the Indian artists took much liberty in representing this hybrid creature in various ways.

The *makara* is primarily a conjoint sexual symbol such as we find in the Shiva Linga, the base of which is a female genital within which stands the phallus. Here, the *makara-baktra* indicates the former and its body the latter. We thus find that both these elements have been imagined in the *makara's* body to indicate a symbol of continuous co-habitation. Naturally, the *makara* is represented on the banner of *Pradyumna-Kamadeva* whose constant epithet, synonyms (or) attribute is *makara-dhvaja*, *makara-ketu* (or) *mina-ketu*¹⁰ and the same is referred to in the *kadambart*.

Makara with Elephant Forequarters and Fishtail Behind

This type of composite figures get their representation in early Indian sculpture. The sculptures of Sanchi, Bharhut Mathura and Murals of Ajanta depict them realistically. Apart from the sculptural representations, an exactly similar mythical animal in bronze is reported to have been discovered from the recent excavations at Nagarjunakonda". It may be identified as *Gajavaktrajasha* mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. *Kalidasa*" calls it *Matanganakara*, *Coomaraswamy* points out the similarity of the *gajavaktrajashas* with the *Jalebha*. *Grunwedel* calls this animal a sea-elephant and defines it as "a creature formed of the foreparts of an elephant with the body and tail of a fish". It is a common practice to compare crocodiles and fishes in a flowing river to elephants and horses on land. The *Diggajas* which guard the

quarters reside in *patala*, which is a water region. As fish symbolised water, the elephant with the fishtail was probably the design that most appealed to the sculptor when preparing tills type, *gajavaktrajasha*.¹¹

The crocodile appears as a decorative motif mainly. The crocodile has been conventionally associated with sanctity. In the *Bhagavadgita* while speaking about purifiers Sri Krishna says to Arjuna that he was the *Makara* among the fish. It is one of the signs of the Hindu Zodiac, the vahana of goddess Ganga. The *makara* finds a place in *Bhagavata purana*, *Amarakosa*, *Lalitavistara* and *Panchatantra* in which it is treated not only as a aquatic but also an amphibious animal. The *makara* is featured prominently in Vijayanagara art. It is depicted as the vehicle of Varuna, of Yakshas, Yakshanis, and the river deity Ganga. It occurs profusely in the early Indian art motif, and is seen in the *Maradarsana* scene as one of his attendants at *Saranath*, on spandrels of early tympanums, on the architraves of early *toranas*, on throne backs, in jewellery, on medallions of pillars or as gargoyles.

The *makara-torana* is another decorative motif found in the temples under review. Generally, in the Vijayanagara temple. This is carved as a copy (if the cult images sculptured on the pillars of the *kalyana* and hundred *pillared-mandapas* and on the exterior walls.

In all the examples the arch is composed of multi-stringed floral bands. The top portion either left blank or is occupied by a boldly designed *kirtimukha* motif or a floral design. Generally multiple floral strings are shown flowing out freely from the mouth of *kirtimukha*. The *makaras* are carved below, on either sides of the floral arch. The upraised trunks of the *makaras* are shown touching the floral scrolls shown above¹³

In the Vijayanagara temples, the *makara*, like the elephant, is depicted on the sides of the door steps the shrines. It is presented as a well-built, powerful and fierce creature, with a bushy tail and its mouth raised over its back though it is going to eat something¹⁴ The *salabhanjika* figures depicted on the door-jambes of *gopura* gateways, in the Vedanarayail Iswalpi temple at Nagalapuram and Govindarajaswami temple at Tirupati' are shown as standing on *makara*,

probably representing as Ganga figures. *Makara-torana motifs*:

The *makara-torana* is the other important device that is found in the Vijayanagar Temples. The Vijayanagara sculptors used this motif very sparingly. It is found as a canopy of the cult images-sculptured on the pillars and the exterior walls. Excellent examples of this type are found on the pillars of the *Natya* and *kalyanamandapas* of the Virabhadraswami temple at Lepakshi and on the exterior walls of the temples at Pushpagiri.

It is also observed that the Vijayanagara sculptors used the *makara-toranas* to decorate the door-way lintels and the front side of the *mahanasikas* of the *vimanas*. The *makara-torana* found on the lintel of the door-way of the Siva temple at Vallur and a semi-way has a semi-circular floral arch emerging from the jaws of the *makaras*, arranged on either side of the lower section of the *torana*. The curved trunks, the gaping mouth, short and shapely legs and the floral plumage of the *makaras* are meticulously represented. A very interesting example of a *makara-torana* is noticed on the front side of the *mahanasika* of the *vimana* of the Hazara Rama temple at Hampi. The *torana* is shown emerging from the mouth of the *makaras* placed on either side of the bottom and it is surmounted by a huge *kirtimukha* head.

The *makara-torana* is noticed in the Mathura school of art and several species of this ornamental motif are preserved in the Mathura and Lucknow museum. It is likely that these are the earliest representations of the *makara-toranas* in the plastic art of India. But by taking into consideration the reference to *simsumara-sirah* in the Mahabharata, V.S. Agarwala observes "The literary tradition of the *makara-torana* or *simsumara-sirah* ante dates our knowledge of it in the *lithic* art of the *Sunga* period by several centuries, it is believed that the patterns executed in stone were preceded by work in wood. ¹⁶ A graceful *makara-torana* is noticed in the Saiva temple at Derra, datable to the early Gupta period. An intricately designed floral *torana* is shown emerging from the mouth of a *makara*. This mythical animal has scally body and an upraised trunk and head.¹⁷ in the Deccan region the *makara-torana* ornamented device was used by the early

Chalukyas. It is possible that they might have got inspiration and guidance from the Guptas. One of the best examples of this motif is found in the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal. The Rashtrakutas inherited the tradition of employing the *makara-torana* as an ornamental device from the Early Chalukyas. It is found prominently on the top of the niches and doorways. The top section of the door-way of the *Nandi-mandapa* in the Kailasa temple at Ellora is adorned with an exquisitely designed *makara-toranda*.¹⁹

In another case a triforium arch is emerging from the mouth of the *makaras* on the top of a niche housing the graceful river goddess, Yamuna.²⁰ Similar *makara-toranas* are also found in the Indra Sabha cave at Ellora.²¹

Eastern Chalukyan and the Later Chalukyan sculptors also profusely patronized this ornamental device. Regarding the *makara-torana* found in the Eastern *torana* decoration over the niches in the early Pallava temples and compare then with the Eastern Chalukyan at Biccavolu we can understand the parallel development to the north and south of the river Krishna

In the first place the ornamental floral plumage of the *makaras* in both the cases is shown flowing down freely along with the pilasters. Secondly the *makaras* are provided with dwarfish riders on their backs. Finally a combination of two *makara* heads with upraised trunks in opposite directions are found on the summit of the *toranas*. The *makara-torana* reached its climax of grace and charm at the hands of the Later Chalukyan and the Hoyasala sculptors. H. Cousens observes: "One of the most frequently occurring decorative forms upon the medieval Hindu temples and more especially in the Chalukyan work of the Canarese districts, is the conventional and highly ornate Makara²³ The *makara-torana* also found a place of prominence in the Kakatiya temples and in main this is very closely akin to the later Chalukyan examples.²⁴

In the extreme south India, the *makara-torana* found favour at the hands of the Pallava and Chola sculptors. An excellent early Pallava example is noticed in a cave at Dalavanur. In this example, a floral scroll is springing from *makaras*. But it is curious to note that apart

from representing two *makaras*, they are shown on the summit of the arch. The *makaras* are provided with dwarfish *gana* riders²⁵ Similar *makara-toranas* are found in plenty on the storeyed pyramidal superstructure of the Vethuvan koil at Kalugamalai.²⁶ The ornamental *makara-toranas* are also noticed on the top of the niches in the Kailasanathaswami, Vaikunta Perumal temples at Kanchipuram.²⁷ The Pallava sculptors took very keen interest in introducing certain innovations in the very composition of the *makara-torana*. Firstly they have inserted human figures in various postures in the flowing plumage of the *makara-fart*.²⁸ It may be mentioned in this connection that the plumage of the *makaras* without human figures are also found in many cases. In the second Chalukyan Art C.Sivaramamurti observes that when we serve the *makara*-Place human figures and the *kirtimukhas* are shown springing from the jaws of the makaras instead of floral semi-circular scrolls Goals and goddesses are sculptured in the central circular portion of these *toranas*. The makara-torana is used by Chola sculptors for the decoration of the riches, and also the top section of the *kudus* that are found on the storeyed and the domical crowing member of the *vimanas* of the Chola-temples³⁰

Conclusion

The Makara-torana, which was introduced by the Buddhist Sculptor, gradually crept into the realm of Hindu art. It is the most commonly recurring creature in Hindu and Buddhist Iconography. Its earliest representation are found in the structures erected during the Gupta Period. In the Deccan region the makara-torana ornamental device was used by the early Chalukyan. It is possible that they might have got inspiration and guidance from the Guptas. The Rashtrakutas inherited the tradition of employing the makara-torana as an ornamental device from the early Chalukyas. The composite figure of Makara with crocodile forequarters and fishtail behind occurs commonly in Indian art. The Makara-torana also found its place of prominence in the Kakatiya temples and in main this is very closely akin to the later Chalukyan examples. In the extreme South India, the Makara-torana found at the hands of the Pallava and Chola sculptors. The Vijayanagara sculptors used the makara-torana motif very sparingly is the canopy of the cult images. The Vijayanagara sculptors also used this motif to decorate the door way lintels and the front side of the mahanasikas of the Vimanas. The makara-torana found in the Vijayanagara temples though in many betrays the influence of Deccan and South Indian traditions.

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THE POLITICAL CAREER OF OMANDUR RAMASAMY REDDIYAR - A STUDY

P. Pandiyan

Early life of Omandur Ramaswamy

Omandur Ramaswamy Reddy was born at Omandur near Tindivanam district on 01st February 1895. His father was Muththuram Reddiyar was an important leader Omandur village and village administrative officer for the growth of Omandur village. OPR meaning for OPR In the third letter O is name of the Omandur village name P is the name of the big curve and the name R is Ramasamy. Omandurar Ramasamy had his high school education from Madras Hindu School and worked the village administration officer (maniya karar), Omandur village.¹

Freedom Struggle

In 1923 villages went to the villages and implemented the construction of Gandhids. Bharat Madham's film and the Gandhian image of the neck were stuck on the neck and carrying the katthani bundle on his head and went to the city to sell the karthr. Gandhians ordered him to go back to the village again and stir up before the thief, and he told the people of alcohol. In this case, his only son, Sundaram, who was studying in Bengal, had heard of his death, and he began to take up the struggle again, feeling his mind more than selfishness,

The Government of India made arrangements for Congress congress in Samawur next to New Delhi. The Government of Tamil Nadu decided not to build a tree nut tree in the pit and tied the flags at the top of the palm trees that grew up with the following O.P.R. In the towns of Tindivanam, many conferences were convened to feed the freedom of expression among the people. He spoke to the leaders of Kamaraj, Jeevanandam, Somayajilu.²

Political Career of O.P. Ramasamy

Omandur Perivalaivu Ramasamy Reddiar (O.P.R.), a veteran Congress leader, contributed much for strengthening the Congress Party in Madras Presidency and devoted his sole attention to the progress of the people. His close contacts with R.K. Shanmugam Chettiar and Venkathur Ganapathy Sastri made him to join in the National Movement.³

Entry of Congress Party

O.P. Ramasamy was joined the Congress Party in 1920 and worked incessantly to liberate the people from the clutches of the foreign rule. He conducted the District Political Conference at Villupuram in 1920, with the support of Villupuram Chidambaram Iyer and Sudarsana Naidu. He also attended the Nagpur Congress Session in 1920, which was presided over by Salem C. Vijayaraghavachariyar. In 1921, he organized a Theosophical Conference at Cuddalore which was presided over by Annie Besant.⁴

As the Secretary of the South Arcot District Congress Committee, he participated in the Salt March in 1930 and he was arrested. He also took part in the Foreign Cloth Boycott Movement in South District. His patriotic fervor led to his involvement in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932. As a humble and dedicated worker of the Congress Party, he became the Vice President of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee in 1932. In 1934, he invited Rajendra Prasad to Thiruvannamalai and introduced him to Ramana Maharashi. In 1935, he was nominated by S. Sathyamurthi, as a member of the Committee, to select party candidates for the local elections. Because of his sincerity and hard work, the party could capture majority of seats. He invited Jawharlal Nehru to Villapuram, to lay the foundation stone at Kamala Nagar. In 1937, O.P. Ramasamy was included in the Executive Committee of the Madras Provincial Committee for which Rajaji was the President. He was responsible for the success of the Congress Party in the elections in Cuddalore, Chidambaram and Vilupuram. The people appreciated his devoted work for the Party and helped him in defeating the Justice Party Candidates.⁵

1937 Congress Assembly

He did not contest in any election with a view to making Congress strong in the State and campaigned for the party candidates. Due to his hectic election tour, the Congress had gained a majority in the assembly election in 1937. In 1938, O.P. Ramasamy Kumarasami Raja and M. Bhaktavatsalam under took

extensive tour, in all the Districts, explaining the ideals and programmes of the Congress. He expressed his anguish at the plight of the agriculturists and requested the Madras Premier, Rajaji, to pass debt relief act for the farmers.⁶ O.P. Ramasamy persistent demand, to grant long term loan to the farmers, had yielded good results. He was instrumental in passing the Rural Insolvency Act and Money Lenders Act. He was imprisoned for his active role in the Quit India Movement in 1942. Dissatisfaction arose among the Congress men, with the Prakasam Ministry, which was sworn in 1946. K.Kamaraj met Rajaji at Delhi and installed O.P.R. as the Premier of Madras.⁷

As a Chief Minister

O.P. Ramasamy was elected as the leader of Congress Legislature Party, on 11th March 1947, by 116 votes. He held portfolios like Public works, Hindu Religious Endowments, Legislation, Courts etc., He was the first leader to hoist the Indian National Flag, replacing the Union Jack at St. George Fort at Madras, on 15th August 1947. After his assumption of office as the Premier of Madras Presidency, O.P. Ramasamy initiated measures of far reaching significance. He took steps to remove illiteracy, to improve public health and to promote agriculture and industry. Under the Chairmanship of O.P.R, a Re-organisation Committee was constituted on 6th November 1947, to streamline the entire administration of the Province. O.P. Ramasamy strictly implemented the Prohibition Act in 1947. The scheme was initially imposed in eight Districts on 1st October 1947. Afterwards it was gradually extended to other Districts. Thus he

fulfilled the objectives of Ghandhi's prohibition policy. He passed the Temple Entry Act in 1947 and allowed the general Hindu public to offer their worship in the temples, without any discrimination.⁸ He led the Harijan people to Tirupathi Venkateswara Temple, on 15th June 1947.

Merging of states into Indian union

O.P.R. had maintained cordial relations with Sardar Vallabhai Patel, which resulted in the Joint Action against the Hyderabad State.⁹ He set up a special police force in the Madras Presidency. Due to the efforts of O.P.R, the State of Banganapally was merged with Madras on 20th February 1948. He also persuaded the Raja of Pudukkottai to merge his State with Madras, on 3rd March 1948. Thus O.P.R. had acted as the "Right Hand" to Sardar Patel in merging Hyderabad with the Indian Union.⁹

Devadasi System

O.P.R. abolished the age old Devadasi System, He sanctioned a loan of Rs. 43 lakhs for the construction of 220 Harijan colonies, with 20 houses in each colony. The post of District Harijan Welfare Officer was created, to look into the grievances of the Harijans¹⁰

Conclusion

Hence O.P.R.'s services to the people of Madras Presidency is noteworthy. His whole tenure office was marked by progress and development. During the last days of his life, he founded Jothi Ramalinga Samarasa Sanmarga Sangam and bequeathed all his property to that Sangam.

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A HERO'S FORGOTTEN HISTORY - "SARDAR SARVAI PAPANNA"

Ponnam Muthyam Goud

Introduction

"There is no effect on attacking a bilge or attacking a village, attack Golconda if you can" - This was the slogan of a great warrior Sardar Sarvai Papanna (1650-1709) who established the first ever Bahujana kingdom on the land of Telangana during the 17th century AD. He was the first king from depressed and backward classes, born in a common caste, who fought against the dominance of elite castes in the sociological system and slavery. After the decade 1960, there was a huge shift in recording history in newer paths. During this period, an enthusiasm came to record alternative history in giving light to the persons, places, theories that were forget in the past. In this backdrop, the history of Sardar Sarvai Papanna, his background with reference to caste, fighting spirit came to light. He was forgot in the dominant history, day by day his existence and heroics are coming to light and this is the right time to have a research paper on the leadership of such a great warrior. Unfortunately, history was written about the victorious only and those won, had written their own history. Kings from elite castes, upper caste feudalists, their invasions, attacks, loots were mentioned in the history showing them as great rulers. But, in this upper caste dominant history, Sardar Sarvai Papanna was portrayed as a robber and thief. It is high time to analyze the history of Sardar Papanna in the context of the statements of Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, who said that Sardar Papanna was a king and not a thief as he had built and attained forts, tried to expand the boundaries of his ruling area. Sardar Papanna during his life span of 59 years, uphold the areas Kilashapuram, Shapuram, Kolanupaka and Bhongir, attacked Golconda, which was the main base of Mughal empire in Southern India, to establish the first ever kingdom from backward castes. The historian of upper caste nobles buried the history of this warrior who established an alternative and horizontal Government on the land of Telangana. It is the need to give a text form to the history being protected through oral literature from centuries together, in the process of reconstruction of our history.

On realization of separate Telangana state, the history of Telangana Armed Struggle and the history of dalits and backward classes are being re-written. The history of backward caste leaders and fighters, their competitiveness, the heroics that made them to political power are now subjected to discussion. It is now necessary to study the history of Sardar Sarvai Papanna in the context of establishing a ruling class with the dalits and depressed classes on this land. During the recent present only, the history is coming out of the shadows and the statues of the great hero are being erected in every village. Sardar Sarvai Papanna fought against the despotic feudal dictatorships, an adventurer broken open the Golconda fort of Mughal Rulers and a kind administrator who took the responsibility of protecting the people from the atrocities of Mughal viceroy at Golconda.

The heroics of Sardar Sarvai Papanna had a special mention, by the western writers like JA Boyel, Richard Eaten, while the extraordinary personality from a common gouda family who carried on to establish a kingdom was ignored by the local historians. What is the reason for ignorance of Papanna's prowess, administration and expansion of kingdom in the history books? The history of the Maratha warrior Chatrapathi Shivaji (1627-1680), a contemporary of Sardar Sarvai Papanna (1650-1709), was well saved in the historical texts. In war strategies, guerilla attacks and breaking the forts, both have the same strategies. Both maintained their activities against the dominating Brahmin caste ideology. But, the heroics of Sardar Sarvai Papanna, wars, extension of kingdom were not recorded as text in the books of historians.

History and Background of Papanna

The rule of Kakatiyas lasted long in 1323 AD, who ruled the south. The Kakatiya empire seized by the Delhi Sultanate due to the homicide of Prataparudra, who plunging into Narmada river as he was not interest to be a slave to the Sultanate. From the year 1687 to 1700 the major areas in the country came into rule of Mughals. In 1589, Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, started building Golconda on the

banks of river Musi. By 1630, Hyderabad was changed as the wealthiest area in the country. Owing to this wealthiness, Mughal empire had a glimpse on Hyderabad which resulted Sultan Quli Qutub Shah to have an agreement with Mughals. As per the agreement a tax of two lakhs muns (currency) per year had to be paid and the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan's name to be proclaimed in the masjids on Friday. After many developments, a viceroy from Mughal appointed to Golconda. From 1658, the name of Sardar Sarvai Papanna fulfilled as emperor.

Papanna - Wars and Forts

During 1702, the Mughal Deputy Governor, Rusdur Khan hiked tax extensively on the toddy trees. Papanna opposed this move, which led to attacks on each other. Papanna had the upper hand and Khan ran away to Hyderabad. Khan while making a representation to Mughal Government, requested for strong additional force to contain the bandit named Papanna. With a strong force, Khan came to capture Papanna. Papanna with his guerilla tactics made the army of Khan run away. In this backdrop, consolidating the instability in Mughal empire after the death of Aurangzeb, Papanna attacked the enemy states around him and occupied them looting exchequers and breaking forts.

At the age of 25 years, in 1675, Sardar Papanna proclaimed freedom duly establishing a kingdom by building a strong fort with 12 acres area at Sarvaipeta with the money looted from the Mughal deputies and fauzdars and expanded his kingdom. In 1698, he built a strong fort with four barbicans admeasuring 50 acres. It is learnt that he built a fort at Shapurkota from the year 1700 and completed in 1705. He had established defensive bases at Bhuvanagiri, Bhairanpalli, Husnabad and continued to be in battles and expansion of his kingdom for 25 years. His history and fighting spirit were nowhere written in the text of history. In Indian society, history was written by the one who won, from ancient history to the modern history. Sardar Papanna fought against the autocratic dominance of Mughal viceroys, Brahmin ideology and took the responsibility to look after and to protect the people. While Sardar Sarvai Papanna fought against the Mughal on Telangana land, at the same time the Maratha fighter continued his battle against the autocratic Mughal rule.

Papanna in History

Papanna, at the age of 26 in 1675 AD, built a strong Fort at Sarvaipeta, now in Karimnagar District, duly establishing his kingdom and expanded it. He, at the above age, concentrated against the Mughal government, Viceroys, Sardars, Landlords. On having a glance at the life history of Sardar Papanna, historians portrayed him as a robber. His personal life and family life were portrayed on the probabilities. As part of this probabilities, Papanna's history was personified and attributed as having quarreled with his mother Sarvayamma, asking money from his sisters for weapons, when they refused to give looting the money from them. But, in reality, on examining his background in sociological point of view, we can ascertain many things. His leadership skills, discipline can be ascertain for having constituted a big army and kingdom at a small age of 25 on his own. Building a fort at a small age, he established a village during the year 1675 in the name of his mother. We can see a spacious fort and village in the same names in Karimnagar District. This shows his love for his mother. In addition, he included his mother's name before his name Papanna and became famous with Sarvai Papanna, which indicates his love and affection for his mother. As his father expired during the childhood of Papanna, his mother looked after him in great discipline even after undergoing many difficulties. He paid his gratitude to his mother in this way. There were only two persons in Telangana history, who were famous with the names of their mothers. One was Gautamiputra Satakarni and the other was Sarvai Papanna. Historians stated that he captured his mother and sisters and persecuted them for money. These statements are against the reality, which are known on having a glance on the life style and history of Papanna.

He built a taller and stronger fort with the entrance doors of 30 feet high, barbicans over the height of 80 feet on all four sides to watch the moment of enemies. He had good interest in building forts with the expansion of his kingdom. He built a fort with an area of 50 acres in Tatikonda during 1698. He built a fort at Shapurkota during 1700-1705. On 31st March, 1708, a army of three thousand well trained soldiers, he besieged the Orugallu fort.

He conquered seven strong forts on a row and gave freedom to many people who were captured in the Orugallu fort. He further expanded his kingdom by occupying Mandapuram, Dhanikonda, Tungaturthi, Bhairanpalli areas and constructing forts there. He finally captured the Golconda fort and got control over it. His whole life went on like a battle with his bravery and power.

Whatever the reasons, the history of Papanna and his heroic revolts were not entered into the history books. Born in a very common gouda family, Sardar Sarvai Papanna went on to tremble the Mughal empire. Being born in a depressed caste, it is not a simple thing of having made continuous attacks on forts without being captured by enemies, expanding his kingdom and building strong forts for his administrative convenience and for protection. On examining the history of this land, from the ancient times to the modern period, this Telangana land is ruled by the non locals beginning from Satavahanas, Salankayanas, Vishnukundinas, Kakatiyas and the non-resident Andhra Rulers prior to the formation of state. Sardar Sarvai Papanna was a brave leader having conquered the Golconda fort which was considered as a great peak in the history of south India and the local man having presented a people's kingdom with pride, on the Talangana land which was full of bittersweet and bloody history behind it.

Why the history of Papanna not recorded as in the case of other rulers?

After the rule of Shivaji, his son Shambhaji became king and recorded the history of his father. The heirs of Shivaji ruled the kingdom after Shambhaji also placed Chatrapathi Shivaji in history with good honor and respect. On the other hand, after Papanna, no one from his family conquered as king and no heirs of Papanna travelled in the direction of political power. Even no one from the castes of depressed classes came into the purview of

political power. Thus, Papanna's history was not texted in history books and the upper caste Brahmin ideological historians buried the history of Papanns who was born in a *Sudra* caste. They had also connoted wrong commentary to the happened history. The heroics, strength, power, adventurous nature, his steps towards power, opposing the feudal dominance were ridiculed and stamped as robber, thief and inhuman. This ideology was continued for centuries in traditional Hindu Brahmin culture and there is no concession for Papanna's history. The historians tried to subdue the heroics of Papanna to utmost possible by portraying him as loot, cruel bandit opposed rich and feudal rulers. The historians improved the histories of rulers and people of their sects by portraying new colors in their lives and made the ordinary as extraordinary persons in history.

Conclusion

History was recorded basing on the information provided by the muslim rulers, landlords, their associates and no doubt, they had communicated about Papanna in the wrong way. It is pertinent to note that European historians contemporary to Papanna recorded the history of Papanna close to the reality. They played a helping hand in giving light to the history of Papanna in the recent past. The capturing of main forts under Mughal rule such as Orugallu, Bhuavanagiri, Golconda etc. his war strategies, men in his army, dates on which Papanna conquered the forts with time also recorded in the history books. Thus, it is proved that Papanna was wrongly portrayed as thief by the upper castes in hate, jealous and envious. The strong forts, temples built; ponds and villages constructed show the historical eminence of Papanna. There are clear evidences for the lustful history of Papanna in having expanding his kingdom, building a well trained army in this process, attacks on neighboring kingdoms, leading from front in the rides, like any other ruler in the history.

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BANNED YEARS OF COMMUNISTS IN TAMIL NADU (1948 -1951) - A HISTORICAL STUDY

V. Prabhakaran

Introduction

The Communist Movement has been in the forefront of unjust criticism, calumnies, repressions, tortures and ban as no other political movement in history suffered. In 1947 at the time of country's freedom the Communists viewed that the attainment of Independence was the end of the first phase of Revolution against alien rule and the beginning of second phase of Revolution against feudal landlordism, capitalist bourgeoisie and labour exploitation. They prolonged their struggle for uphold their ideology in all possible means and faced severe repressions which lead to ban by the Government. This paper is a modest attempt to bring to limelight the banned years of Communist Movement in Tamil Nadu.

Policy Divide

Ever since India's Independence, two trends arose inside the Communist Party of India. P.C. Joshi, the National Secretary of the party viewed that the country was not ready for a full scale proletarian revolution and that the old policy of restraining mass action should be continued. On the Vice versa another trend was represented by B.T. Ranadive, who held the view that the old policy should be radically changed in view of the situation that a militant policy of "violent action" should be followed in India¹.

In this scenario, The Second Congress of the Communist Party of India met in Calcutta between 28 February 1948 and 7 March 1948 and adopted a "Political Thesis" saying that although independence had been won "the freedom struggle has been betrayed and the national leadership has struck a treacherous deal behind the back of the starving people,

betraying every slogan of the democratic revolution" The resolution made it clear that the India's Independence is mockery and Britain continued to dominate India. Utilizing the growing dissatisfaction with the P.C. Joshi leadership, B.T. Ranadive took over as General Secretary and decided to organize a "democratic front" of all militant and revolutionary elements "to win real freedom and democracy" and engineering the " final revolution" on the lines of the " October 1917 Revolution" in Russia

The Central Government was watching these developments with great concern. Within a month of the Calcutta Conference, the Government of India declared Communist Party of India was an unlawful organization² and raided the offices of CPI across the country. Hundreds and thousands of Communists and active workers were arrested and kept in detention without trial throughout the country. In Tamil Nadu, a large number of Communists were taken into custody and a considerable number of Communists went underground. P.Ramamurthi, M. Kalyana Sundaram, Srinivasa Rao and some others took a stern action and started underground centers in Madras to guide the party.

At the public point of view, the fortnightly reports of the Home Department of Madras stated that the actions against the Communists were generally welcomed. Meetings were held in several places by the Congress party to condemn the violent activities of the Communists and appeal to the public to co-operate with the Government in putting down this menace. In contrast Communist sympathizers held meeting all over the Province to protest against this action³.

Communist Reaction

The Communists had been active as they possibly could with most of their leaders under detention. Leaflets appeared in several districts condemning the Central and Provincial Government for their capitalist and fascist outlook. The Madras Committee of the Communist Party reacted that all the pledges made by the Congress were now forgotten and that the Congress Ministry were out to crush the working classes and the Kisans⁴.

Communists who went underground continued their propaganda against the Government. They alleged that the Government's policy of retrenchment was being adopted everywhere in the province with a view to create unemployment and forcing the unemployed to accept lower wages. At meetings held in various places in the Province, they criticized the Government for the ban on their volunteer organizations and demanded the release of all the Communists arrested in this connection. They remarked that if the present Government followed the repressive policy of British, a movement similar to that launched in 1942 would extricate the present Government⁵.

In due course, Government banned the Communist Publications. So the party's journal Jana Sakthi, was kept in abeyance. Copies which were supposed to have been sent through couriers to the District Committee in Madurai and distributed to the underground Secretaries were seized⁶. Consequently, the Madras branch of the CPI sold the machinery of the Jana Sakthi press for a sum of Rs 24000/- as they had received a notice of eviction from the owner of the premises⁷.

Secret Activities of the Communists

Fortnightly reports state that underground Communists were found it difficult to maintain themselves for lack of funds from the party. Therefore the headquarters of the party had issued instructions to important underground front line Communists to issue statements dissociating themselves so that they might come out of their hiding and carry on party work under the guise of trade union activity⁸.

Communists continued their activities by means of secret meetings; unauthorized pamphlets etc., The Madras Committee of the

Party proposed to train two workers in every Communist controlled union to succeed the office bearers in case they were arrested, as they fear that Government was tightening their measures against the party. Communists disguised as public issued pamphlets and pasted wall posters against Government of Madras.

Impact of Chinese Revolution

Communist Revolution in China in 1949 made a tremendous impact during the course of the movement in this period. In China, the Communists under the leadership of Ma- Tse-Tung rose in rebellion to overthrow the Chiang - Kai - Sheik Government and succeeded eventually. It caused repercussion in other Asian countries. As a result of victories of the Communist forces in China, Communist Party of India welcomed it and made propaganda of its success. In a notice affixed near the party office in Madras pointing out that the events in China should prove a lesson for the Indian Government and that the leaders would meet with the same fate as Chiang - Kai - Sheik⁹. The Communist celebrated "Victory day" in connection with the success of Communists in China at a meeting held at Tiruppur in Coimbatore district. They referred to the same at other meeting held at Vikramasingapuram in Tirunelveli district, at Namakkal in Salem district and at Madurai¹⁰. In the meantime Thirty Malayan Communists, who had repatriated by that Government and also have been closely connected with communist activities in Singapore, particularly marked for its violence arrived at Madras on the 19th of November by a ship named S.S. Vasna. All of them were arrested when the ship shored at Nagapattinam¹¹.

Policy on Armed Revolution

Meanwhile a new trend blew inside the CPI, In June 1948, the Andhra Unit of CPI asserted that the Mao's concept of new Democracy should be followed in India. C. Rajeshwara Rao, the leader of Andhra unit advocated that the Chinese method of struggle would be suitable in India. The same was suggested at a Trade Union conference of Asian countries which met in Peking in November 1949. At this conference Liu - Shao-Chi the Chinese Communist leader declared

that Chinese method of four class alliance and armed revolution was the best strategy for the Colonial and Semi-colonial countries.

Accordingly in West Bengal, Communists launched a determined armed attacks resulting in serious disorders. They indulged in strikes, riots, attacked the police, landlords, burnt trams and buses and threw bombs in Calcutta and in countryside against the Government. Besides West Bengal, the violent activities of Communists spread to Telengana region of Hyderabad, They seized the Government machinery. About 2,000 villages passed under Communist hold and there they undertook land reforms, held courts and passed judgments¹². For five years, Telengana became a miniature Red state.

With the International support Rajeshwar Rao replaced Ranadive in May 1950 as Secretary of the Party. Rajeshwar Rao avowed that the armed struggle was a necessary concomitant on the Chinese path of revolution. The struggle would be waged to achieve Red state by means of armed guerrilla warfare by the formation of liberation army in the country side and that the struggle would culminate with the seizure of power all over the country.

Madras Criminal Law Amendment Act on Communists

The activities of Communists caused serious concern by the Government of India. On 29 September 1949, the Central Government released a White paper titled "Communist Violence in India" containing documented charges against the CPI and enumerating details of its activities mainly in West Bengal and Hyderabad. "The Communists of India" the White Paper said "have preached and planned violence on a wide scale and are still practicing it in defiance of ethics and decency and in complete disregard of the value of social life and institutions" Nehru Government to avoid drastic action against Communist to impose ban at national level instructed the state government to deal them at local level.

In the wake of the publication of this White paper, the Madras Government imposed ban on the local Communist parties and other Communist sponsored organizations. The Madras Government stated in a order that "After considerable patience and a careful watch on

the activities of the Communists, the Provincial Government has been compelled to declare the Communist Party and the other organizations under its control in the Province unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act¹³.

In pursuance of the ban on the Communist Party and a number of important Organizations under its control, the records, books, registers and several other articles were sealed throughout the province. Over 300 persons were arrested under the Preventive sections. The reactions to the ban were noticed in various places. A wall poster jeering at Gandhiji's creed of non-violence was found exhibited. Public meetings were held in Madras by various unions passed a resolution criticizing the ban. In jails throughout the province, the communists raised anti-Government slogans, conducted hunger strikes and created disturbances.

The notable incident on actions against Communists took place in Madurai. Two Communists were shot dead in a road by the police on a house in Narimedu, a sub urban area of the town. These two persons had tried to escape by rushing out of the house and throwing country bombs at the police. One of the deceased, Manavalan Pillai, is reported to have been responsible for the series of murders which had been reported from the town. As a result of the raid, five other communists were arrested. The weapons like 22 live country bombs, 2 long aruvals and a dagger were seized¹⁴. This raid increased the confidence of the local public and it is held that the sporadic acts of violence noticed in the town would be checked.

Salem Jail Incident

The most significant event of the Communist movement in Tamil Nadu which drew greater attention politically was an incident occurred in Salem during the period of ban. In pursuance of the ban on the Communist Party, number of Communist cadres was lodged in prisons across Tamil Nadu. In Salem jail about 200 convicted Communist Prisoners were incarcerated. On 11 February 1950¹⁵ some of them refused to comply with the directions of the Head Warden, who insisted jail discipline and regulations and ordered their wearing the usual head dress and breast bands.

The Salem District Gazetteer report that the Communist prisoners as a body disobeyed the discipline in the jail and attacked the Jailor and Deputy Jailor.¹⁶ Uttamalingam, a communist prisoner reported that the jailor Krishnan Nair tortured the communists to fetch water from well for a longer time on February 7, 1950 which irritated the Communist prisoners much¹⁷. In due course a deputy jailor was manhandled. The jailor who tried to intervene was also attacked and as the situation became uncontrollable, he requisitioned firearms. By the time the armed party arrived, the Jailor and the Deputy Jailor had been seriously beaten and they had fallen down unconscious. The Head Warden, with considerable presence of mind, ordered the opening of fire but on account of the large number of prisoners taking part in the attack and the narrowness of the enclosure, this unfortunately resulted in 22 deaths on the spot, besides injured to over 100 prisoners. The condition of the Jailor was precarious at the time and the Deputy Jailor and the Wardens sustained serious injuries.

The Government appointed a committee headed by a retired High Court Judge to enquire into the circumstances of the firing. Communist sympathizers carried on propaganda against the Government with regard to the incident. Under the support of the Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Students organizations and the Progressive Writers Association, a public meeting was held and speeches criticizing the Government were made. At an all party meeting on the 26th February, Socialist Leaders Anthony Pillai and Siva Swami, as well as some leaders of the DMK condemned the firing in the Salem jail. The Provincial Trade Union Congress had appealed for a "One day Strike" on the 25th February 1950 to protest against the firing. But all voices raised against this incident went in vain.

Salem Conspiracy Case

In January 1950, Salem Conspiracy case was filed against the Communists. The background of the case was that a goods train was derailed between Dhottampatti and Kallavi railway stations in Salem - Jollarpet main railway line. The Police charged that the Communists were behind this incident. Charge sheets were filed against 33 Communists

including P. Ramamurthi, M. Kalyanasundaram, K. Anandam Nambiar, M.R. Venkatraman and others¹⁸. Party Office was raided and Communist literature and other materials were seized. It appeared that Salem had been functioning as the Provincial Headquarters of the Communists¹⁹. After two years of legal process Local Communists A. Munusamy, P. Srinivasan, Damodaran and Theerthan were sentenced to Seven years rigorous imprisonment.

Nellai Conspiracy Case

Nellai alias Tirunelveli Conspiracy case was filed against communists in connection with a plot on damaging railway lines to derailment, scratching telegraphic lines, causing damage to public property and producing country bombs with the intention to overthrow the present Government. During the period the party had an agenda on conducting mass struggle like Telengana Communists, by organizing peasants to carry out arm struggle to uphold their rights²⁰. The case was filed in 1949 but began in 1952 in which 97 communists were convicted. The Final judgment pronounced 14 Communists including R. Nallakannu, I. Mayandi Bharathi as convicts and they were given life imprisonment. Later Baladhandayutham, Meenatchinathan and Bailvan Arunachalam were connected with the case and were sentenced with life imprisonment. Various agitations were conducted across the state demanding the government to get back the cases to release the communists. On continuous pressure from the communists Government rolled back the cases and released the convicted Communists but R. Nalla Kannu had to be in prison for some more years as he was convicted in another case that he was involved in fabricated country bombs²¹. In his personal Interview he said that he undergone serious of repressions by jail authorities. During his days in jail he studied many Communist books. Later he was released on 13 December 1956, a grand reception was arranged by communists to welcome him.

The People Education Society and the lift of ban

Many left oriented organizations emphasized Government to set free Communist prisoners. The People's Education Society, a Communist backed association which was

suspected to be carrying Communist propaganda was banned by the Government²²; the society was being controlled by the top ranking Communists. The ban on “The Peoples Education Society” was challenged in the Madras High Court as contravening the Fundamental Rights of the association granted by the new Constitution of Free India on 26 January 1950. The Court delivered the judgment that the Government revision on the Criminal Law Amendment Act by guaranteeing the Fundamental Rights given to the citizen as which the communists were detained was against the Constitution. As a result of this judgment the ban ceased to exist. An appeal was made in the Supreme Court against this judgment. Supreme Court turned down the appeal in similar to the High court. So the ban imposed on the Communist Party and the allied organizations in this state had become ineffective²³ and the Communist Party became lawful.

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Conclusion

The Communists by the authoritarian attitude of some comrades against the wish of moderate comrades chose the policy on ‘violence struggle’ lead to hostile attitude against government which eventually took them to ban. The Communists faced number of attacks and police firings created an impression on common people that they were “violent rebels”. The Salem Jail Incident, The Salem Conspiracy case, The Nellai Conspiracy cases were blood-stained events in their history. The Communists regarded Salem jail killings as Jallianwala bagh incident in the history of Communist movement in Tamilnadu. On the contrary, these incidents had controversial view by other political parties and common people labeling them as “rebels” that led to defame them. It took long years to come out and proved others that they were selfless person working firmly for the toiling masses and egalitarian society.

NAME CHANGE AND KALA PANI : A REVISIT TO THE BOSE VISIT TO THE ANDAMANS

Dr. GSV Prasad

The change of names of places is not new to Indian society. In various political regimes and at various times in order to justify their hegemony and political domination, the rulers changed the name of places as a part of their political ideology. It also happened that in

olden times, the rulers constructed new cities next to popular old cities and named them differently there by the name of old city has been slowly disappeared giving place to the new one. With the arrival of the Europeans from the beginning of fifteenth century, the

change in the names of places had become a common phenomenon. Indians speak different languages and their general accents are different from that of the Europeans. The Europeans had some difficulties in pronouncing Indian names and they renamed some Indian places so that it was easy for them to pronounce.¹ For Europeans, the change in the name was more of phonetic comfort than establishing a political hegemony. For example, Alleppey, Broach, Madras, Bombay, Cape Comorin, Cochin, Trichy, Baroda etc.

The revert was bound to happen sometime after Independence. But it took longer time as for a long time national parties dominated in the states and were not really into sing local language pride for gathering votes. But with the rise of regional parties, the linguistic pride became an important element in galvanizing votes. The change of names of place became part of this new regional identities. For example, Bangalore/Bengaluru: Just an alternate spelling to reflect the correct local pronunciation. It was always Bengaluru in the Kannada language, similarly Hubballi (Hubli), Chennai (Madras) etc.

In the wake of present government's policy of changing names of places, the Andaman & Nicobar Islands are also not left behind. Proposals have come from some sections of society and academicians to change the names of Andamans & Nicobar Islands as 'Swaraj' and 'Shaheed' respectively. The history of changing the names of these islands goes back to the period of World War II when Netaji Subash Chandra Bose visited these islands as an ally of the Axis powers. In this background, my paper tries to examine the visit of Netaji to these islands and his understanding about the people, Japanese atrocities and above all the perception of locals towards the visit of Netaji. The paper also focuses on as how far the locals were benefited from the visit of Subash Bose.

Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the venerated, brave and dynamic freedom fighter of India, joined Indian National Congress fascinated by Gandhi and due to his passion for the liberation of the country. Over a period of time he found it was not possible to achieve his goal of liberating the country in his own way by being in the Congress due to ideological and radical difference with main leaders.

Subsequently he chose the other path by seeking help from Germany, Italy and Russia, in which he was not quite successful. Finally Subash joined hands with Japan which helped him in reshaping the Indian National Army and made successful efforts to enter the North East and Andamans with Japanese collaboration. During the mid of the World War II, Subhas Chandra Bose took a highly risky decision of leaving for Japan from Germany in the Japanese submarine I-29. The submarine passed to South of India on its way to Southeast Asia outside the British Patrolling radius. On 6th May 1943, the I-29 was safely docked in the harbour at Sabang². Subsequently, Bose took over INA (Indian National Army) and reshaped the force to prepare them to occupy the British India. In order to give the status of the Head of Indian Province, Tojo, the Japanese General decided to place the territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands being part of Indian sub-continent under Bose³. This happened after Bose refused to take part in Southeast Asian conference in November 1943 Tokyo⁴.

During World War II, perhaps Andaman and Nicobar Islands were the only part of British India which were occupied and controlled by the Japanese forces for about three years. Japanese forces entered these islands in March 1942 and carried out their atrocities over the people till October 1945. In the morning of 23 March 1942, the Japanese troops under Colonel Bucho, landed in Port Blair and Bucho was appointed as civil governor of the islands. The British Chief Commissioner and other Europeans were made prisoners and convicts in Cellular jail were released⁵. On the third day of the arrival, the Japanese addressed a general meeting in which Col Bucho and Dr Diwan Singh⁵ spoke. In his speech, Dr Diwan Singh retained the promise to help the Indians in their fight against the British for freedom and at the same time warned the gathering that freedom with others' help was meaningless and, therefore, they should be ready to sacrifice all for the freedom of their country⁶. This speech perhaps made the Japanese suspect Dr Diwan Singh and obviously they could not have appreciated it. From the beginning, the Japanese tried to pose as champions of the freedom of Indians. They even established a branch of Indian

Independence League in the Andamans⁷. For a short period the Japanese were quite friendly to the people. But after some time they began to show their true colours and misbehaving with local people. In the name of spying, the Japanese started torturing people. When Dr Diwan Singh Strongly protested the Japanese atrocities, he was also arrested and tortured in the Cellular Jail to make him confess that he was being a British Spy⁸.

On October 29, 1943, the Provisional Indian Government was installed at Singapore under the leadership of Netaji. Welcoming the gesture shown by General Tojo of placing Andaman and Nicobar Islands under Netaji, he declared that the transfer of these islands to his government was of a symbolic significance as the islands were used for imprisoning a large number of freedom fighters. The proposal of Netaji to send a battalion of the Indian National Army to these islands as a symbolic gesture was not approved by the Japanese government⁹. History shall record that a trick more sinister than this was never played by any nation. Events that followed in the Andamans after this declaration by the Japanese Government showed, in the course of time, that their declaration was a mere mockery. Followed by the refusal of Netaji's proposal to send the battalion, he decided to visit the Andamans and landed in Port Blair in a Japanese Air Force Aircraft on 29 December, 1943. He was received at the airport by Ishikawa, the Admiral in charge of the Islands. The Japanese administration in the Andamans took various precautions to obliterate the abnormality prevailing in the Islands to keep Netaji in the 'dark' about the Japanese torture of Indians. On Bose's arrival at the aerodrome, a select band of officials were made to stand in two rows at the aerodrome. This was the party which had ostensibly gone to welcome Bose. They were all picked up overnight as the news of Bose's arrival was kept off from the public on account of the war exigencies. He met them without speaking to any one of them as though he was inspecting a guard of honour. He, with his staff, after landing, was carried to the erstwhile Chief Commissioner's residence at Ross Island. The road from the aerodrome to Aberdeen Jetty, from which a crossing by boat is made to reach Ross Island, was ordered to be lined up by men, women and children. Of this

order, Bose was unaware. If he thought that this entire crowd had come to pay him homage, no one dared dispel the wrong impression. The Japanese were mortally afraid of the leakage of the news of the torture that they were perpetrating there¹⁰. By the time Japanese arrived at the Islands, the Ross Island was abandoned by the British authorities. But Netaji was taken there to isolate him on the unpopulated surface of the islands in the garb of security measures. There was no one on this island to give him news about the conditions prevailing in the Andamans. Their objective to keep Bose marooned, so to say, for so long as he was here, was achieved. Bose, being a casual visitor who saw the islands for the first time and who was quite unaware of the facts of torture and maltreatment meted out to Indians on grounds of espionage, took everything here as normal and never suspected that the Japanese officials would deliberately hoodwink him. He was very cautiously taken out of Ross Island on two occasions, once, on a prearranged tour of outlying villages after visiting the Jail and the second time, ceremoniously to a crowded meeting at the only Maidan of Port Blair. In fact the total visit of Netaji was fabricated by the Japanese without the knowledge of the former.

He was taken to a certain village with a number of army and naval officers surrounding him. When the news reached villages that Bose was coming to them, the general feeling was that they would get a chance to speak to him face to face and tell him or his staff about some of their sufferings; but to the disappointment of all, surrounded as he was, that chance never came. At places he was made to meet some villagers in a crowd. Things were so arranged that he heard no one from the crowd but spoke himself to the crowd. The moment the Japanese thought that someone would stand up to talk to him; the meeting abruptly came to a close without anyone realizing what the next move was. All vehicles of transport being under Japanese control, no Indian could accompany him. In other words, he spoke to public, but actually he spoke to no one in particular nor did he hear anyone¹¹. A public meeting was arranged on the only maidan of Port Blair on 30th December 1943, in which a large number of people were ordered to attend. Bose came from Ross and reached the maidan in a

ceremonial procession made up of Japanese officers in a number of cars. As usual no Indians from the Andamans were included in this procession. On arrival, he went up the rostrum and unfurled the Indian National flag, the first one to be hoisted on an Indian territory and renamed the islands as *Shahid* (Martyr) and *Swaraj* (Independence). The Chairman of the Andaman branch of the Indian Independence League, Mr Rama Krishna, gave a welcome address and presented a purse for the INA, after which Bose addressed the gathering. Without meeting any of the residents, he was again very ceremoniously driven back to Ross¹².

As a part of tailor made itinerary, Netaji visited Cellular Jail. But he was shown only a score of persons who were actual prisoners and were at various jobs such as cleaning the garden, planting vegetables, sweeping the compound and cooking for the prisoners and such other routine jail work. But actual people who were imprisoned in the six wings of the jail on the grounds of espionage, were not shown to Netaji. He was taken to jail and shown only selected places, so that when news reached him by some chance from some source, he might be perplexed and even say that he had seen nothing wrong there in the jail. But Mushtaq Ali, who was one of the five young men arranged by the Japanese as a translator, claimed that he found some time to talk to Netaji. He informed Netaji about the happenings in the Andamans, particularly about the condition of Dr Diwan Singh and others in the Cellular Jail. He requested Netaji to visit the sixth wing of the Jail. But according to Subha Singh, who was member of the Provisional Government, visited the islands shortly after the visit of Netaji; he said Netaji was not aware of the tortures in the jail, there by declining the claim by Mushtaq Ali.¹³ According to Iqbal Singh, Netaji knew about the conditions in the jail because, later on at the time of sending a five member commission under the leadership of Lt Col Loganathan, Netaji had instructed the Colonel to look into the alleged case of espionage as a result of which Dr Diwan Singh and others were imprisoned and to submit a report to him¹⁴. Whatever the arguments were, Netaji visited these islands after Tojo's statement of handing over them to him, keeping in view the conditions under which he was taken to various places in and around Port Blair; Netaji could

have sensed something foul. For his stature, he would have definitely got a doubt about the situation in the Andamans. If that is so, why didn't he speak or at least raise this issue elsewhere? Why didn't he ask or mention in his public speech about Dr Diwan Singh, the popular leader of the Islands? Had he compromised over the conditions in the Andamans over the larger interest of the nation?

After visiting the Jail, Netaji said: "—For Indians the return of the Andamans represents the first territory to be liberated from British yoke...The liberation of the Andamans has symbolic significance because the Andamans was always used by British as a prison for political prisoners. Most of the political prisoners sentenced to penal servitude for conspiracies to overthrow the British Government, and there have been hundreds of them, were locked up in this Island...Like the Bastille in Paris which was liberated first in the French Revolution setting free political prisoners, the Andamans where our patriots suffered, is the first to be liberated in the India's fight for Independence."¹⁵ In his speech, Netaji was speaking about liberation of the Andamans from British rule, but never imagined the conditions of the islands under the Japanese yoke as he believed in the Japanese administration and had to prove a point of loyalty to them. During his stay in the Andamans, Netaji talked with Admiral Ishikawa regarding the appointment of a Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands on behalf of the Provisional Government. The Admiral gave his consent to this proposal, but told Netaji that for cogent strategic reasons there would be no complete handover of administration to his government during the war. Only some departments of the civil administration would be transferred to him.¹⁶ Bose's visit to the Islands gave people certain amount of consolation. They considered that there was someone who would extend his protective hand in their hour of adversity. Soon after his departure came the Chief Commissioner and his staff from Singapore. People were now doubly assured by the progress of events and felt certain that the administration having come into the hands of Indians, the conditions would improve and the reign of cruelty and terror would cease. Although Col. Loganathan, the Chief

Commissioner, appointed by the Provisional Government of India established at Singapore, arrived in Port Blair in the beginning of 1944, up to the middle of the year there were no changes in the administration. The Chief Commissioner made several attempts to elicit information about his position and that of his staff, but no clarification was ever made. However, the Japanese never gave over the charge of the islands to Col. Loganathan and his coming here was a mere farce, as there was no record of any Commission of inquiry.¹⁷ It was very clear that the Japanese had no intention of handing over the effective power to the provisional government. It is asserted that these Islands were never handed over either to Bose or on his behalf to his appointed Chief Commissioner Col. Loganathan, who actually went there later with his staff to take over the charge of the Islands. From the point of Bose launching an attack on British India, these islands were of no consequence. So the only

importance that this seat of his government had for him was a symbolic one and probably he knew it.

Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi on Sunday December 30, 2018 renamed three islands during his visit to the Andamans and Nicobar Islands. Ross Island, Neil Island and Havelock Island will now be called Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Island, Shaheed Dweep Island and Swaraj Dweep Island respectively, announced Modi."From today, the three islands in Andaman and Nicobar- Ross Island will be known with the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Island, Neil Island as Shaheed Dweep and Havelock Island as Swaraj Dweep," he said. Earlier in the day, the prime minister hoisted a 150-foot national flag at Port Blair to mark the 75th anniversary of freedom fighter Subhash Chandra Bose's announcement regarding the formation of Azad Hind government in 1943.¹⁸

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THE SPLIT OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN 1969 AND IT'S IMPACT ON MYSORE STATE

Prathima M Bidarimath

Impact of Division of Congress on Mysore State

On the threshold of Congress division, on 05.11.1969 CM of Karnataka Sri. Veerendra Patil went to Delhi to compromise between Indira & Nijalingappa and got assurance from

her to attend a get-together meeting of both the parties on 07.11.1969¹⁰. However it was not materialized due to adherence and stickup to their own thoughts, principles and ideology which differed from each other. On 12th of November S Nijalingappa expelled Smt Indira

Gandhi from the congress party.16.11.1969 Indian National Congress was divided into Congress (R) and Congress (O). Congress (R) called as ruling headed by Smt Indira Gandhi and Congress (O) means Organasation headed by S. Nijalingappa. On 27.11.1969 C. Subramanyam the President of Indira Congress suspended Mysore Congress and made Eleven members committee under Devaraj Urs leaderships which was formed in the following way: Devaraj Urs, Dayanand Sagar, A. R. Badarinaraya, P. Venkataraman, K. N. Veerappagoud, K. G. Timmegoud, M. N. Krishnappa, Kollur Mallappa, R. M. Patil, S. R. Patil, K. S. Nagaratnamma¹¹

The above said Member's committee was led by Devaraj Urs, but the then Chief Minister Veerendra Patil rejected its formation and stated his cabinet was safe and secure. When Praja Samajwadi Party merged into Indira Congress, Chief Minister Veerendra Patil had put his resignation on 18.03.1971 after losing his confidence in the Assembly. Devaraj Urs group decided not to form the government and they became opposition party¹². For the first time the Governor imposed president rule on March 19, 1971, lasted till March 20, 1972. Many leaders like Mohammed Ali, K.Puttaswamy, V.L.Patil, K. Prabhakar, N.Rachaiah, adopted Smt. Indira Congress's principles and they joined Congress (R) party.

Both S Nijalingappa and his successor- his own protégé -Veerendra Patil realized very early in their office that, their continuance in power was possible only by a carefully structured policy of accommodating some elements of the vokkaliga and lingayat community in political offices. Thus the dominant Communities-politics linkage in Karnataka continued till 1969 by which time the congress Party at the national level underwent transformation. The 1969 Split in congress and the rise to preeminence of Mrs. Indira Gandhi resulted in a situation where the ruling elite in Kamataka which was in the opposite group of the congress, referred to as the Syndicate, found it difficult to continue in the office. Devaraj Urs, who was till then a light - weight in Karnataka politics ,in view of his belonging to the minority arasu (Kshatriya) community, supported Mrs. Gandhi and her Congress (R) Strong campaigning by Devaraaj Urs and Indira Gandhi's charisma, the Congress

emerged victorious at the 1972 Assembly election ,for the first time, in the history of Karnataka a ministry headed by a person belonging to a minority community ended a dominance of the Vokkaliga and Lingayata communities after 12 years as per the will and wish and the revenge taken against Nijalingappa lingayat community leader and other vokkaliga community eminent. Urs espoused the causes of poor and ushered in a "silent social revolution" in Karnataka. He was the voice of the poor and stood for the cause of the downtrodden in society. Urs was elected continuously from Hunsur as an MLA for 28 years, from 1952 to 1980 and is one of the longest serving Chief Ministers of Karnataka. (Nine years)

Conclusion

On principle and ethics two groups said to be one of seniors and other of youngsters - have had difference. After S. Nijalingappa took over Presidentship of INC - the smoke division busted. One and the most probable aim of Smt. Indira Gandhi was to be free from the clutches of the Senior Congressmen and supported youth leaders likewise - immediate and cause of action was emerged on sudden death of president Jakir Hussain the election movements plunged into the hands of old lions of congress and young turks headed by Indira Gandhi - both adhering to their own ego and principles.

However the legendary division of the Congress - which brought freedom to Nation was inevitably divided - despite of telling that was correct. The Congress was killed brutally by these two groups - one cannot forget when we read History of Congress in India, and its impact on Political Life of Karnataka. S. Nijalingappa continued as President of divided Congress (O) till 1974. He resigned and kept away from political scene and a new party named "Janata Paksha" emerged as new National Party, Congress (O) merged in Janata Paksha and fought in 1978 Lok Sabha Elections.In Karnataka ,Under the leadership of Prime minister Indira Gandhi, Devaraj Urs came to power under the slogan of bringing about radical forms in the political and social structures of the Karnataka society. Due to split in Indian national congress, the new political era giving birth to the various political parties and regional parties in India

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DEVIKUNTE FORT OF CHIKKABALLAPURA DISTRICT: A HISTORICAL STUDY

Dr. M.N. Raghu

Introduction

When Muslim rule became established in this region there was a renewed interest in the military technology and new principles adopted by the builders in this fort. With the development of the firearms towards the end of the 15th century and the general use of artillery in the following centuries, significant progress took place, though in this place engineers stuck to the old methods until the end of 18th century.

Chikkaballapura is a district headquarter in the Karnataka state. Historical evidences traced from the Neolithic period in this district. There are 11 kingdoms ruled in this area. Most prominent rulers are local chieftains. These local Chieftains contributed a lot towards development of socio economic, political, cultural, Science and technology. They constructed many forts and fortifications where they ruled. There are 25 small and big forts and fortifications in the Chikkaballapura district. Some of the forts are in good condition and most of the forts are ruined.

The present study is focussed on Devikunte fort of Bagepalli taluk. A village called Devikunte situated in Marganakunte hobali of Bagepalli taluk, Chikkaballapura District. It is surrounded by hills and not so easy to enter in to the village and so it is safest place. A lake very near to the village caters water to the people called Devikunte/Devikere or Akkamma kere.

This fort built by local Governors according to the old system of fortification in order to control strategic points and road crossings. In the inscriptions of this fort find that Durga has also the meaning of territory depending on a fort and the title given to the governors of provinces was Durga Dannaik or head of the fort.

This place was famous not only in Karnataka and also in Andhra Pradesh. Because of influence of Andhra Pradesh, this place also called Udayagiridurgam. The Paleyagars used bricks to construct the fort and therefore it was called Ittikal Durga. The word Durga establishes the influence of Marathas at this place.

This fort was built on hill top. It is spread over an area of 25 acres. The roughly oval cast oriented fortification veneered with dressed masonry has as many as 11 circular bastions at regular intervals. A wide battlement is provided towards the inner side of the fortification. The fort has one entrance decorated with cut plaster work at the north side of the fort. This entrance is a quite small, comfortable enough for the horses of yore. The bastions are provided with gun points built with lime and bricks.

Utilizing local materials for the construction of this fort is the special feature here. It seems much money is not spent for their construction. In nutshell, forts and marsams continue local cultural tradition. Narasimhanayaka was the founder of this

paleya Samsthana. The palayagar Narasimha Nayaka and the queen Yashodhadevi have two male children, Prathama Nayaka and Pratha Vinayaka.

Important Monuments of the Fort

There are many historically important spots at the fort. They are as follows:

Ballston's, Watch Towers, residence of horses and elephants, Kannirayappa temple, Sule Gundu, Main Entrance of the fort Gate, Enquiry centre, Madigara Bhavi, Giligala goodu, Idol of Anjaneyaswamy, Eleven Watch Towers, Ranabande Entrance Gate, Hero Stone, Granary, Room to collect butter, Explosive room, Justice bench, Siva Parvathi Temple, Akkamma boat, Akkamma temple and inscriptions.

War Training to Royal Family Children

Rahul Nayaka was appointed as a teacher to give War training to their children. The two sons of palayagara, Prathapa Nayaka and Pruthvi Nayaka were good at horse raiding, sword fighting and in using rifles. Now, they are well matured to face any war along with his father.

Trade

The business of Gold and other precious stones were done through Devikunte. The palayagars loot the gold and other precious stones from the business people. The accumulated wealth was used to construct the fort, temples, distribution of salaries to the soldiers and remaining wealth was kept inside the fort. The palayagars gives shelter to other people viz. Akkasaliga, Badiga, Guru, fort builders and jeweler designers.

Important Festival of Devikunte

The people of Devikunte worship goddess Devi. The goddess Devi means Akkamma resides at the hill top near to the lake. The people of this place celebrate Jatra in the name of Devi and they carry golden torch during the jatra.

Agriculture and Food Grains

The people of Devikunte have been doing agriculture in the eastern part of it. Wells were constructed to do agriculture for the people. Paddy was the main crop and was stored in the top surface of the fort.

Manufacture of War Weapons

Self made pistols were used by the people to protect themselves and to loot the wealth of business people. They were used charcoal to prepare explosives. The evidence for this can be seen in the fort. The self made pistols were also used to hunt the wild animals.

Animal Husbandry

In this fort, a group of people were appointed to look after cows and buffalos, so that will get milk, curd, butter and cow dug. They used butter in preparing medicine for horses and elephants. The evidence for this can be seen in this fort.

Watch Towers

The Palayagars established information centers in all directions viz. north, south, east and west to look after the business people, thieves and enemies who tries to enter the fort. These information centers housed secretly, so that nobody can access this place.

Rain Goddess Akkamma

The people of Devikunte worship goddess Akkamma for good rains every year. This was the custom followed by the people of this place. Therefore they constructed a temple and placed an idol of the goddess Akkamma Devi to worship. They used to scarifies the animals for the sake of wellbeingness of the people of Devikunte. During jathra, many people's from other villages participate in sports and cultural events. All religious people reside at Devarakota and Paleyapattu and this shows that all people are equally treated. The people of Devikunte lived harmoniously. There was a separate place for Muslims to do prayers. And this gives evidence of importance given to other religion of Devikunte.

Secrete Route: Cave

There is a small tunnel which connects the fort and Marganakunte. In emergency time, the people who reside inside the fort, soldiers and the members of royal family used this route to escape safely. Also, this tunnel was used to preserve the food grains, food items and explosives. There are evidences to establish the existence of tunnel between Margana kunte and this fort. Still people believe that a lot of valuables were present in these tunnels and many people searched for this. Since a women

called Mallamma was used to live in this cave like tunnel, it was called Mukkandi Mallamma cave.

Inscriptions of the Fort

There are 4 inscriptions in the hill fort. Among these inscriptions one of the inscription found near Goddess Akkamma temple. This inscription reveals that the construction of steps towards the Akkamma temple on Ittigedurga fort. Kuyaralagutta inscription gives information about boundaries of the fort. One inscription found at Gajalapalli of Bagepalli taluk. This inscription deals with that a Land grant given by the administrator of Ittigedurga Ummari

Saheb to Timma Reddy in the year 1696. Another inscription found at north gate of the fort on Ittigedurga.

Conclusion

This fort is not in a good condition. The thieves in and around the villages digging for gold and other valuable things and some of the important monuments demolished. This can be seen in many places of the fort. There is a need to protect this fort and this fort has to be protected so that the important monument is preserved. Therefore it is the responsibility of all of us to protect and preserve them for future generations.

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THE CROWD AND LEFT POLITICS IN MALABAR: THE CASE OF THE ANTI-REPRESSION DAY AGITATIONS, 1940.

RAHUL M RAMESH

The presence of crowd was one among the key factors which decided the success of all major agitations in Malabar from the days of the rebellion of 1921. For the case of Malabar, the role of crowd, though small but politically motivated was decisive also in the Simon Boycott Agitation in February 1928¹ When the police had adopted repressive measures against the *satyagrahis* in the Civil Disobedience Movement, the common people made even the act of watching lathi charge as a way of participation in the struggle. The Sub district Magistrate of Malabar was said to have attacked by a crowd during the Civil Disobedience Movement² The Crowd became more violent and fearless at the new political juncture starting from 1939. This was noticeable in the Anti-Repression Day agitations of September 15,

1940 and in the peasant movements in the subsequent years.

Vinita Damodaran's study on nationalism and the congress party in Bihar, from 1935 to 1946 has enumerated a number of incidents of violence by mobs armed with local weapons.³ In Bihar, during the 1940s police firing at the crowd became a very common thing.⁴ It was the publication of the work. *The crowd in the French Revolution*, by George Rude initiated debates among historians on the role of the crowd in the revolutionary politics.⁵ The present paper is an attempt to find out the presence of an uncontrollable crowd in the Anti-Repression Day agitations by using the characteristic features of the crowd as prescribed by George Rude. *The Oxford Advanced Learners*

Dictionary defines a crowd as “a large number of people gathered together in a public place, for example in the streets or at a sports game.”⁶ According to the same dictionary a mob is “a large crowd of people, especially one that may become violent or cause trouble.”⁷

The Kerala Pradesh congress Committee (K.P.C.C) decided to observe an Anti-Repression Day on September 15, 1940. An order issued by the District Magistrate immediately banning meetings, processions, or assemblies throughout the district of Malabar.⁸ But the order of prohibition had been violated in five places. A Police inspector was killed at Morazha. A Sub inspector and five constables got injured at Mattannur. The crowd hurled stones on the joint magistrate and the police.⁹ To George Rude, the activities of the crowd should be seen as a result of spontaneous outburst and the revolutionary crowd was no by means drawn from identical social group. Even though, he added that, there is certain uniformity of pattern in the social composition of the participants of the movement.¹⁰ Rude further argued that the political leaders directing the demonstrators were generally drawn from commercial bourgeoisie or the liberal aristocracy.¹¹ The leaders of the Anti-Repression Day agitations, K.P.R.Gopalan and Vishnu Bharateeyan belonged to high castes.¹² The incidents during the Anti-Repression Day were not pre-planned. These were sudden and spontaneous. The Sub Divisional Magistrate P.Ramakrishnan issued an order by prohibiting demonstrations and meetings with five or more participants under the section 144. The public meeting held at Jawaharghat, Thalassery, became violent. The *Mathrubhumi* when reporting the incidents of Thalassery noticed that the two died in the police firing is not yet identified. The same report speculated that, they were not congress workers but mere visitors in the meeting. But later they had been identified as Abu, a teacher in the local mappila school and Chathukutty, a *beedi* worker.¹³

The difficulties of identifying the dead could be viewed as a pointer to the complex nature of the social composition of the crowd. The police had to encounter with a confusion to decide the convicts in law and order problem created by a crowd. This confusion was manifested in the decision the court to set free

many convicts of the Kayyur case. The court decided so on the conclusion that they were not participated in the *jatha* responsible for the death of the policeman rather the acquitted convicts were not related with the incident. Among the acquitted in the Kayyur Case including Koran Master, Vannan Kannan, and Cherootta Ambu Nair.¹⁴ During the Anti-Repression Day agitations Kuttikrishna Menon, Valapattanam Sub Inspector was killed by a crowd gathered at Morazha. The rally of Chirakkal taluk as part of the Day decided to be held at Keecheri, near Kallisseri. But the place changed to Morazha because Kuttikrishna Menon issued a prohibition order in Keecheri under the section 144. So the people collected at Keecheri went to Morazha by forming into *jathas*. The last *jatha* reached Morazha led by Arakkal Kunjiraman.¹⁵

Kuttikrishna Menon asked the people to leave Morazha. But Vishnu Bharateeyan, who presided over the meeting of Morazha refused to take orders from Menon and was not willing to disperse the meeting. Finally, the police resorted to the lathi charge and the people confronted it. The police retaliated and started to fire.¹⁶ The people resisted the police by all means and Kuttikrishna Menon was killed by the crowd. Vishnu Bharateeyan made a desperate attempt to control the crowd, but he failed.¹⁷ However, K.P.R.Gopalan stood firm with the crowd.¹⁸ Kuttikrishna Menon was notorious for his lathi charges against the workers, who went on strikes in the Aron mills. The crowd including the people subjected for the brutal assault by him during the Aron mill strikes.¹⁹ So the makers of the Morazha incident not represented a single social group but shared a common feeling, enmity towards Kuttikrishna Menon, an agent of the colonial state. The experience of Vishnu Bharateeyan demonstrates that a crowd is not controllable even by its leader.

George Rude observed that the revolutionary crowds absorbed and adopted the ideas and slogans of political groups. The demonstrations, to Rude, were transformed in to a call of action of poor against the rich. The new ideas of liberty of man were also gaining ground among the people. Popular opinion formed the main body of the revolutionary crowds. Another feature of the crowd was the

adoption of slogans.²⁰ The Anti-repression Day was observed at the direction of the left dominated K.P.C.C, When K.Damodaran, one of the founders of the communist party in Kerala serving as its secretary.²¹ So the influence of the socialist ideas on the crowd was clear. The crowd assembled at Morazha shouted the slogan *Long Live Revolution*.²²

Rude identified looting played a far more substantial part in shaping the motives of revolutionary crowds. Food shops and markets were more obvious centres of revolution. Rude, concluded that the constant motive of the revolutionary crowds during the period of French Revolution was the concern for the provision of cheap and plentiful food. He noticed the presence of women in the crowd.²³ One of the demands of the peasants and workers took part in the Anti-Repression Day agitations had to open cheap grain shops. They also asked the government to for allowances to neutralize their cost of living.²⁴ The agrarian struggles in Karivellur and Kavumabayi had been initially organized for the procurement of paddy. Many ordinary women participated in these struggles.²⁵

The state was always obscure on the nature, composition, and activities of the crowd. The police had registered cases against about 210 people for the clashes at Koothuparambu, Mattannur, Morazha and Thalassery. The list of accused including the people of different age groups like an old man who regarded by the communist leaders with respect as Moola Pokkettan and boys like V.Ananthan.²⁶ Vishnu Bharateeyan, the prime accused in the Morazha

case not identified by some witnesses against him.²⁷ There were enough lines in the judgement clarifying that the murder of Kuttikrishna Menon was not committed, consciously.²⁸ As the main suspect in these cases was a crowd in an ambiguous nature, the police got an opportunity to fabricate cases against many. E.Narayanan Nayanar instead of E.K.Nayanar, his younger brother had included in the list of accused in the Morazha case.²⁹ It was alleged that the police had dragged the name of E.Narayanan Nayanar into the case to trap him at the instance of Samuel Aron, the owner of the Aron Mills, Pappinisseri. Samuel Aron was a leader of the congress right wing and E.Narayanan Nayanar had Contested in the District Board elections of 1939 against the wish of Aron.³⁰ However, E.Narayanan Nayanar had to undergo several years of rigorous imprisonment in this case and he remained in prison for 6 years until 1946.³¹

The collective mentality of the crowd corresponds closely to the of individuals forming it.³² The outbreak of the Second World War led to a huge rise in food prices. People started to starve. The colonial state already suffered badly from the war, failed to reduce the pressure of inflation. The people felt that the British is about to leave the country. The same feeling along with hunger decided the mentalities of the crowd in the political movements in Malabar. The crowd started to revolt against the land lords, the police and the capitalists. In short, the crowd appeared in the peasant and other struggles in Malabar consists of the subaltern people resorted rioting to fill their stomachs.

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12. E.K.Nayanar, *Olivukala Smritikal*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p.13. K.P.R.Gopalan (Kunnath Puthiya Puarayil Ramapurathu Gopalan), a communist leader from Malabar, who had plunged into the national movement by resigning his job in a register office. He was the son of Rayarappan Nayanar the *adhikari*(village chief) of the Kalliasseri village. He organized the workers of the Aron Mills at Pappinisseri. K.P.R got capital punishment in the Morazha case, which later commuted due to the involvement national leaders including even Gandhi. He remained in underground for about 18 months after the Morazha incident and finally captured by the police from his brother-in-law's house at Munderi in Kannur. For details see E.K.Nayanar, *Communistukarante Kudumba bandhangal*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1988, Sarada Teacher *,Ormakalil Priya Sakhavu*, Kottayam,2016. Sarada Teacher was the wife of E.K.Nayanar and the niece of K.P.R,Gopalan. Vishnu Bharateeyan(V.M.Vishnu Nambissan) was one of the prominent leaders of peasant movement in Malabar. Though born in a caste of temple functionaries (*ambalavasi*), he had abandoned his caste name and adopted the surname *Bharateeyan*, which means Indian.
13. *Mathrubhumi*,16 September,1940.
14. K.K.N.Kurup,*The Kayyur Riot*Kozhikode,1978,pp.13-14.Kayyur was a small village located in the Kasargod Taluk of South Canara District. Members of the *karshakasanghams* (a pro-communist organization of the peasants) organized a march on 12 March,1941 by raising slogans against the repressive policies of the Government and the war. About 60 peasants had participated in the march. The police issued arrest warrants against those who participated in the march and unleashed violence on peasants. In response to the police atrocities the peasants conducted a protest march on 28 March 1941, during which a policeman was killed. Four accused in this case, Madathil Appu, Chirukandan, Kunhambu Nair and Abu Baker were hanged on 29 March 1943. See V.V.Kunhambu, *Kayyur Samara Charitam*, Calicut, 2013.V.V.Kunhambu himself was the second accused in the Kayyur case.
15. E.K.Nayanar,*Olivukala smritikal*pp.13-14.
16. V.M.Vishnu Bharateeyan,*Adimakalengane Udamakalay*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1980, p.184.
17. K.V.N.Krishanan Nambiar,*Vishnu Bharateeyan*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2005, pp.77-80.
18. E.K.Nayanar,*Olivukala Smritiakl*,p.13.
19. V.M.Vishnu Bharateeyan,*op.cit*,p.187.
20. George Rude,*op.cit*,pp.183-218.
21. M.Rasheed,K.Damodaran,Kottayam,1982,p.55.
22. K.K.N.Kurup, *Modern Kerala*,p.122.
23. George Rude,*op.cit*,
24. K.K.N.Kurup,*Modern Kerala*,p.121.
25. K.K.N.Kurup, *Agrarian Struggles in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1989, pp.26-28.
26. N.E.Balaram, *Keralathile Communist Prasthanam:Aadya Nalukal*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2016 (1992), p.165.
27. K.V.N.Krishnan Nambiar,*op.cit*,pp.95-101.
28. Vishnu Bharateeyan, *op.cit*,p.252
29. T.V.K,*Sakhavu:Biography of P.Krishna Pillai*,5th edn.,Thiruvananthapuram, 2017,p.93.
30. E.K.Nayanar (Erambala Krishnan Nayanar) was a communist leader and the former chief minister of Kerala. He was an accused in the Kayyur case and a cousin of K.P.R.Gopalan. Samuel Aron was a supporter of the congress and imprisoned during the Civil Disobedience Movement. For more details about Samuel Aron see his autobiography C.Samuel Aron, *Jeevitha Smaranaka*,Cannanore,1973.
31. E.K.Nayanar,*Olivukala Smritikal*,p.15.
32. George Rude,*op.cit*,p.219.

LAJPAT RAI - FIGHTER AND PHILOSOPHER

N. Rajagopala Reddy & K. Mallikarjuna Reddy

Introduction

Lajpat Rai was philosopher, fighter and he was a great scholar. He gave his own philosophy to this country. He was born in 1865 and died in 1928 after receiving serious injuries in movement against simoom commission. His life was full of sacrifices.

Lajpat Rai did not accept the view that religion could be the basis of a Nation. The history of the several European countries showed that they had all to face such situations as India faced sometime or the other in the process of their national evolution. What helped them to become nations was a decisive refusal on their part to give in before the claims of religion. As a fundamental principle of their

policy they recognized the supremacy of state over religion, and gradually removed all religious distinctions so far as they affected the constitution of the state. Lajpat Rai deprecated the acceptance of the principle of communal representation which was a Concession to religion and the negation of nationalism. He emphatically stated that:

"No one can be a true Nationalist who is not an Indian from first to last. He may be an Indian Hindu or an Indian Mussalman, but if he is prepared to sacrifice the freedom of India for the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab cannot be an Indian nationalist."¹

Discussing the question of communal representation with separate electorates in all

the legislatures, local bodies, universities and other official or semi-official bodies, Lajpat Rai asserted that once India accepted communal representation with separate electorates there was no chance of its being ever abolished without a civil war. A civil war would end the supremacy of one of the communities over the others. He warned that Muslim demand for communal representation with separate electorates strengthened the position of 'anti-Swarajists' both among the Hindus and the Muslims. It was an effective report to the contention that India was ripe for 'Swaraj'.² It provided for a complete division of India, as it were, into two sections : a Muslim India and a non-muslim India.

The remedy was that the Muslims, wherever they were in a compact majority, should form their government without forcing a division of the country on the principle of separate electorate. His suggestion was that Punjab should be partitioned into two provinces, the Western Punjab with a large Muslims majority to be a Muslim-governed Province; and the Eastern Punjab with a large Hindu Sikh majority, to be a non-Muslim governed Province.

The Muslims would have four Muslim states : (1) The Pathan Province or the North-East Frontier, (2) Western Punjab, (3) Sindh, and (4) East Bengal. If there were compact Muslim communities in any other parts of India, sufficiently large to form a province they could be similarly constituted. But he left no doubt, whatever, that it was not a united India. It meant a clear partition of India into a Muslim-India and a non-Muslim India.³

In order to contain the hold of religion over politics, Lajpat Rai opposed the system of separate electorate as it implied the supremacy of the religion over the state.⁴ He was opposed not only to the Muslim demand for communal representation but also to the caste Hindu demand for separate representation.⁵ Nevertheless, he was willing to concede adequate representation to the minorities in the elected bodies through proportional representation.⁶ So Lajpat Rai was strong supporter of reconciliation between communities constituting a nation. He differed with other Indian leaders in his approach to the communal problem. He disapproved of

Gandhi's doctrine of "mutual surrender." He urged a co-relation of interests sustaining a community of all classes and sections in the nation, in the development of a national ethics, a national will, the self-evolving of a higher loyalty.⁷

Lajpat Rai's concept of nationhood, however, rested on fundamental equality of all constituting a nation. It implied that no member of a nation be considered as inferior on the ground of religion or race.⁸ His concept of nationhood was democratic. Any idea of practice of untouchability was repugnant to the solidarity of a nation. The eradication of untouchability in India was essential for the healthy growth of the Indian nation. He reminded his people that all programmes for the removal of untouchability or for ameliorating the conditions of untouchables were not acts of patronage towards the 'untouchables,' but were steps in self-education, a preparation for 'Swarajya', and the preliminaries of democracy.⁹

Nevertheless, Lajpat Rai was fully aware of the sectarian, religious, racial and linguistic differences amongst Indians which could make any observer sceptical about India's claim to be a nation. Hindu-Muslim differences generated so much tension among the Indians that it became impossible for them to speak with one voice about their political and economic rights. He tried to compose their differences and made valuable suggestions for national integration. In a series of articles which he wrote at different times, he made a penetrating analysis of the communal situation. Unity could not be achieved by the total annihilation of identity of any community. All communities should be brought together in a free and equal association removing all social and legal barriers imposing segregation.¹⁰

There is no denying fact that Lajpat Rai was keen to ensure the inner strength and efficiency of the Hindu community as a part of united and self-governing Indian Nation. But, it would be wrong to accuse him of communalism. He was always anxious to achieve a rapprochement with the Muslims and forge a united front.¹¹ He deprecated the introduction of religion into politics. In August 1926, he contended that "It was the greatest mistake of our times to reintroduce religious

dogmas and doctrines into politics.¹² He stressed the importance of subordinating all non-vital communal differences to the needs of nation-building. He envisaged in the future constitution of India religious liberty to all religious denominations subject only to such restrictions as were inevitable for the maintenance of general law and order. To this, he thought, must be added the absolute religious neutrality of the future state. In this respect, Lajpat Rai was, perhaps, the earliest exponent of the idea of secular state¹³

Lajpat Rai disparaged all separatist tendencies. The Hindu Mahasabha that he tried to build was not a political body. He threw his weight about in preventing Hindu Maha Saba from standing as a rival to the Congress and participating in political activity contesting elections. He advocated that in the interest of national solidarity all 'Sangathans' and Anjuthans and communities merged themselves into National Congress Movement. He proclaimed:

"We should have only one national organization, one flag, and one platform in order to be able to free our selves not only from foreign yoke, but also from disintegrating force at home."¹⁴

The object of the Hindu Maha Sabha, according to him, was to crystalize, articulate and defend the exclusive interests of the Hindus because the Congress being the common organization of all communities would not perform this task. The Hindu Maha Sabha did not aim at jeopardizing the just rights of other communities. Nor was it to divert the attention of the Hindus from their primary and foremost objective of liberating their country from the bonds of political servility. So long as it was associated with Hindu Maha Sabha, he saved it from falling into the hands of such self-seeking Hindu leaders who were hammering into the heads of the Hindus that their interest lay in co operating with the British. Similarly, he kept subdued the extremist political current in Hindu community that gave rise to a separatist approach spearheaded by leaders like Bhai Parmanand and Savarkar. In fact, Lajpat Rai's association with Hindu Maha Sabha followed from his awareness of the weaknesses of Hindu community which were a stumbling block to Hindu-Muslim unity, because these encouraged

a militant section amongst the Muslims of humble Hindus into submission through violence and aggressiveness, particularly in areas and regions where they were in a majority. It was this situation that Lajpat Rai faced in his own Punjab of his own Province. There was hardly any Hindu leader in the Punjab of his stature who could restore confidence among Hindus in the face of aggressive designs of the Muslim educated classes under the leadership of Fazl-i-Husain and his tribe. Lajpat Rai, therefore, upheld the cause of Hindus even at the risk of compromising his nationalist ideals and commitments. Explaining his position he said :

"The Muslims insist on communal representation all along the political line and also on organizing their separate communal entity so completely as to become the dominating communal entity in India Under the circumstances it becomes absolutely essential for the Hindus to organize themselves in order to avert these consequences. Communal organization has thus been thrust upon us. . . ."¹⁵

One of the reason for his withdrawal from the Swaraj party was that he did not like the walkout policy of the Swarajist leaders and believed :

"The sort of 'Hindu interests' I have named above cannot adequately be taken care of if the Hindus keep out. To that extent I am a communalist and I do not feel ashamed of that, for it in no way soils my nationalism."¹⁶

Gandhiji very well understood the difficult position of Lajpat Rai and appreciated his commitment to Hindu-Muslim unity and unadulterated nationalism. Lajpat Rai clarified his stand on 'Shuddhi movement' thus:

"The activities of the Christians and Islamic missionaries and propagandists have led the Hindu entering the field of active proselytism. Legally and morally they have every right to do so. It is difficult to blame them yet it is not my role and I do not propose to lend my active support to such work even if I may be supposed to some extent to have done so in the past."

In his anxiety to settle the difference between two communities which had become

almost irreconcilable after the collapse of non-co-operation movement, Lajpat Rai was even had to accept the idea of the partition of Punjab. This was not a concession to divisive or disruptive forces but only a recognition of genuine aspirations of the parties in the dispute. He was guided by the principle of federalism which sought to reconcile different loyalties in a national community composed of several sub-communities having a variety of language, culture and religion.

Notwithstanding the intense love for the motherland, Lajpat Rai never lost sight of the wider interests of humanity. His devotion to Hinduism sprang from his conviction that it taught equal respect for all religion despite the fact that he was deeply involved in religious as well as political interests of his community; he was opposed to the introduction of religion into politics. In this respect he was a secularist. His

commitment to democracy was thoroughgoing. He, however, turned to it for the solution of many a pressing problem of his community, his country, or humanity at large.

One discovers at times a certain confusing dichotomy between Lajpat Rai's profession and practice. This may partly be explained by the fact that he was deeply involved with the current social and political problems and that he was no arm-chair thinker. The demands of a particular situation considerably influenced his actions. Situation and context are very important for understanding his attitudes and actions in public life. An ambivalence that haunted him stemmed from his inability to reconcile the interest of his own community in his province with the wider national interest. At times he could succeed in it but the quick pace of the events in Punjab offset his precarious successes.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lajpat Rai : Writings and Speeches, Vol. 11, p. 205.
2. To quote Lajpat Rai "Communal representation by itself is a sufficiently bad principle, destructive of, and antagonistic to, the idea of common nationhood, but separate electorates make this vicious principle immeasurably worse. If our Muslim countrymen are really earnest in their belief in nationalism and in their demand for 'Swaraj' the least they can do is not to insist on separate electorate." (Ibid., p. 211).
3. Ibid., p. 213.
4. Ibid.
5. The Tribune, (Lahore), April 17, 1927.
6. Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol. 11, p. 212.
7. Lajpat Rai, Ideals of Non-Co-operation, (Madras, 1924), p. 22.
8. To quote Lajpat Rai : "Every human being who has his home in India, whatever his race or religion or occupation, is an Indian, a member of the Indian nation and entitled to be treated as an equal among equals." (Ibid., p. 29).
9. Lajpat Rai said : "To evolve a democracy, to constitute a free state, to develop a Government of 'Swaraj' is impossible unless all parts of the nation are in a position to make their contribution to the common purpose, the common will and common work." (Ibid., p. 31).
10. Lajpat Rai said : "The ignoring of differences is the most fatal mistake in politics, or industry or international life : every difference that is swept up feeds and enriches society; every difference which is ignored feeds on society and eventually corrupts it . . . The unifying of differences is the eternal process of life-the creative synthesis; the highest act of creation, the atonement." (Lajpat Rai, Ideals of Non-Co-operation, (Madras, 1924), pp. 16-17)
11. In his Presidential Address to the Bombay Hindu Conference held in December, 1925, Lajpat Rai said : "The conference would promote good feelings between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolve a united and self-governing Indian Nation." (Ibid., p. 4).
12. To quote Lajpat Rai : "Recognition of religious differences in the field of politics is hardly the correct way of reaching the ideal . . . I do not believe in a unity based on hatred . . . The introduction of religion in the non-cooperation programme was in my judgment a great blunder." (The People, Lahore, July 26, 1925).
13. Lajpat Rai wrote : "The future 'Swarajya' Government should not be at liberty to use public funds for any religious or denominational purpose whatsoever, in a land of many religions and many cults. This, to my view, is the best safeguard against religious or denominational partisanship. With this provision the risks of the majority rule are very much lessened." (The Tribune, Lahore, December 9, 1923. See Lajpat Rai's Presidential Address at the 'Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference' held at Bombay in December, 1923).
14. Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol. I, p. 148, Ibid., p. 155.
15. Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol. II, p. 246. See Lajpat Rai's Presidential Address at the 'Provincial Hindu Conference' held at Bombay on December 5, 1925.
16. The People, Lahore, October 3, 1926

SAHEED JAYEE RAJGURU - THE PIONEER OF THE PAIK REBILLION (1804 A.D) IN ODISHA

Dr. Rajendra Kumar Bisoyi

The Khurda Kingdom in Odisha gave a strong resistance to the alien English rule in 1804 A.D. just after the British Occupation of Odisha under Jayee Rajguru. Unlike Buxi Jagabandhu who remained silent and revolted only in 1817 A.D, this brave and gallant hero reacted immediately to the unjust work of the British rule. Not only did he organize the *Paiks*, he also gave them martial training by strengthening the '*Paik Akhadas*'. He became the first martyr of Odisha who revolted against the British and left behind a grand legacy of patriotism & selfless sacrifice for one's own country. However, he has not been received his due place in the pages of history either probably due to lack of authentic documents to corroborate his historic struggle and martyrdom or due to apathetic attitude by the historians towards this freedom fighter which is definitely a historical blunder.

H.K Mahatab in his "*History of Orissa*" Vol-ii; K.N.Mohapatra in his "*Khurda Itihasa*" (Odiya); J.Pattanaik in his "*Feudatory States of Orissa*" Vol-I and others have thrown some light upon Jayee Rajguru. B.C Roy in his authentic works has highlighted Buxi Jagabandhu neglecting Jayee Rajguru. P.K Pattanayak in his "*A Forgotten Chapter of Orissan History*"; R.C.Mishra in his scholastic paper on Jayee Rajguru; J.Choudhury in his paper have done some Justice. P.K.Jena, Jatadhari Mishra and others have inclined to bring this great personalities into the forefront. Sudhakar Pattanaik's "*Chakada Pothi Chaini Chakada*" (Odiya); Bipra Madhusudan's "*Firingi Kali Bharat*" (Odiya); Fakir Harichandan's "*Khurda Itihasa Antarale*" (Odiya) are some other works which put some light on this great historical personality. However, the latest works like Narayan Rao's *Jayle Rajguru (A Profile of a Great Patriot of Odisha)*; B.K Rath's *Jayee Rajguru and Anti-Colonial Resistance in Khurda*" have highlighted the activities of Rajguru on various points. Still then, the projection of this profound patriot's personality has not been portrayed in its true perspective. After a due acknowledgement to these previous works, a

small attempt has been made to highlight the great personality of this first martyr who remained loyal to the king till his last breath and gave his dear life for the cause of the motherland.

Jayakrushna Rajguru Mohapatra, popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was born at Bira Harekrishnapur Sasana near Puri on 29-10-1739. His father was Chand Rajguru and mother was Hiramani. Jayee maintained the family tradition as he was adopted in the *Shastras* and Sanskrit knowledge. He also became a renowned *Tantra Sadhaka*. Besides he knew from his father the techniques of wrestling, horse riding and sword fighting. Along with these martial practices, he was also performing daily different rites and rituals for the propitiation of the gods and goddesses. Thus he built himself as a multitalented personality. That was probably the reason for which Gajapati Divyasimha Deva appointed him as the *Rajguru* and the minister in his court in the year 1780(1) at the age of 41. His personality, style of functioning, scholarship, integrity had attracted to the attention of other native rulers and some of them invited him to join their courts. Dhananjaya Harichandan Jagdev, the then ruler of Athagarh tried with all possible means to have him in his court but could not succeed (Jayee remained loyal to Khurda Kingdom. He remained as confirmed bachelor (*brahmachari*) and dedicated himself to the cause of the motherland till his last breath.

This was a time of critical situation on Odisha. Smaller kingdoms in the region were fighting among themselves and the region was afflicted by severe drought. The militia was disorganized and the morale of the *Paiks* was at the lowest ebb. Soon after assuming power, Jayee Rajguru concentrated in law and order and to ensure political stability and economic prosperity of the kingdom. Due to his efforts, the frequent plunders of the *Marahatta* Burgees were reduced a lot. The *Paik* soldiers were trained in various military skills at *Akhadagharas* and *Jagaghars* located in each village. The *Paiks* or the peasant militia with great devotion to duty were ferocious and

valiant in nature. They included all castes and classes, chiefly the *Khandayats*, the *Chasis* or the cultivating tribe. Occasionally individuals of the lower caste, remote hilly tribes (*Kondhs*) and also Muslims were found among them. They were paid by service lands (*Paika/i Jagir*) which they used to cultivate in time of peace subject to the discharge of military and police duties as and when required. He also organized the four divisions of the *Paik* soldiers such as (1) *pahadi* (2) *banua* (3) *dhenkiya* and (4) *gorilla*. He gave special emphasis for strengthening the Guerilla division. This branch of the army was otherwise known as '*Chheka*' as they used to fight with the strategy of hide and seek. They always fought from the back of the opponent and never appeared in the frontal fight. He also took great care to make the spy system effective. In this system, the *Vedua* has to pass secret information to the king. Use of firearms and cannons was encouraged. Specially in the *Sasan* villages the firearms were prepared and used for experiment during the festive occasions. The technique and skills used for the preparation and production of arms and canons have been preserved in palm leaf manuscripts even today.

In the meantime, King Divyasingha Deva II died resulting in a bitter race for succession. Jayee Rajguru ensured that the late king's minor son Mukunda Deva II ascended to the throne of Khurda. As the king was minor, Jayee Rajguru became his regent i.e. guardian ruler in year 1798 A.D. Meanwhile the East India Company captured Ganjam and Lt. Col. Harcourt wanted a free passage to the English soldiers from Ganjam to Calcutta through Khurda region. He made an agreement with Mukunda Deva II of Khurda by which the English would give one lakh cash and cede four Parganas—Lumbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud—that were under Maratha control since 1760 to the king and restore the king's right on Sri Jagannath temple. Jayee Rajguru was kept in the dark about the deal. The British occupied Puri on 18th Sept 1803 and the Barabati fort on 14th Oct 1803. The Lumbai, Serai, Rahanga and Chabiskuda Parganas were released and taken over by the Britishers instead of delivering to the king of Khurda. The condition for payment of one lakh was also not fulfilled by the Britishers. This betrayal shocked the king and Jayee Rajguru. On March 11, 1804 Jayee

marched with 2000 *Paiks* to Cuttack in a show of strength to persuade the British Collector to stick to the deal. The British paid RS.40,000 but refused to cede the promised *Pargana*. Jayee distributed the money among the *Paiks* towards the settlement of their dues.

The British attempted to remove Jayee from his post but failed. Jayee now made an elaborate plan to give armed resistance to the British in order to protect the independence of Khurda kingdom. The kings of Kanika, Kujanga came forward to help the king against the British. The Zamindars of Bishanpur, Harishpur and Marichpur also gave their support to the king. One Sambhu Bharati, a mendicant and Mahajan fed up with the British helped the king secretly mobilizing public opinion in favour of the king. Jayee also sent envoys to the Marathas for help but as one of them was captured at Sambalpur, the plan failed.

The internal defence was improved by repairing of roads. He increased the number of troops and appointed Maratha Sardars for this purpose. In July 1804, Jayee sent tax collectors to Lumbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud *parganas*. The British regarded Jayee as their arch enemy. Harcourt advised the king to remove Jayee from the office, but the king refused. On Nov. 22, 1804, Jayee's forces once again attacked British-occupied Pipili causing huge losses to the enemy. To strengthen the Khurda fort, Paik Troops were posted at Delange in the east, Taratua in the west and Gangapada in the North as the first line of defence reinforced by an additional 300 guards and two cannons!?) The Raja was also planning for a safe retreat and he often went to the hills in search of a place of safety to which he could resort in time of need.

Ruins of Khurda Fort in Gada Khurda

In Nov. 1804, military operations were undertaken against the Raja and war started. The British ordered Major Fletcher to attack the Fort. He was given command of 120 men of Madras European Regiment and two flank companies of 2nd Battalion of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry. The British troops which proceeded to occupy Khurda were resisted at several places by the *Paiks*, *Diwan*, *Bakshis*, *Sardars*, gunners and archers of the Raja.

Jayee Rajguru as the head priest and the prime minister of the king, was steering the war. War-continued for about three weeks. The nephew of Major Fletcher was killed in the battle. The British force finally surrounded the fort of Khurda near the Barunei Hills in the first week of December 1804. The outer wall of the fort was damaged. Then, Major Fletchor proceeded to the fort followed by his party. The fort was occupied. But the British had to play divide and rule policy. The Raja Mukunda Deva II managed to escape to the nearby forest along with his guards. It is said that Jayee made all arrangements for his escape. The king was sent to *Gangamatta Math* near Swetaganga in Puri. Jayee instructed the *Mahanta* of the *matha* Narottam Das through a letter to keep the king in utmost care and secret. The *Matha* still bears the secret passage to the temple which had been used by the king. The British set a price on the head of Jayee Rajguru who was steering the war and managed to capture him when the fort fell. In this way, on Dec. 04, 1804 the British troops occupied the last independent fort of Khurda. On Dec. 5, 1804 they declared that Mukunda Deva II was no longer the king of Khurda. By a proclamation issued on 07 Dec 1804, the Raja of Khurda was deposed and his territories were annexed to British Odisha. At last, The Raja was captured and was taken as Prisoner.

***Gangamata Math* in Puri and Secret Passage and paintings**

After the imprisonment of the Raja, others who opposed the British also surrendered. Balabhadra Bhanja, the Raja of Kanika was taken as a prisoner and sent to Midnapur in July 1805; Chandradhwaja Sendha, the Raja of Kujanga was dethroned and the British recognized his elder brother Madhusudan Sendha as the new Raja of Kujanga. The British kept Mukunda Deva as a prisoner in Barabati fort. Soon he was sent to Midrapura. However, he was released from the Jail in 1807, but the estate of Khurda was not restored to him. He was made the Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple in Puri with a *Malikana* amounting to Rs.2133-5-4 of the revenue of his estate by the Regulation of 1809. The successors of Mukunda Deva II was not allowed to stay at Khurda. Their residence was shifted to Puri and

than after they came to be known as the Raja of Puri but not the Raja of Khurda.

Jayee Rajaguru did not escape and resisted the British forces inside the fort bravely. Finally, he was over powered and captured. He was regarded as the mastermind behind the rebellion and so treated as the arch-enemy of the British. He was taken to Midnapore near Balasore. His trial conducted at a place called Baghitota in mednapore. In the trial, Jayee Rajguru took all the responsibility, just only to the save the king and his Kingdom. Therefore, he was held responsible. He was sentenced death punishment. He was brutally killed on 6th Dec. 1806-at Baghitota in the Chasakhanda Panchayat near Mednapore. His legs was tied separately to forked boughs of two banyan trees and the branches released splitting his body in two.

This Bhagitota is located just about 3kms. of Medinapore in the District of Balasore in Odisha. Still now some *Paik* inhabitants descended from Khurda and Bal "tanta area are found in and around the area. These *Paiks* were perhaps not allowed by the British to return home as the British feared another revolt due to the martyrdom of Jayee Rajguru.

In this way ended the life of Jayee Rajaguru. However he left behind a strong saga osupremce. Although he was defeated, he remained victories in the hearts of millions and millions of people as he proved himself as the worthy son of the soil by becoming the first martyr of Odisha on the alter of the motherland. His selfless sacrifice, his profound patriotism, his challenge to the colonial authority, his loyalty to the land of Gajapati Raja, his courage and chivalry, his bravery and boldness, his heroism and horrible punishment will remain in golden letter in the pages of history. His revolt against the British was more surcharged with Patriotic zeal and it is more glorious and more gall- antic than any other revolt of India. In comparison to the so called *Paik* Rebellion of 1817 under Buxi Jagabandhu, the revolt of 1804 under Jayee Rajguru was filled with thrilling patriotism. While Jayee went to the gallon bravely and smilingly, Buxi ended his life with British pension. He was truly a nationalist and martyr of first order. Unlike Buxi, Jayee reacted immediately against the alien rule and did not prefer to wait and observe policy of Buxi Jagabandhu who

revolted only in 1817, i.e. 14 years of the British occupation of Odisha. He had no self interest as he was a confirmed bachelor. His only interest was the protection of the motherland and prestige of the king who had been regarded as *Chalanti Vishnu* (moving God) and *Lakhyerajaramoudamani* by the Odiyas. His bold answer to Coi.Harcourt at the time trial demonstrates his strength of character. He knew the superiority of the British power but he gave dogged resistance which shows his courage and strength in both mind and body.

It is a matter of shame that his contribution against the alien rule have been neglected by the historians. He should be given deserving place in the pages of Indian Freedom Struggle. The Khurda Fort, the last independent fort of Odisha which defended boldly for three weeks, is in a utter neglected condition filled with wild

grass and open field toilet. This is surely a heartless vandalism. Protection, preservation and promotion of Khurda Fort with Light and Sound programme will help both the revenue generation and spreading the message of patriotism for the future generation. It should be free from modern encroachment. Installation of a life size statue of *Saheed Jayee Rajguru* at the main gate of the fort would be a proper respect. Naming any important educational institution will do some justice to this great martyr. Bira Harekrushnapur village, the birth place of Jayee should be named after him. As Jayee Rajguru initiated the revolt against the British, as he organized the *Paiks* against them, as he is a role model for the nationalists, he should be recognized as the leader and pioneer of the *Paik* Rebellion which started in 1804 A.D and which reached in its climax under Buxi Jagabandhu in 1817.

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POLITICAL AWAKENING IN HYDERABAD STATE

THE ROLE OF ALL HYDERABAD STUDENTS UNION - A STUDY

Dr. P. Ramesh

In this study an attempt has been made to survey briefly the student movement with their Political and Social background covering a period of more than fifteen years from the formation of Hyderabad State congress (1938) and Comrades Association (1939) to 1956. These fifteen years have been an epoch making period in the recent history of Hyderabad State, which witnessed many significant and for

reaching events changing the very course of history in this part of Indian sub-continent.¹

It began with the formation of the State Congress and the subsequent Satyagraha and Vandemataram Movements, the emergence of the Ictehadul - Muslimeen as the spread of communal politics, the formation of Comrades Association and All Hyderabad Students Union,

the birth of the Communist Party in Hyderabad, the Historic "Quit India Movement of 1942, the development of trade union movements, the revolutionary peoples upsurge during the Indian National Army and Royal Indian Navy revolts, the end of hated British rule and the emergence of an Independent India, the unfortunate partition of our country the dark and obnoxious period of Razakars in Hyderabad the glorious armed struggle of Telangana people and with the police action the end of the despotic rule of the Asafjahi dynasty on the basis of adult franchise and finally the reorganisation of the states on linguistic basis and the formation of Andhra Pradesh.²

The student and youth movements, along with the democratic and progressive people's movements, played a very important and decisive role in bringing about these revolutionary changes. This organisation was the rolling points for the students and youth men imbued with a sense of patriotism and anti-imperialism who in course of time joined one or the other political movements like communist, congress and socialist. It would be no exaggeration to say that that intellectual and political awakening in Hyderabad State owes a great deal to them and this study tries to portray these very movements and trends with the hope that it will serve as a historical record of the recent past and will also provide an opportunity for the present generation of students and youth to evaluate them in their proper perspective.³

The students and youth movement of erstwhile Hyderabad State had played a very significant role as an integral part of the glorious student movement of the whole country, and had also played an important role in the people's struggle against the autocratic regime of the Nizam. In order to view the student and youth movement in its proper perspective it seems to be necessary to keep in mind some of the important features of the National Movement during the decade beginning from 1936.

The decade of 1936-46 was very crucial and decisive for the freedom movement of our country and especially for the youth and students. During this period the national movement, under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was given international

orientation and also a clarion call to wage a determined struggle against imperialism and Fascism, which was raising its ugly head in the European countries.

This was the period when a section of our national leadership under the impact of the October revolution of 1917, started feeling that socialism can serve as the key for solving the political, economic and social problems of our country as well. This progressive orientation of our national movement, and the success of the newly formed socialist state in USSR, were the factors that led to the radicalisation of the consciousness of Indian masses particularly the younger generation. In this background and under the impact of fast changing national and international situation, the foundation of All Indian student Federation (AISF) was laid in 1936- Hyderabad also did not lag behind. Sometime between 1936-37 a group meeting of the progressive minded students was called by Sibte Hassan, a well-known journalist and critic of urdu literature, to form a branch of AISF in Hyderabad which was attended by Mirza Hyder Hussian, Omkar Prasad, Narender Dutt, and Noor-ul-Hassan Jaffaeri. At the same time a reading room was opened near Abids which functioned for about a year. This was the first brick in the edifice of the student movement of Hyderabad which was given a form and shape in 1940.⁴

POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS OF HYDERABAD STATE DURING 1930-46:

The people of erstwhile Hyderabad State were groaning under the double yoke of slavery, that of the most powerful and cunning British imperialism and faithful ally of Nizam. This artificially created autocratic regime of Nizam, was a prison house of three different linguistic groups, i.e. Telugu, Marathi and Kannada speaking people, who were forcibly separated from their brother across the border. The state was ruled at the top by Nizam and his trusted Nawabs and by the Jagirdars and Zamindars etc, feudal landlords at the lower level in the villages was the naked, brutal and most powerful rule and arrogant bureaucracy.⁵

The common people, workers, peasants and the middle classes were not only the worst victims of the feudal exploitation, but they were

deprived of their rights to get education in their mother tongue, to run the administration in their respective regional languages, to held public meetings for ventilating their grievances and to publish books and journals for the upliftment of their culture. Thus all the avenues for educational, cultural and social development of the common people were completely barred. Poor educational facilities that too through the medium of Urdu and English and heavy restriction on civil liberties created an atmosphere of discontent and revulsion among the middle classes in general and youth and students in particular.

There was only one university for the whole dominion of Hyderabad with five affiliated Intermediate colleges and one degree college, and the Nizam College, which was affiliated to Madras University. Besides there were 31 high schools 105 middle schools and about 4000 primary schools throughout the State. The medium of instruction in middle and high school and the University level was Urdu.

It was a right and bold step on the part of the Osmania University to introduce one of the local languages, Urdu, as the Medium of instruction at the University level. But it was totally wrong and most undemocratic for the Nizam's government to impose Urdu a language which was spoken by ten to twelve percent of the population, on the majority of the students whose mother-tongues were Telugu, Marathi, and Kannada. These languages should also have been made the medium of institution at all levels of education as it was done in the case of Urdu. It may seem ridiculous to know that the number of students in the two degree colleges were about 1600 and total number of students at the primary level was 3 lakhs in 1937-38 when the population of Hyderabad State during the period was about $16\frac{1}{2}$ millions.⁶ The position of girl's education was still worse. In 1937-38 there were only 766 girl's schools with a total strength of 57,000 girl students.

The cultural and social development of the people of a particular area or region is not only gauged by their educational level but also determined by the numerical strength and standard of the libraries and the services they render, the publication of the vernacular magazines, journals and the existence of social

and cultural organisations and political organisations like, Nizam Rastrandhra Mahasabha 1930, Maharashtra Parishad 1937 Kannada Parishad 1936, Hyderabad State Congress 1938, Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen 1929, Arya Samaj 1892, Comrades Association 1939, Adi-Hindu Social Service League 1929, Anzuman Qawathin Deccan 1925, Andhra Mahila Sabha 1930, Hyderabad State Communist Party 1939, Student Popular Front 1939, Radical Students League 1940 and All Hyderabad Students Union 1942.

THE LACK OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN HYDERABAD STATE:

There was a complete absence of civil liberties in the Nizam's autocratic regime. Almost all the political parties were banned, except Majlis-Ittehadul-Muslimeen which was being given a new life as a political party, national leaders were not allowed to enter the territory of the state, public meetings of any type could not be held without the prior permission of the government which was never given, even the condolence meetings on the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Ansari were not allowed. There were several restrictions on student activities they were not supposed to participate in any political and even in student movement. The conduct rules of the Osmania University prohibited the University students from joining any political, social and cultural organisations, from delivering speeches from any public platform, without the prior permission of the university authorities. Thus a total lack of civil liberties, intolerable conditions and suffocating atmosphere was bound to invite friction between the democratic minded youth and the despotic government.⁷

The first but a strong protest against the suppression of civil liberties was launched by the students of Osmania University when they started the famous Vandemataram Movement in 1938. The Vandemataram students at Nagpur came in contact with top ranking leaders of the congress and the other left leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Narendra Dev, M.N. Roy and others. Study circles were organised and many of the Vandemataram students imbibed left ideologies. They were firm with their view that the Vandemataram Movement was part of anti-Nizam struggle though the Nizam's government tried to give it a communal colour.

In the month of June, 1939, VandeMataram Students Association was formed at Nagpur with Sri. Atchuta Reddi as president and V.D. Deshpande youth leader of the State Congress, as General Secretary. This Association (students) had taken inspiration directly from the Satyagraha Movement of Hyderabad State Congress. At the same time Arya Samaj was also conducting massive satyagraha movement against restrictions on its religious activities and civil liberties which galvanised a big section of the people. The students made this issue into a symbol of their anti-imperialist and anti-Nizam struggle.

STUDENT MOVEMENT AND BACK GROUND:

The Vandemataram Movement created a stir not only among the Hindu students but also influenced a section of democratic and progressive minded Muslim students and served as one of the contribution factors in the formation of Comrades Association which with a radical leadership consistently fought the anti-people policies in the Nizam's rule, stood firmly with the people in their struggle and was instrumental in organising workers and the middle classes in their respective class organisations.⁸

But at the same time, the liberal minded leadership of the State Congress didnot allow the Vandemataram Movement to assume militant forms and direction, in fact, they forced the Vandematram Strikers who were weak financially , to give up the singing of Vandemataram and tender written apologies to the Osmania University authorities for their past action and thus seek re-admission. The effect of such a compromising policy was very demoralising and a section of radical - minded students refused to adopt such a course of action. They not only decided to appear as private candidates at the Nagpur University, but a section of them led by Narendra Dutt and others held a public meeting to protest against such an action forced upon them by the State Congress leadership and in a pamphlet issued by the "Radical Student League", under the title "Student Popular Front, they expressed their anger thus, you are aware of the abrupt unexpected, may undignified ending of our movement by the people at the top. Need we say that it was a total betrayal of the cause so

dear to us "date of 29th November 1939. Such was the state of affairs after the withdrawal of the Satyagraha by the State Congress and the Vande Mataram Movement of the Osmania University.

EARLY EFFORTS FOR THE FORMATION OF STUDENT ORGANISATIONS:

In these circumstances, the student community under the influence of different political parties and groups was struggling hard to find a way out of the situation, to unite their ranks and to give some organisational shape to their movement. To give this usage of the students a reformist turn, an attempt was the formation of "All Hyderabad Students Association", in October, 1939. The first public meeting of this association was held at the Reddy Hostel on 12th October, 1939. The meeting was presided over by Laxman Rao Ganu and the Chief Speaker on the occasion was Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University. Almost all the prominent leaders of the State Congress attended the meeting. It issued an appeal which spelt out the "aims and objective of the Association which could be summarised thus.⁹

At the same time another student organisation "Radical Student's League" also came into existence. Mr Narendra Dutt was the moving spirit of this organisation and Mr. D.H. Desai was the secretary of the league. A meeting of students was held under the auspices of the league at Devi Deen Bagh on 29th November, 1939, with Swami Ramananda Tirtha in the chair.¹⁰

Whatever it may be, above mentioned these organisations were failed to reflect the aspirations and demands of the students community could only be a temporary phenomenon and were not able to take the shape of a stable student organisation and a real for their activities. So the students have need to another one commitment student's organisation in immediately.

FORMATION OF ALL HYDERABAD STUDENTS UNION - 1942:

A group of progressive minded students, who were leaders of the Vandamataram Movement. Which who anxious to form a united

students organisation and were making efforts to contact likeminded students. Notable figures of this group were Omkar Prasad, B.S. Paranjipe, K.B. Deshpande. Ambadas Wadwalkar and others.

Along with there was also a big group of students and youth in the city who were already working in the Comrades Association, prominent among them were Alam Khundmiri, Ibrahim, Qutb-e-Alam, Dilawar Alikhan, Raj Bahadur Gour, Jawad Razvi and Hussaini Shahid. And a small group of progressive minded Muslim students had come from Aurangabad and were staying in the Osmania University hostels. Aquil Ali Khan Ayub Ahmed Kirmani and Yousuf Nazim. When different groups of students felt the need of a united student organisation and where moving in that direction, the initiative was taken by the communists and a meeting was held at Reddy hostel in 1940, and a decision was taken to form a broad-based student organisations on an all Hyderabad basis, under the banner of Freedom; Peace and Progress. This meeting was affected by Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, Maqdoom Mohiuddin, Raj Bahadur Gour and Jawad Razvi and others.

Thus, to bring together the different groups working in the same directions of a secular and united student organisation on an all Hyderabad basis, a provisional committee was formed sometime in June, 1941. The most

important task before the newly formed provisional committee was make the proposed organisation as broad based as possible and to embrace in its fold all those students Hindu and Muslim, who may such democratic minded students who were not attached to any political party keeping this objective in view a manifesto of All Hyderabad Study Union (AHSU) was issued jointly signed by Aquil Ali Khan, as General Secretary and Omkar Prasad and Ayub Ahmed Kirmani as organising secretaries of the provisional committee.¹¹

CONCLUSION:

During its existence for over 15 years, the AHSU, stood out as the most representative organisation of the students in the State of Hyderabad. It was initiated and organised a variety of social and cultural movements and carried on educative work for the spread of secular, democratic and socialist thought. It resisted the communal and autocratic rule of Nizam, fought for the integration of Hyderabad with the rest of India and actively supported peoples cause from time to time. It represented a whole generation and its social and political development. Indeed, the recent history of Hyderabad State would be incomplete without taking into account the prominence role played by students in all walks of life, as reflected in the multifarious activities of the All Hyderabad Students Union.

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ENVIRONMENTAL HYGIENE AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN COLONIAL TOWN: KOZHIKODE UNDER BRITISH PERIOD

M.P. Riswana

In the history of the evolution of social life, human beings have considered health and hygiene as interrelated factors for the survival of

the species and inevitable for its civilized life. Hygiene, both personal and environmental is important in the maintenance of health. From

ancient time onwards, the relationship between disease and the environment and the role of hygiene ensuring healthy existence have been recorded in various traditions and discourses of human history and they have contributed significantly to the social and medical understanding of human body and disease. Ancient Indian tradition through its various customs and rituals stressed the significance of environmental health and need to maintain proper public hygiene. The excavation of Indus Valley civilization reveals that Indians possessed a high sense of health and sanitation and Vedic scriptures stress personal hygiene.¹

This paper tries to reveal the unhygienic surroundings that existed in Calicut (herein after Kozhikode), a city in northern Kerala, and find out some measures adopted by colonial authority to maintain hygienic city culture. The Hippocratic nosography of fever and the idea that health has much to do with geographical, climatic and environmental factors provided an important tool for medical and sanitary investigations by European physicians in different parts of the world.² But the benefits of these investigation and inventions were revolving around colonial and imperial interest. Any examination of sanitary facilities, hygiene and public health facilities provides an opportunity to assess the nature of the imperial interest and gradation of British administration in colonized cities and towns.

The establishment of colonial rule in India associated with the recurrent occurrence of various epidemics as such cholera, small pox, and fever. But the complaints imputed to the lack of a sense of sanitation and hygiene among Indians.³ In fact, urbanisation programmes that started in the colony by colonial administration made both favourable and unfavourable results, tended to spread certain fatal contagious disease. High rate of population increase, densification of urban living space, insufficient water supply and massive drainage, and sewage difficulties were the major urban problems in colonial India. It resulted in frequent episode of various sorts of epidemics as like cholera, malaria, plague, smallpox and fever. Medical specialists, military experts and other professionals, to counter the problems of urban growth referred to European politics of health, hygiene and society which

were part of sanitation. It was remedy to reduce the evil effects of urbanisation in English cities. Consequently, without any environmental related modifications the principles of European sanitation were transferred to India.⁴

Initially, during the colonial period the sanitation facilities and hygienic environment were restricted to the needs of military personnel and elite class of administration and natives were denied these progresses. But gradually they were forced to change their approach and incorporated the native population within the project for sanitary reforms. The history of sanitation work in British India started with the reports of the royal commission of 1859. The contributions made by Florence Nightingale to the setting up of this commission was noteworthy.⁵ She observed the sanitary conditions of the three presidency towns, "Bombay had water supply but no drainage, while Calcutta had drainage but no water, and Madras had neither".⁶ The royal commission identified, inadequate sewerages and water supply, poor and ill ventilated and overcrowded barracks were the reasons for the high rate of mortality among troops. The military cantonment Act of 1864 provided for the creation of a new cantonment authorities and it provided healthy environs for the soldiers.⁷ It resulted the isolation of British officials and the army by relocating them to newly built barracks and residencies that were detached from native's dense areas. As part of commenting the bad health of the troops the royal commission laid stress on the insanitary condition of the general population. In accordance with their advice, in 1864 sanitary boards were appointed in each presidency, mainly for army but it extended up to public health.⁸ In 1866 sanitary board was replaced by sanitary commission and in 1888 the sanitary Board was set up in every province which controlled and supervised the work of the District Boards and Municipalities in connection with water supply and drainage schemes.⁹ On the basis of the function and utility, the sanitary board had been varied considerably from time to time and province to province.

Many western scholars considered cleanliness as a European virtue, but Gunnar Myrdal, who attributed poor sanitation to the cause of several contagious disease.¹⁰ He noted

that British administration was indifferent in providing budgetary allocation for sanitation and health programmes in the colony.¹¹ Hesitations in the allocation of adequate fund badly affected the duty of lower grade staff in the local administration who were appointed to keep the street and latrines clean. He explained that people could not keep themselves clean in the unclean environment and the poor sanitation of the people in British India was largely apparent in their individual habits and domestic system, like unhygienic food and drinking water, clothes and homestead, open sewer and inadequate sewage disposal.¹²

Good sanitation and proper drainage are most essential for the healthy development of a town. The absence of these facilities makes the region a centre of various epidemics and affects the social life of citizens. The history of Kozhikode in colonial times gives us a picture of this kind. The nature of this urban space made this region a centre of epidemics. Because the streets in this urban space were so congested and narrow and could not meet the requirements of the population. Many parts of this city were an extension of the medieval structures, so it developed as an unplanned town with unhygienic and unhealthy for the settlement. This kind of urbanization produced negative impacts on life as people suffered from deficiency of clean drinking water, lack of proper drainage and lack of facilities for night soil disposal. These physical conditions led to various epidemics that broke out at regular interval throughout colonial period in the Kozhikode. Apart from these factors, the reluctant attitude of the rulers to spend much income to maintain public health made this region abode of epidemics. It is to be noted that frequent occurrence of various contagious diseases in the town showed that the colonial authority could not succeed in establishing a constant hygienic system in the city.

Just like other urban areas, drains played a major role in maintaining unhygienic atmosphere in the city and creating health problems of the public in Kozhikode.¹³ Unclean drains filled sludge provided breeding beds for mosquitoes and heaps of solid waste dumped on the road more worsened the situation. During the rainy seasons, the degenerated garbage made the entire area filthy. Lumps of

these decayed pieces of waste slipped into the drainages and blocked the flow of water. These drainage with stagnant water bred increased number of mosquitos and acted as a carrier of epidemics. Enough sweepers were not appointed by the district administration. As per the government records, each sweeper had to attend seventy houses which was a number far beyond their ability to cope with¹⁴. As per the municipality administrative reports of 1943 drainage scheme for this region was a complete failure for the previous six years.¹⁵

Another issue that phased by the people in Kozhikode was the dispersion of night soil. Incinerators were used to burn rubbish and night soil and the ashes were sold to private individuals for making manure.¹⁶ Public latrines were constructed adjacent to the market places and at the slum areas of the city. British regarded latrines as a means of a long-lasting British civilizing mission in India, as many other European intuitions. It seems to be alike reasonable and politic to look rather to the gradual enlightenment of the people for an improvement in their social and domestic habits than to the authoritarian interference of government.¹⁷ The entire municipality had only three incinerators to burn the night soil into ashes and disperse of as manure.¹⁸ Shortage of funds and inadequacy of men and carts to take out the human excrement from residence to the incinerators worsened the situation. The residents' complaints from these area forced municipal authority to make changes in the existed methods to get rid of the human excreta from houses and roadsides. One of the suggestions made in this regard was to make trenches and fill the filth in them. The municipality found places for trenching ground at Puthiyara but the awful stink from these grounds often polluted the surrounding atmosphere.¹⁹ Because of the complaints received from the urban dwellers the council decided to move the trenching ground outside the city. Thus, the people living in the suburbia became the victims of this awful stink and later when the town limits were extended people found that their wells were becoming contaminated. The land chosen for trenching ground was a plot named Vadakke Ekkalya paramba under survey number 97/A of cheruvannur Desom.²⁰

The second method was to dump it in the incinerator to burn with saw dust and sell the ashes. But the saw dust was not available abundantly for this purpose because it was commonly used for domestic cooking fire. The third method was to make an amalgam of carbolic acid and kerosene oil to burn the night soil and due to high cost, this method had to be discarded.²¹ Later, Municipality promoted the construction of private latrines with septic tank.²² Before that, a separate group of people called thottis(scavengers) used to collect night soil pots from each locality and they carried it on their head to the incinerators.

Private scavenging was also practiced inside the city because of the shortage of scavengers. This was paid service and household had to bear the payment. The Municipality announced the payment for service, "scavenging fees be made to some extent proportionate to the municipal tax paid, namely that they should be somewhat raised for the richer and lowered for the poorer classes".²³ Official reports shows that there were complaints, though some of the household deposited the requisite money with the municipality and even after five years, no private scavengers visited their houses.²⁴ People lived in such households fell victims to contagious infections carried by fleas living on the night soil

Administrative reports of colonial rule reveal that the authority had not paid attention to the massive suffering of people. In the report submitted by the sanitary officer of the refugee camp opened at the outbreak of the epidemics in Kozhikode, it was mentioned that there were no arrangements for the collection, storage, purification, and distribution of water. So, water had to be pulled from shallow well by means of ropes and buckets. Lack of sufficient latrines and scarcity of sweepers employed to deal with the excreta resulted in the camp ground was being fouled by excreta and urine, which would easily seep into the wells. There was no sufficient supervision of the protection of cooking place and disposal of waste water. This again shows that the reluctance of the colonial rulers to spend income to maintain sanitation and environmental hygiene even in the refugee camp.²⁵

The extent of sanitary reforms in any locality depended greatly on local circumstances, such as availability of funds and enthusiasm of the municipal government. This was especially true in the case of large sanitary works in the form of drainage and sewage schemes for which local authorities were usually depend on loans from government. In Kozhikode, the municipal system of government came into existence on July 3 1866. From then onwards, the construction dispensaries and drains, maintenance and cleaning of wells, tanks, street, etc were assigned to the municipality and repair of hospitals. With the setting up of municipality, sanitary legislation was introduced and enforced accordingly. As Madhuri Sharma opined that the municipalization of the space, gave an opportunity to the 'colonizer' to intervene in everyday life of the natives.²⁶ It gave power to the authority to formulate sanitary rules for the assessment and collection of drainage tax, house tax etc.

While this was the general sanitary conditions that existed in the town, the white race enjoyed a privileged life in residencies of high hygienic environment kept aloof from the natives. They lived in residentially segregated areas with good environmental hygiene and improved sanitation facilities. To protect the British from the harmful effect of Indian environment the colonial cities were rebuilt and transformed.²⁷ In Kozhikode, as in other colonial space the cantonment area and the residential areas segregated and protected from the natives. The colonial authorities also insisted the Municipal councillors to keep the locality in good sanitary condition. The incinerator at west hill was condemned and later at the time of its reconstruction, strong objection came on pointing to its proximity to the West Hill Barracks.²⁸

Kozhikode was considered as the capital city of Malabar district under Madras presidency. It was the continuation of the pre-colonial urban centre. As already mentioned, streets were congested and narrow, Municipality council attempted to renovate these areas. The council acquired number of old and dilapidated buildings on the narrow road from the beach to the Alva street to improve the sanitary conditions of the Gujarati quarters.²⁹

Numerous tanks that existed during the time of Zamorin's period were used for water supply, filled up as a result of the rapid growth of urbanization. Many plans and estimates were submitted for better drainage, but the unplanned growth of the city made it difficult to implement them.³⁰ Further, the indifferent colonial attitude prevented any governmental or state intervention in addressing the problem of sanitation in towns. There were legislative measures to improve the sanitary conditions of the town. As the Madras District Municipality 1871, in which general sanitary rules and regulations were issued, regular sweeping and cleansing of the street, regular removal of night soil from latrine and private houses, managing corpus of animals and other offensive materials, regular collection of dust, ashes and kitchen refuse from dustbin and private house.³¹ But often these measures were not strictly enforced. Penalties were imposed to protect the rules from violation. The success of these rules and regulations mainly depended upon the execution of the policies. Often, the disputes between sanitary and medical officers and lack of administrative efficiency and coordination with each department in municipal government slowed the process of maintaining sanitation in the town.

All possible steps were taken whenever the health or residential environment of the colonizer was challenged and authority was more concerned to execute the rules and regulations strictly to maintain good sanitary condition. One such instance was the introduction of mass graveyard by colonial authorities.³² When cholera appeared in its virulent form in 1858 and 1890, it shook the city space and took innumerable lives. Robinson, the Madras magistrate noted the reasons for this and stated that the natives in the town lived in a filth surroundings and with inadequate land for cremations of the people.³³ It forced the authorities to adopt some measures to solve this crisis. This resulted in the introduction of mass graveyard in Kozhikode. With the support of some leaders in town, the Kannamparambu cemetery and west hill cemetery came in to reality. They made the graveyard for each community such as brahmins, thiyys, chettiyars, Christians, Muslims, Baniyas and parsis.³⁴

When system of water supply and sewerages go hand in hand the proposition of sanitation becomes sound. Protected water which is essential for the diet and maintenance of health. Most of the people in the district used to drink water collected from public or private wells. Several of these wells maintained by private households were not regularly cleansed and properly protected. People used water from these wells for drinking and cooking purpose as well as for bathing, cleaning and other domestic purposes. In fact, the water got contaminated spread contagious. Until 1892 protective walls were not constructed for the wells in Malabar.³⁵ It was very common that wells without protective walls got easily polluted by the surroundings garbage and left overs. This was prevented by the official action taken to protect the wells in the region. As part of this, the construction of boundary walls for the wells made compulsory by the execution of laws in 1892.³⁶ As a result, every house in the Kozhikode made a boundary walls for the wells.

Sanitation is one of the greatest medical discoveries in history. But the sanitation policies in colonial period were planned, designed and implemented mainly to keep up the privileged life style of the colonizers and to enhance comfortable governance, rather than to improve the real life of the natives. The reports of frequent occurrence of various epidemics in this town show that the scarcity of regular intervention from authorities to maintain sanitation and public health. Serious steps based on special regulations were taken only when the public health met with epidemics and other fatal situations. The lack of interest among colonial authorities resulted the absence of proper drainage. They left everything to local projects and avoided expenses and responsibility. The responsibility of keeping municipal roads and sewerages imposed on the lower level employees without the allocation of fund in the town. The non-availability of fund and absence of necessary staffs made a constraint on sanitary progress throughout the colonial period. It resulted filthy and unhealthy condition that continued in the Kozhikode town and people had not free from contagious disease and led to unnatural mortalities. The cantonments and the British residential areas were segregated from the residential areas of natives and lived in epidemics free area.

Though Kozhikode was blessed with municipality and a health department, both establishments were not worked properly and

most of the sanitary inspectors, whose knowledge of sanitation was practically nil as any other colonial town.

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RUKMANI LAKSHMIPATHY - A VIGOROUS FREEDOM FIGHTER AND A STRONG POLITICIAN IN TAMIL NADU

Dr. C. Rouccoumany

1. Introduction

This research articles endeavours to make an in-depth study about Rukmani Lakshmipathy (1892-1951), an Indian independence activist, politician belonged to Indian National Congress in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu, the southern-most state of India, nestles in the Indian Peninsular between the Bay of Bengal in the east, the Indian Ocean in the south and the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea on the west. In the north and the west, the state adjoins Karnataka,

Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.¹Tamil Nadu was an asylum for the eminent politicians and the great personalities. Rukmani Lakshmipathy was one among them. She was excelled as speaker, marcher, campaigner and a tireless volunteer.

2. Early Life

Rukmani Lakshmipathy, born on 6th December 1892 in Madras, belonged to a family of social reformers deeply interested in women's education. Her father H. Srinivasa Rao,

a landlord and a member of the provincial Government service, refused to marry her off at an early age and educated her. So she had the benefit obtaining both traditional and western education, a privilege that was enjoyed by very few girls at that time. Her family defied all conventions for her intercast marriage with Dr. Achanta Lakshmi pathy, Smarta Brahmana Sect, niyohi division. The marriage took place on 3rd December 1911. Her husband was a staunch nationalist and got her also interested in politics.²

3. Member of the Women's Indian Association

On 8th May 1917 women's Indian Association was started at Adyar in Madras, by Jinarajadasa and Annie Besant with the purpose of advancing the interest and furthering the progress of women in India.³Rukmani Lakshmi pathy was a prominent member of the women's Indian Association since its inception. Before entering into politics, she was busy with social work and social reform. She felt sad about the social injustice done to women and worked for the amelioration of their condition. Along with the other great social reformers of that time, she was responsible for passing of social legislation, raised the age of marriage and age of consent, etc. She tried to enroll the help of women both to carry out social reforms and in the political struggle. As a prominent member of the Women's Indian Association, she was a delegate to the tenth International Congress at Paris in June 1926.⁴

4. Member of Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress, a political party of India, was founded on 28th December 1885, by Allan Octavian Hume a retired British officer at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay with 72 delegates.⁵

In 1923, Rukmani Lakshmi pathy became a member of the Indian National Congress. She went to Japan in 1924 enquired about the western system of education followed there. After coming back to India, she insisted to implement that type of education in India. She argued that the system of education in India could produce only clerks to work for the British as their subordinates.⁶She was very much concerned about Indian education in general and women's education in particular. She supported for the extension of Elementary

Education Act of 1920 and advocated adult education and compulsory female education.

4.1 Attended the International Women's Suffrage Alliance Congress

Rukmani Lakshmi pathy attended the International Women's Suffrage Alliance Congress at Paris as the Indian Representative from 30th May to 6th June 1926.⁷She utilized this opportunity to travel all over the Europe and also to visit England and propagated there for India. Her social activities were coupled with political activities.⁸

4.2 President of Congress Women's Wing

In December 1927, in the All India National Conference held at Egmore, she was selected as the President of Congress women's wing. She had an opportunity to serve Gandhiji and Nehru who arrived for the conference along with Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. When the Simon Commission came to Madras on 18th February 1929, along with the congress leaders, S. Sathyamurthy, Muthuranga Mudhaliyar, K. Bashyam Iyengar, Rukmani Lakshmi pathy along with Kamala Bai agitated with the slogans, "Boycott the Simon Commission", "Simon Go Back", etc.⁹

5. Participated in the Freedom Movement

As a member of Indian National Congress, Rukmani Lakshmi pathy established 'Youth League' a Pro Congress Organization in 1930 and through it she tried to accelerate public opinion for prohibition of liquor. In January 1930, as a president of the Madras Youth League, she expressed the opinion that independence could only be achieved by organizing the masses under the intellectual leadership of Youths.¹⁰In April 1930, Rukmani Lakshmi pathy, Durgabai, Bakthavatchalam and a few others arrived from Madras and spoke about foreign cloth boycott, Prohibition and Swadeshi.¹¹

5.1 Participation in the Salt Satyagraha

On 30th April 1930, C. Rajagopalachari, accompanied with one of the chosen Satyagrahi, Rukmani Lakshmi pathy including sixteen Satyagrahis defied the salt law and collected salt at Agasthian Palli. They were sentenced for six months imprisonment¹².At that time she got a telegram from her husband stating that her three year old child Rama Rao was in a serious condition. Initially she denied

for went back, but because Rama Rao was her only surviving son, being the first son Emton she lost in his 2nd year, she came to Chennai. But when she understood the condition had improved immediately she went back on the same day that shows her involvement in the struggle for freedom. For this service to the motherland she got the credit of being the first woman imprisoned in context with Salt Satyagraha.¹³

5.2 Effective Role in the Civil Disobedience Movement

Rukmani Lakshmipathy took an initiative of involving women in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Being a member of Women's League responding to her call eminent women like Ambujammal, Gnanambal, Dr. Shakuntala Iyer and Kamala Bai took part in the movement.¹⁴She was arrested for her active participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement twice first in 1930 and again in 1932 and sentenced to six months imprisonment.¹⁵

5.3 Vigorous Activities in the Individual Satyagraha

In 1940 Gandhi preferred Individual Satyagraha instead of Mass Disobedience Movement to demonstrate the national disapproval in view of war situation. The women Sathyagrahis responded remarkably for individual Satyagraha and courted arrest. In Tamil Nadu, the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, which met at Pollachi on 20th October, 1940 planned to initiate the Satyagraha in a well-organized manner.¹⁶Rukmani Lakshmipathy, a member of the Congress Working Committee, made up her mind to participate in the Individual Satyagraha, which she considered as a necessary one.¹⁷As her activities were so vigorous during the agitation along with others in November 1940, she was convicted and sentenced to suffer simple imprisonment for one year.¹⁸

5.4 Active Participant in the Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement which broke out in August 1942 was the last all Indian Satyagraha conducted by Gandhi, who wanted the movement to be symbolic in character in order to register India's moral protest against the British attitude and to draw the attention of the world to the right of Indians to

freedom.¹⁹When the important leaders were arrested in August 1942 in the Quit India Movement, Rukmani Lakshmipathy became the acting president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and took the initiative to keep the organization alive.²⁰She continued to play a remarkable role in the Congress Politics till the end. She had given directions to the Satyagrahis after the arrest of main leaders. She also went from place to place appealing people to participate in the movement.²¹

6. Strong Politician in the Legislature

The Madras Legislative Council became Unicameral Legislative body in 1921 and the Upper Chamber of a Bicameral Legislature in 1937. In 1935, Rukmani Lakshmipathy was elected to the Madras Legislative Council.²²In 1935-36, she was the Vice-President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee.

6.1 Member of Legislative Assembly

The First Madras Legislative Assembly Election was constituted in July 1937. Bulusu Sambamurti and A. Rukmani Lakshmipathy were elected as the Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively.²³In the Election, the Indian National Congress obtained a majority by winning 159 of 215 seats. C. Rajagopalachari became the first elected Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency. Totally nine women were elected.²⁴

Besides, Rukmani Lakshmipathy, G. Ammanna Raja, Anjalai Ammal, Kathija Yakub Hasan, A.V. Kuttimalu Amma, Jebamani Masilamani, V. Lakshmi Ammal, K. Lakshmi Ammal, and N. lakshmi Devi were the other eight women members in the Legislative Assembly.²⁵

In 1937, Rukmani Lakshmipathy became a member of the 'Working Committee' of the Indian National Congress.²⁶She was very much interested in the education of women and children. In 1938 she visited Japan as a member of Good will Mission. During her tour to western and eastern counties especially to Japan, she made a study of the educational systems there and wanted India to adopt those good aspects. She was a dedicated social worker. She strived hard for raising the 'Age of Marriage and Age of Consent'.²⁷On the eve of II World War with respect to the difference of opinion with the British Government, the Congress Ministry resigned on 29th October

1939, and the members involved themselves in Individual Satyagraha.²⁸ In July 1943, Rukmani Lakshmipathy and the other congress members of the Madras Corporation had launched a campaign on the food situation. She spoke about food problem and solved it with the support of communist Party.²⁹

6.2 Minister of Public Health and Medicine

The second Legislative Assembly Election to the Madras Provincial Legislature held in March 1946. Among 215 members in the Madras Legislative Assembly, eleven were women. Rukmani Lakshmipathy was the only woman minister among thirteen ministers in the Madras State under the ministry of T. Prakasam from April 1946 to March 1947. C. Ammanna Raja was elected as the Deputy Speaker.³⁰

Apart from Rukmani Lakshmipathy, Amiruddin, Begam Sultan Mir, C. Ammanna Raja, Anjalai Ammal, Bhupathiraju Bangarayya, Jebamoney Masilamoney, A.V. Kuttimalu Amma, K. Lakshmi Ammai, V. Lakmi Ammal, Sita Mahalakshamma, and Allum Suamangamma were the other ten women members. Rukmani Lakshmipathy was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly and was

made Minister of Public Health and Medicine.³¹ Besides she was the minister for Fairs and Festivals and miscellaneous.³² Being a woman minister from 1946-47, she did a lot for the improvement of sanitation in the city of Madras.³³ Marshall's road in Egmore, Chennai is renamed after her. In her memory, a postage stamp was issued in 1997.³⁴ She continued to be a member of Legislative Assembly till her death on 6th August 1951.³⁵ She had always been a soldier for women's cause. Rukmani Lakshmipathy served as an Honorary Presidency Magistrate. She appealed to the youth to create a public opinion for the enactment and successful working of social legislation on problems like the caste system, child marriage, drink, untouchability, devadasi system etc.³⁶

7. Conclusion

Rukmani Lakshmipathy, an Indian independence activist, prominent congress leader, was a courageous women minister, self-sacrifice and loyalty to take the utmost penalty for one's conviction and this Rukmani Lakshmipathy had always done.

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ANTI - BRITISH STAND OF RAMNAD AND SIVAGANGAI

M. Samyuktha

The Carnatic Treaty of 1792 established a sort of dual control of British and the Nawab over the poligars. The British were slowly introducing into the political domain of the native poligars. The tact and diplomacy of the British enabled them to establish complete control over Ramanathapuram. In course of time, the Sethupathis were reduced to the status of Zamindars. The Sethupathis did not accept the British hegemony without any opposition. On different occasions, they tried to revolt against the British. The anti-British stance of the Sethupathis formed a significant part of their relation with the British.

Queen Velu Nachiyar hailed as a heroine of South India who has found a pride of place in the very first chapter of history of the freedom struggle of this country. She was in the forefront in many aspects of life. She was compared with the Queen Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, who fought against British in the northern part of this country, seventy years later. The Tamil Queen fought and drove away the British and ruled over her State as an independent ruler, for a period of ten years.

Queen Velu Nachiyar was the First Tamil Queen and freedom fighter, able general, great warrior and benevolent despot¹. She was follower of Pulitevar² by adopting secularism, equality, fraternity, democracy, social justice and preserver of culture in her administration. The Tamil Queen played a vital role in the native resistance against the British in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century and fought the British

eighty five years earlier than Jhansi Rani Lakshmi Bai in India. In other words, she was the First Woman Freedom Fighter in Indian History.

Formation of Sivagangai State

During the reign of Ramanathapuram State, by King Thirumalai Sethupathy (1675-1678), a situation arose necessitating the creation of a new 'Palayam' for the protection of the North western part of that State³. With a view to improve the status of his son-in-law he appointed him as Palayakar of Vellikkurichi Palayam as well as Kaval in charge of Tondi, the seaport which belonged to Country⁴. Muthu vijaya Ragunatha Sethupathi of Ramnad, who was the founder of the First rule of Sivaganga. Velu Nachiyar wanted to take revenge against the British. Hence she strengthened the forts and increased forces to restore Sivaganga Kingdom. She also ordered the repair of forts at Kalaiyarkoil⁵, kollangkondan, Siruvayal, and built a secret exit from Sivaganga palace and started many training centers at Arasa Kullam, Piranmalai, Sathru Sangara Kottai and Sankarapathy Kottai.

The death of her husband Muthu Vaduganathar was informed to Queen Velu Nachiyar, who was staying at that time in Kollangude and she rushed to Kalaiyarkoil fort. The ghastly scene, which she saw there, shocked her mind and body together. Queen Velu Nachiyar was the daughter of king Sellamuthu Sethupathi of Ramanathapuram and Sakkandhi Muththaththal Nachiyar.

Sivagangai State came under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot, with his flag fluttering over the palace of Sivagangai. His son, Ameer-ul-Umara, ruled the state for a period of eight years as the representative of the Nawab of Arcot. The revolutionary force of Sivagangai was observing all that was happening in Sivagangai, staying in the border areas of Sivagangai.

The leader of these revolutionary forces, who were giving a lot of troubles to the rule of the Nawab, were the Marudhu Brothers who were instrumental in bringing Sivagangai back to freedom in later days. The meeting of Velu Nachchiyar with Hyder Ali, took place in Dindugal. After ascending the throne, Velu Nachchiyar made three important decisions⁶. In order to fulfill her desire, HyderAli ordered to built Rajarajeshwari Temple and install goddess Rajarajeshwari, an idol made up of gold, within the fort of Dindugal for her worship⁷. Women force was formed by Queen Velu Nachchiyar, with herself being a trainer for that force. When she and her daughter, Vellachi Nachchiyar, accompanied by the loyal servants, narrowly escaped near Kalayarkoli (at Ariyakkurichi Annayar Koli) which was known only to herd girl Udaiyal.

The royal family was chased by Benjor and Udaiyal was tortured for information. But she refused to answer despite the cruel British force. Immediately, he ordered his soldiers to slaughter the Young Martyr, Udayal, in the same place. In order to honour her Velu Nachchiyar named her force as Udiyal Padai⁸. In 1780, on the sixth of Iyppasi (seventh month of Tamil month order), on a Friday, Udayal Padai launched their attempt to restore Sivaganga⁹. On the previous day of *Vijayadasmī*, Velu Nachchiyar hatched plot against the British. Because there was no restriction on the particular day to worship Goddess Rajarajeshwari by women, which is located inside the Sivaganga Palace, the British had hatched a plot against the people. But fortunately, Captain Quili came to know about the plot against them just a few minutes earlier. Within a fraction of second, decided to save the Queen and restore Sivaganga by sacrificing her life. She burnt herself and acted as human bomb to destroy the arsenals kept inside the temple. It was unexpected by the British force, which paralysed them for a moment. The British soldiers were ravaged by Udaiyal Padai, under

Velu Nachchiyar, who came out into the front and gallantly played the role of a defender to restore Sivaganga with the help of Udaiyal Padai¹⁰.

A few references say that the Sivaganga ruling house was gradually slipping from the Maravas to the Agambadi¹¹. As Vellachi Nachchiyar as legal heir for Sivaganga Samasthanam in 1790¹². As Vellachi Nachchiyar was inefficient and inexperienced in the administration of Sivaganga by Queen Velu Nachchiyar. When they implemented the royal orders, they were familiar and famous among the people of Sivaganga. Thus, Sivaganga had come completely under the control of the two Agambadias, after the reign of Queen Velu Nachchiyar. At this juncture, they acted as defecto rulers of Sivaganga¹³. It is clear that efficient persons can rule the country without any royal background. Thus, she paved the way for the formation of democracy in India. This Velu Nachchiyar was the only woman, who restored the kingdom from the country clutches of the British by open war and ruled for a decade.

Velu Nachchiyar, who tried to bring peace and rule the State by her firm decisions, could not enjoy a peaceful life at home. She had problems as to whom she should entrust her daughter with, after had attained maturity and also to whom she should entrust the ruler ship of the State after her. Regarding the marriage of her daughter two persons were proposed. One was king Muthuramalinga Sethupathy of Ramanathapuram and the other was a relative in the lineage of her mother, Sanganthi Vengan periya Udaya Thevar. Velu Nachchiyar preferred the latter and her daughter was married to Periya Udaya Thevar. The interest of her State was foremost in her mind while taking such a decision.

The British started enacting a drama with a dual role as thought they were on the side of Velu Nachchiyar for some time and on the other side, for some time. As a result of that, Vengan Periya Udaya Thevar become the King of Sivagangai as per the compromise formula suggested by the British. The adopted son of Velu Nachchiyar, Padamathur Gowri Vallaba Thevar, escaped to Arantangi to protect his life.

Muthuramalinga Sethupathi ascended the throne in 1762¹⁴. He was an efficient administrator. He wanted to free himself from the control of the Nawab. To make the matters worse, the Nawab handed over the administration to the Company. The Company sent McLeod as the Collector of Madurai in 1790. He raised the tribute to be paid by the Sethupathis from Rs. 1,75,000 to 2,20,000.39 this become a very big burden to the Sethupathi. The economic condition of Ramanathapuram was deplorable. The internal problems and frequent battles had famished the country.

Hence Sethupathis were not in a position to pay the annual tribute promptly. He made an agreement with the Company by which the Company got the right to collect taxes. As per the agreement Colonel Martinz was sent to Ramanathapuram to collect taxes¹⁵. He built a Bungalow in the middle of Ramanathapuram. Muthuirulappa Pillai was the Dalavai of Ramanathapuram. He developed a sort of intimacy with Martinz. This was not liked by Sethupathi. On 15th March 1793¹⁶. The declaration made its obligatory on the part of the weavers of Ramanathapuram, to sell all pieces of cloth to the Company.

Revolts against the Company

The people of Ramnand suffered a lot under the administration of the Company. The company did not take any interest in the people. The Company ordered the people to pay the Desakkaval Duty to the Company. The first revolt broke out on 24 April 1799 at Mudukulathur. A group of revolvers attacked the Circar Cutchery. They ceased the rifles of the Company sepous, who were there on security guard. A similar attack was made on the Cutchery at Abiramam¹⁷.The rebels were not only engaged in activities of loot but also organized a sort of civil disobedience movement.

Rise of Marudu Brothers every country in the world had suffered, politically and economically, due to the spread of colonialism. In India, it was nationalism that opposed to parochialism, regionalism. Tamil Nadu, The southern most part of India, played a remarkable role in the "fight to finish" struggle. The freedom fighters in the fag end the

Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries become the pioneers and the earliest torch - bearers of freedom struggle. They were none other than Puli Thevar, Khan Sahib, Kattabommam, Oomathurai and Marudu Brothers.

Kattabommman, the poligar of Panchalamkurichi, who rebelled against the British, used to meet Marudhu Brothers to seek advice and help in times of crisis¹⁸, Marudhu Pandyan with inadequate native forces valiantly fought his final struggle against the disciplined and well equipped British force, for six months. Like the other early patriots, he also failed to attain his objective of liberation of mother-India from the clutches of the British.

The proclamations of Marudhu Pandyan and the allegation of British led the situation to the brink of a bloody conflict. In May 1801, the freedom fighters under the command of Marudhu Pandyan, encountered the British. They drove away the British forces at Tirupatore and Natham. Then the patriots stormed Palamaneri shelter of the Fort of Ramanad. In July. Oomathurai, the ally of Marudhu Pandyan, commanded his followers in Madurai and captured it. In July 1801, the uprising spread to Kaveri basin. Shevatta Tambi, the son of Marudhu Pandyan, marched to Tanjore. The rebels expelled the British troops from Pudukkottai. Afterwards, they moved to Kumbakonam and Wodayarpalayam¹⁹. In the beginning of the struggle, the patriots gained astounding victory and by that success the places of Marudhu Pandyan. The continuous victories and by that success the places of Madurai, Ramnad, Kallarnadu and Tanjore came under the control of Marudhu Pandyan. The continuous victories of Marudhu Pandyan threatened the position of the British. The Madras Government ordered the mobilization of all the British forces towards Sivagangai. The end of Tippu Sultan and execution of Kattabomman at Panchalamkurichi, Tirunelveli, helped the British troops to divert their consolidated attention towards Sivagangai. Lt. Col. Agnew was put in charge of over all military operation against Marudhu Pandyan Advancing from the south, the British force occupied Palamaneri, Tirupuvanam, Tirupachetti and Manamaduri .Col Innes. Attacked Piranamalai, and

Saturusamharakottai situated near Tirupathur. Commanded by Blackburn, the British occupied the rebel posts at Tanjore and advanced to Arandangi and Pudukottai²⁰. Col. Macaulay defeated the rebels at Tirunelveli and Ramanad.

Thus the British surrounded the patriots of Sivagangai from all sides. On 27th July 1801, the British started their final concerted military operation. The combined forces of Agnew and Innes marched towards Siruvayal. The patriots resisted the mighty British forces by setting fire to Siruvayal. As a result, through an alternative way, on 30th September 1801, the British detachments moved to Kalayarkoil. After a sharp fire, Marudhu brothers were engaged in an encounter with the British at Cholapuram. Both of them were wounded and captured. James Welsh, an officer in the British army, had given a brief account on the last days of this great patriot. He had observed: "After Chinna Marudhu was defeated in the battle of Kalayarkoil, he was chased like a wild beast, was badly wounded and captured. He was seen lingering with a fractured thigh in prison and was lastly beheld with his gallant brother, Vellai Marudhu and no less gallant son, Shevata Tambi, surrounded by other, insurgents, in chains upon a common gibbet²¹." On 24th October 1801, Marudhu Pandyan, together with his brother Vellai Marudhu and a host of other patriots, were executed on the ruins of the Fort of Tirupatur in Ramnad District. The followers of Marudhu Pandyan carried his body to Kalayarkoil, buried it near the tank of great temple and erected a small tomb in his memory. The end of Marudhu Pandyan did not mark the end of the liberation movement.

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THE ELITES OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN NELLORE DISTRICT AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT.

Dr. K. Saravana Kumar

The political scene in Nellore district during the freedom movement and after independence presents a large number of distinguished personalities who influenced the course of political events many a time. The present study focuses on the important political elites of Communist movement, their political careers and their services to the people of Nellore district.

"History is but the biography of Great men", as Carlyle contended, all those men and women who have contributed in their own way, unmindful of reward and recognition, their might for the general welfare of all deserve to be remembered in history.

In this paper an attempt is made to identify and analyze the contribution of some of the Elites of communist party in Nellore district during and post independence period.

1.Sri.Puchchalapalli Sundaraiah ¹

Sundarayya was born on 1st May 1913 in Alaganipadu (in the present Vidavalur Mandal of Kovur Constituency) in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, India. At the age of 17, he joined Gandhiji's Civil disobedience Movement. He was arrested and spent time in a Borstal school in Rajahmundry where he became acquainted with various communists. When released, he organized agricultural workers in his village to protest against bonded labour.

He was mentored by Amir Hyder Khan who prompted him to become a member of the Communist Party of India, which was condemned and banned by the British government during the Second World War.

When the ban on the Party was lifted in 1943, the first Party Congress was held

at Bombay and he was elected to the Central Committee in the second party Congress held at Calcutta. In that Congress, the Communist Party of India adopted a line advocating armed struggle that came to be known as 'Calcutta thesis'. It was closely identified with its main proponent, the then General Secretary B.T. Ranadive. As a result, insurgencies took place in Tripura, Telangana, (then Hyderabad State under Nizam administration) West Bengal and Tiruvancore state.

The most important rebellion took place in Telangana, (Hyderabad State) against the Nizam of Hyderabad state. Sundarayya, was one of its leaders. He went underground between 1948 and 1952. He was re-elected to the Central Committee in 1952 when a special party conference was held. He was also elected to the Politburo, the highest forum within the Party. He was then re-elected to Central Committee and the Politburo in the third party congress in Vijayawada and again in the fourth congress held at Palakkad.

He was elected to the Central Executive and the Central Secretariat of the Party at the fifth Party Congress at Amritsar. At this time the internal conflict within the Communist Party of India had heightened. The Party leadership under S.A.Dange were in favour of supporting the Indian Government headed by the Indian National Congress at the time of the Sino-Indian War. Also, following the Sino-Soviet differences of International Communist Movement, the Party leadership under Dange was pursuing the USSR line, which the pro-Chinese leadership within the Party called revisionist. The group under Dange was referred to as the "Rightists", and the other group, "Leftists". Sundarayya was a prominent leader of the leftist group and he resigned his

positions conferred upon him during the Amritsar congress of the Party, protesting against the policies of the dominant leadership of the Party. He was arrested and imprisoned during November 1962 at the time of India-China border war.

The split came out in open and the leftists organized the Seventh Party Congress in October–November 1964 and forming a new Party called the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Sundarayya was elected as its General Secretary. However, immediately after this conference, Sundarayya and several Party leaders were arrested because of a ruling produced by the Congress government, and they were detained until May 1966. Again, he went underground to evade arrest during the period of the then Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, who evoked Emergency provisions of the Indian, between 1975–1977, to suspend Constitutionally guaranteed 'fundamental rights'. Sundarayya remained the Party's General Secretary until 1976. In that year, he decided to resign from his post as the Party's General Secretary and gave up his Politburo membership, for what he called the "revisionist habits" acquired by the Party.

In December 1972, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) published a comprehensive report prepared by Sundarayya, the then General Secretary, called *Telangana People's Struggle and Lessons*. Apart from narrating the socio-economic background of the Telangana Rebellion, Sundarayya went on to enunciate the Party's line on the question of partisan struggles.

In 1952, he was elected to the Upper House of the Indian Parliament, the Rajya Sabha from the Madras Assembly constituency and became the leader of the Communist group in Parliament. He was elected to the State assembly of Andhra Pradesh and remained a member of that House until 1967. After a long gap he contested again and got elected to the State assembly of Andhra Pradesh in 1978, he continued this up to 1983. Sundarayya held the party's state Secretary post in Andhra Pradesh and was a member of the Central Committee of the Party from this period to his death on the 19 May 1985.

2. Sri. Jonna Kotayya.²

Sri Jonna Kotayya was born in Talamanchi village of Kovur Taluk of Nellore

district. His political career started in 1933. He entered into direct politics in 1937 by opposing Justice Party in composite state of Madras. In the general elections held in the same year for state legislature he supported Sri. Bezawada Gopala Reddy and toured the district in support of him. He joined in Peasants Association of Talamanchi and was attracted towards Communism. At the insistence of Sri. Baswareddy Sankaraiah he joined in the party as a fulltime worker and started Talamanchi branch of Communist party. His comrades were Sarvasri. Chidambaram, Jonna Venkata Setty, and Jonna Narsaiah in the village who actively took the ideology of the party to surrounding villages and strengthened the party. He participated in Quit India movement, damaged railway property by burning a railway bridge at Talamanchi and went underground for few months to avoid police arrest. He attended All India Peasants conference held at Vijayawada in 1944 and implemented all the programmes that were resolved in Nellore district. He founded a co-operative society for the welfare of ryots in Talamanchi, which is still working and functioning well. He encouraged weavers to form into co-operative societies and utilize the services of the co-operative bodies.

Inspired by the call given by Mahatma Gandhi he personally supervised the *harijana* entry into temples of Talamanchi. Tanguturi Prakasam pantulu's ministry took a decision to form food security committees throughout the state. Jonna Kotaiah formed such committee in Talamanchi and made its functioning successful. When the Government banned the activities of the Communist Party of India in 1949 he was arrested and sent to Kadalur Jail where he spent two years as detenu. Before the general elections in 1952 all the communists were released. After the division in the party, he joined the Communist party of India (M) and later he sided the Naxalite movement for some time. He died on March 26th 2012 in Nellore at the advanced age of 93 years.

3. Sri. Darsi Chenchiah³

Darsi Chenchiah belongs to the galaxy of revolutionary freedom fighters who joined the Ghadar movement before the First World war. He belonged to the hard core of Ghadar

terrorists who tried to smuggle arms from abroad to fight the British white army during the war. He is remembered as the earliest detenué from Andhra, who had contributed to the struggle against British imperialists before mass movement of Gandhian Non-Cooperation. During his student life at the high school in Ongole, Chenchaiyah came into contact with patriotic youngsters who were inspired by the speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. After the Bengal partition, the Swadeshi movement swept through the Andhra towns. The conviction of Gadicherla Harisarvothamarao for three years rigorous imprisonment in the Ashe murder case in Trichinopoly, the imprisonment of Tilak, Chidambaram Pillai and Lala Lajpat Roy and the repression in Bengal had encouraged patriotic young men to think along revolutionary lines. The martyrdom of Bose, and Dingra, the daring activities of Sarvarkar had also inspired young men to follow their footsteps. Young men wanted to go abroad for studies as well as international contacts. Among them Chenchaiyah was a sensitive young man, who was born in Kanigiri (then in Nellore district) in a merchant's family. He borrowed money to study Agricultural science in an American University. He joined in San Francisco for his higher studies. It was here he met number of patriotic sikh youths. In the wake of the repression in Bengal, Maharashtra, and Punjab the two sikh youths, Hardayal and Sohan Singh Bakna started a weekly newspaper called Ghadr, which means revolution. Hardayal was a brilliant student of history and politics. He was one of the earliest Indians to write about Karl Marx in Modern Review as early as 1912. The members of the Ghadr trained themselves through rigorous exercises and learned the art of using modern weapons and making bombs. Chenchaiyah was one among them. He was elected to the decision making body of the Ghadar group. The object of the group was to smuggle a shipload of arms to India and with the help of Indian revolutionaries and soldiers, they wanted to overthrow the British Government. At that time a German Indian committee promised to extend its help in this venture. Chenchaiyah was sent to Burma along with Balwant Singh to co-ordinate in this venture. He met Sun Yat Sen, the great Chinese revolutionary leader who inspired him

to overthrow the British imperialism in India. On his way he was arrested and detained in Singapore. He was then handed over to Indian Government which imprisoned him in Alipore, Delhi, Coimbatore and Kanpur prisons. He was detained for four and half years before he was released in 1919.

The Ghadar rebellion was suppressed and the Sikh patriots suffered death, transportation for life in Andamans under severe repression. The Ghadar phase of the revolutionary terrorism was never interested in individual annihilation of white officers, but in overthrowing the white army in armed struggle with international support. After release from imprisonment Chenchaiyah was active in social reform work like encouraging cross-section marriages, widow re-marriages and reforming prostitutes. He joined the freedom movement and suffered imprisonment. The old revolutionary in him could not compromise with this Gandhian passive resistance. He was drawn to the Congress socialism and later worked in Trade Union Movement. He led Simpson workers strike in Madras as a Communist organizer. However he later resigned from the Communist Party of India and took the educational and social reform work. Chenchaiyah wrote a book on agriculture in Telugu. His wife Subhadramma was a well known social worker in Madras. He died in 1964. As a pioneer of revolutionary terrorism and a sincere friend of workers Chenchaiyah deserves to be remembered for his sacrifices, socialism, internationalism and unselfish service to his fellowmen.

4. Sri.Jakka Venkaiah.⁴

Sri.Jakka Venkaiah was born in a landlord family on November 3rd of 1930 in Damaramadugu village of Kovur taluk. He did his elementary education in his native village, Damaramadugu. He was much influenced by the Communist ideology and joined in Communist Party of India along with Dr.Jatti Seshareddy. When the Congress government headed by Prakasam Pantulu banned the activities of the Communist Party of India through an ordinance he was arrested and kept in Kovur Sub Jail, though he was not a primary member of the party. However he was released later. In the same year he became an ardent supporter and follower of Basvareddy

Sankaraiah who taught him the Marxism and the techniques of organizing party meetings and mobilizing people.

However after the Chinese aggression the Communist Party of India was divided into two in 1963 and Jakka Venkaiah sided the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and rebuilt the party organization. Under his stewardship, Communist Party of India (M) spread into almost all villages in the district. However he was arrested during the emergency in 1975 and was imprisoned in Nellore central jail. After lifting of the emergency he was released.

He was elected to the Assembly from Allur constituency in 1985 and 1995 as party candidate. During his stint as MLA he used his good offices and his strategies to uplift the downtrodden and marginal peasants. He ensured the supply of water to tail end lands. He organized agitations and movements for the distribution of *bansar* lands to the landless poor. He is a born fighter and well informed man who

was active in politics and stood in forefront whenever his services were required by the party and people in need. He died in 2018 at an advanced age.

The Communist Party of India as political party and its managers i.e. elite of Communist movement in Nellore district played a vital role in creating political awareness among the masses during pre-independence era. They succeeded in their task. After attaining independence in 1947 they took keen interest in shaping the fortunes of their political organizations and their political careers. Since the formation of Andhra State, separating it from composite Madras state, the political elite of Nellore district always took forefront in national and provincial political power game as well as in the interests of the district in promoting socio economic welfare of the people. Nellore district played very crucial role in getting abolition of '*zamindari*' and feudal systems in the country.

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OPERATION VIJAY - THE ONLY SOLUTION LEFT BY PORTUGAL TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU IN THE LIBERATION OF PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN INDIA

Fr. Sebastian Mathai & B. Deena Dayalan

The paper is an effort to understand why Indian government followed the principle of violence to liberate Portuguese territories in India though it is well known for the principle of non-violence internationally. Paper focuses on deliberations and negotiations between India and Portuguese government and finally why and how India employed so called as Operation Vijay to liberate Portuguese territories in India.

Goa is an integral part of India. Goans are Indians, in culture, civilization, and religion. They wished to get rid of the Portuguese and join the Indian Union. These are plain and simple facts which the entire world knows. Thus, Portugal had no moral right to be in Goa. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India thought that if we became free in, what

was then called, British India, the inevitable result of this would be the independence of the French and Portuguese possessions in India as well; because they were parts of India not only geographically but also culturally. And it was quite inconceivable for us to think that there would be Portuguese territory or French territory in India after India became free. So, when India became free as a whole, we took these matters up in the normal course with the French government and the Portuguese government. We were a little surprised to find that this was not quite as easy as we imagined and there were obstructions, delays, etc. So far as the French government was concerned, we could at least talk to them. We could discuss the matter, although we did not always agree, and

so we talked and discussed for several years, gradually getting towards a solution. And ultimately, as we know, the French left their colonies and an agreement was arrived at with the French government. But the course of events was quite different insofar as the Portuguese colonies in India were concerned. Although they were small, the Portuguese tenaciously held on to them, and they raised arguments. Well, it is hardly correct to say that they were arguments. In fact, they refused to talk to us. We opened a special mission in Lisbon just to talk about this matter - Goa. The mission had a poor time because they had no one to talk to practically; I mean to say, in the sense of any serious talk. And one of the principal arguments that was produced before us by the Portuguese government was that, they were in Goa because of a Papal Bull which they had got 500 or 450 years ago; I forgot the exact date. Now, it is rather difficult to deal with a country which raises such arguments in this country. So, I am merely pointing out that we were taken aback. We lived in entirely different works of thought; there was no common ground even to talk about. Well, we withdrew our mission from Lisbon. Now, therefore, when we thought of Goa, in those days after independence; naturally, we reacted against what might be called military steps to capture Goa, which was not a very difficult matter, naturally, because Goa is a small corner of India. Also, for some years I said, we tried to get in touch with the Portuguese government to come to a settlement and we succeeded in the case of the French. We failed utterly in the case of the Portuguese. Meanwhile, all those other developments in the world took place; military alliances of NATO, Warsaw Pact, and all that, and the Cold War came in with a flourish.¹

In short, a vigorous mental, moral, and spiritual life - either for the individual or the nation - can develop only if one is prepared to fight the forces of evil.² This is apt in the case of the Portuguese territories in India. Their struggle too passed through phases of violent, followed by nonviolent and again violent methods, leading ultimately to their liberation by the Indian army in 1961.³

There were many reasons which forced the Indian government to intervene in the affairs of the Portuguese territories. Firstly, during

World War II, the strategic importance of Marmagao and Panjim came to be realized fully. German merchant ships took shelter in Goa and were found transmitting meteorological reports and other valuable information regularly to the German Navy. The situation was remedied by the Portuguese at Sir Winston Churchill's intervention. These factors gave greater urgency to the question of liberating the enclaves.⁴ Secondly, the Indian action did not come as a surprise because many countries knew that India had exhausted all methods open to it for a friendly parting of the ways with Portugal, as in the case of Britain and France. Soon after independence, when India sought diplomatic negotiations for the liberation of the settlements, Portugal refused to even discuss the subject. Later, the people resorted to Satyagraha, a method successfully used against the British. The Portuguese failed to understand the spirit of Satyagraha and ruthlessly shot dead several unarmed and nonviolent volunteers. After the indiscriminate shooting of the Satyagrahis in 1955, the Government of India stepped in to stop the movement because it feared that if the merciless methods of the Portuguese were allowed to continue, they might produce strong and violent reactions in India and this might ultimately lead to a clash between the two countries. India asked friendly nations to help with this problem. She might not have specifically requested these nations to come to her aid, but these powers knew the situation only too well. If only they had a will to help, they would have definitely found the way.⁵ In this regard, our then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said, "there was practically no resistance, there was no mind to resist, not that the Government there did not want to resist. The orders were to resist, but there was no mind to resist. They realized that they had no business to be there. They had to go". Thirdly, the revolts at that time in Portugal itself had proved the unpopularity of Dr. Salazar's regime. Not only the Goans, even the people in Portugal itself had started expressing their strong desire for liberty and a democratic form of government. After months of hesitation, indecision, and anger, Portugal agreed to repatriate 3,500 of its soldiers in detention at Goa. With the completion of the recall of soldiers and a sympathetic solution of the problem of Indian settlers in Portugal's Asian

and African colonies, the relations between India and Portugal would be like those between any two countries in the world. The future relations between the two countries would mainly depend on the attitude of Portugal because, in keeping with their tradition, the Indians had no bitterness towards the Portuguese for their misdeeds of 451 years in their colonies in this subcontinent.⁶

Fourthly, on the 20th or so of November, when a Sabarmati Steamship was on its usual trip from Bombay to Cochin and back and was passing through the waters between the Anjadiv island, which was a Portuguese possession, opposite Karwar port and Karwar village, the officer standing on the bridge was shot at by a Portuguese sentry from the Anjadiv island. Luckily, he was not directly hit. But, a piece of splintered wood of the bridge that was hit, went through his eye and he was almost blinded. But Portugal completely denied the firing. Thus, the security measures along the border were tightened by the Mysore police to keep a watch on the movement of Portuguese troops.⁷ This act was greatly condemned by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.⁸ To this, when Mr. Hondoo, went to Karwar, he said, "To my horror, I was told that a fisherman who had gone out fishing from the Karwar village, as hundreds of them did in their small boats, was shot at again by a Portuguese sentry and killed. The two others in the boat rowed his body back taking a circuitous route. There was a great deal of consternation among the fisherfolk of the West coast of the area. Within an hour or so the navy of Bombay sent out two frigates on this patrol. I then hurried back to Karwar to see the effect of this patrolling on the fisherfolk and to get more information on the murder of Rajaram - the fisherman who had been shot dead and give his family assistance. However, it was a very happy sight to see the Indian frigates patrolling the area and I noticed that this did create a certain amount of confidence in the fishermen around Karwar who had begun to go out again in their boats to fish. One bright young naval officer, in fact, their intelligence officer, at once told me: 'Oh! Well, Sir, I can explain that to you because there is a naval intelligence report that we have, which goes to prove that the annual CENTO naval exercises were being held 200 miles from where we were due west in the Arabian sea and therefore 200

nautical miles off Goa. For these exercises, there were six Pakistani ships, three Turkish and six British, and some others on this exercise." He added that this exercise had begun on the 20th of November 1961, and was getting over on about the 28th of November. Further, in this regard, he concluded that as these attacks of provocation to India had been made while the CENTO exercise was on, they may have been made purposely by the Portuguese in order to find out what the reactions of the CENTO powers would be if India took military actions against them. In any case, if India bit this bait, the Portuguese would be able to call for help of this CENTO fleet to safeguard and defend Goa, Daman, and Diu.⁹

When the Indian government decided to have a joint mission of the Army, Navy and Air Force,¹⁰ Mr. Hondoo pleaded and begged with the Defense Minister and the three chiefs to drop this action, which if taken would lead at once to a confrontation with the CENTO fleet in the Arabian sea on the one hand, and on the other, would afford the much-sought after opportunity for Salazar to go straight to the UN and obtain an embargo against India taking any further action regarding Goa, Daman and Diu. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the then Defense Minister of India, very kindly thought that there was something in what he was saying and decided to postpone the conference for the next day as he wanted time to think this over and consult with the Prime Minister. The Defense Minister decided that Mr. Hondoo should immediately meet the Prime Minister and tell him exactly what he thought. As said, the former gave a careful analysis of the situation and begged the Prime Minister to interfere and not permit the taking over of a scruffy little island like Anjadiv but agree to take complete action against all Portuguese possessions in India all at once. The Prime Minister listened to him carefully and asked him to meet again after dinner at his residence and said that he would also call in the Defense Minister and that he would, in the meantime, consider Mr. Hondoo's point of view. As said, all those who met opined that if at all India was to take any action in the Portuguese provocation, it should be for the takeover of Goa, Daman and Diu, and once and for all end this problem, this terrible sore, this ulcer, that was tearing into the very vitals of India. In conclusion, the Prime Minister told the

Defense Minister that he would give him instructions about this after he had talked to other members of the Cabinet and asked him to stay in for the next day. The following day, the Defense Minister received the green signal from the Prime Minister and the Cabinet as a whole. The trend of discussions was now on a full-scale operation by land, sea, and air against the territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, including Anjadiv Island. The date fixed was around December 15, 1961, but, thanks to the great organizational capacity of General Kaul, the then chief of the General staff, a whole Indian division was centered on the borders of Goa, Daman and Diu to be ready and poised for attack if necessary at all. On the contrary, there was reason to believe that Mr. Kennedy who was in touch with Salazar on behalf of the Prime Minister, soon after the Indian division began to get centered on the borders of Goa, had been told by Salazar that he was certainly not going to leave his territories of Goa, Daman and Diu unless Mr. Nehru again begged of him to do so and even then Salazar could only "consider" the matter. In this regard, Mr. Hondoo thought that the Prime Minister received a telegram from Mr. Kennedy around December 15, suggesting that Mr. Nehru should now make another approach to Salazar and ask him whether or not he would talk about a peaceful settlement with respect to these territories. In this regard, Mr. Hondoo was personally very nervous that the Prime Minister would possibly agree even at this eleventh hour to do so, but he was again wrong because the effect of that telegram on Mr. Nehru was one which caused him a great deal of pain and anger. After all of Panditji's persuasions, Salazar wanted the former to beg him to listen to some kind of reason and not attack him. The effect of it was that on the 16th of December, he received a telephone call from the Defense Minister giving us the green signal to go in according to the plan. Ever since December 10, Mr. Hondoo who was in Belgaum, was still there at the time of the attack, which started on the morning of December 17, 1961, the date that we had already fixed. Mr. Hondoo was a very relieved man at the time and so was General Chaudhuri because it would have been extremely difficult to withdraw the whole of the Indian Division from the borders. However, Mr. Hondoo was a much more happy man on the afternoon of

December 18th, when the Portuguese Governor - General of Goa handed in his unconditional surrender to Brigadier Kalwant Singh at Marmagao. Right through the operation, not one single Goan, man, woman or child, had been injured or had even accidentally been hurt. Panditji's image in the Goa operation was very greatly besmirched and muddled by a large number of international politicians, opposition leaders, international leaders and various other political parties, who did not at all like the fact that he took over Goa, Daman and Diu in the manner that he did. To this, very important was the fact that a very large number of our own Indian administrative officers, who belonged to the External Affairs Ministry, to the intelligence, and to various other allied ministries, were also very angry about action that had been taken. But according to Mr. Hondoo, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru stands out like a beacon light. Nobody in the world would have been as patient and as considerate as him in regard to the Portuguese whom he had begged for 14 years to leave India in peace, as the British and the French had done. It was only when there was a lot of a cruelty that had been perpetrated on the Goans in Goa, that he was forced to take this action which was taken swiftly, successfully and without any person being injured at all.¹¹

The entire operation combing Goa, Daman and Diu lasted less than 36 hours. While patrols moved in overnight, the main columns of the 17th Indian Infantry Division, under Major General K. P. Candeth's command, crossed the border into Goan territory at the crack of dawn on December 18. The 50 Para Brigade under Brigadier Sugat Singh, marched in from the north, from Dodamarg, was in Tedium, across the Mandowi Creek ferry from Panjim, Goa's capital. They entered Panjim early the next morning, without meeting resistance. The 63 Infantry Brigade, led by Brigadier Kulwant Singh Dhillon, simultaneously entered from Anmode and in no time reached Ponda, and then moved on to Margao. On the way, on a rising ground, this column encountered some resistance from the Portuguese. When the fire was returned, the Portuguese fled, leaving behind their own cars, jeeps, and weapons. That was not the only resistance that the 63 Infantry Brigade met with in the course of their march-By 4 P.M., on December 19, this column was in Marmagao harbour.¹²

On December 20, 1961, it was reported that the Indians were in full control of Goa. The Portuguese Governor-General in Goa had run away and the Portuguese troops numbering approximately 1800 there, had also surrendered to the Indian troops. The Portuguese indeed put up no resistance. Thus, India's 14-year-struggle for the liberation of Goa came to an end. Peace was restored and the foreigners including the Portuguese troops were evacuated. Goa was soon amalgamated with the Union of India. India's long-cherished desire in Goa had been fulfilled through military action rather than diplomacy. Such a humiliating defeat could have been easily avoided if the Portuguese would have agreed to a peaceful settlement of the problem and come to terms with India and voluntarily vacated Goa.¹³

The main factor that put the Portuguese defenders out of balance was the speed with which the Indian Army moved; to whom no demolished bridge or obstacle was insurmountable. It did not give the Portuguese any time, even if they wanted to, to enforce the scorched earth policy. It was however not until 10 P.M. on December 19, 1961, the Portuguese Governor-General Vasello de Silva, formally handed in, to Brigadier Dhillon, the document of surrender of forces in Goa. Earlier to that, Daman had been surrendered at 8:20 A.M. and Diu at 11:10 A.M. The Indian action against the Portuguese enclaves was a combined operation in which all the three services participated. This was also the first action since independence in which the Indian Navy had taken part. The IAF bombed and put out of action, the wireless station at Bambolem, near Panjim, and the Dabolim Airfield, at the outset of the operation, on December 18, so as to cut off the Portuguese in Goa from Lisbon and immobilize any likely air effort or take-off. But apart from attacking these two strictly military targets, the IAF flights overhead did no harm whatsoever to civilian life and property and took the Anjadiv island on December 18. I.N.S. Mysore had to bombard the island when the Portuguese garrison there fired upon the Indian landing party. The Portuguese garrisons in Daman and Diu comparatively put up a much stiffer resistance. I.N.S. Delhi had to bombard the Diu fort from air before the two garrisons gave up. In the entire operation, the casualties suffered by the Indian armed forces were 15, out of which seven were killed among

the Indian landing party at Anjadiv, while 16 Portuguese were killed in action. The injured did not total more than fifty on both sides put together. But while the Indian operation was going on in Goa, many Portuguese officials and civilians took shelter on some of the 19 foreign ships lying at anchor in the bay but, no one knows the actual number of the Portuguese. Some of them who took refuge on a Japanese ship landed in Japan. Some others arrived in Karachi, and yet others had taken shelter on Italian and German ships. The damage to civilian property resulting from the military operation was nil, apart from that suffered by adjacent buildings by the blowing up of bridges by the Portuguese. Thus, the Church of Our Lady of Miracles was badly damaged.¹⁴

Once the Portuguese surrendered, it was the duty, and in the interests of, the Government of India to rush accredited news correspondents into Goa to record and supply to the Indian people and the world, eye-witness accounts of the formal surrender ceremony and the scenes of popular enthusiasm that accompanied it. The Indian army was moving so fast that the local people were taken napping. Thus, a nurse and a doctor walked right into the arms of the oncoming Indian troops. The Indian troops were quite surprised to see them nonchalantly walking up the street. When questioned, the nurse and the doctor said that they were on their way to the district headquarters to receive their salary. When they were told that the Portuguese government was no more in existence and that they were actually speaking to Indian army officers, the nurse sat on the ground with surprise and shock. She was revived and the couple were escorted in a motor vehicle by Indian army officers to their homes and assured that they would be paid their salaries by the Government of India. Despite the brave statements by Dr. Salazar and Goa's Governor-General, Brigadier Vasello de Silva about defending the Portuguese possessions, "to the last man and last bullet", the prisoners-of-war revealed that there was no intention at any time on the part of the Portuguese troops to resist the Indian army if it came to a war.¹⁵

REASONS FOR PORTUGUESE DEFEAT

Even the Portuguese forces were not enough to face the marching, well-equipped

Indian troops. This imbalance in the strength or force with their low morality was the main reason for their defeat. Apparently, Lisbon greatly relied on London, wrongly hoping that it would apply pressure on New Delhi against the use of force in view of the existing Anglo-Portuguese military alliance and thereby save Portugal from the debacle. Mr. Nehru had no other option but to move quickly, ignoring the Anglo-American representations as the campaigns for election in India were looming. Moreover, his failure to check the Chinese incursions in the north, added to the growing internal political pressures for intervention in Goa, were further reasons for his decision to fight and solve the issue once and forever.¹⁶ To add to these, artillery guns of Portuguese were brand new and so was all their other equipment and the grease was still clinging to them. Regarding this, when a Portuguese army officer was asked or intervened as to whether they had received any training with these weapons, he replied, "No training, only in the room".¹⁷ On the other hand, change of dates by the Indian government had put the Portuguese in a state of confusion. It is so, that a signal from Dr. Salazar to his Governor-General in Goa, intercepted by the Indian army, informed the latter that the Indian army's appointed day was December 14, 1961. It was good intelligence work, as that was actually the original date, which was subsequently, at the last minute, changed to December 18, 1961. He had also ordered the Portuguese troops to fight and hold up the Indian army for seven days, until December 21, 1961, when he would get the United Nations to act and intercede on their behalf. But the Portuguese soldiers had decided otherwise under the order of their Commander and Governor. To this, the Portuguese army had done a grand job of the demolition of the bridges - for which the credit should go to Brigadier - General Vasello de Silva, the Governor-General and Commander of the Portuguese forces, who was an engineer by profession. But it was apparent that the Portuguese troops lacked the will to resist.¹⁸ But the demolition of the bridges and culverts by the Portuguese did not deter the Indian troops' progress. They left their vehicles behind, where no diversions were possible and waded through streams and marched on without a let-up. The local people helped the incoming liberating

forces in many ways, guided them along shortcuts, ferried them across rivers and offered them drinks and their boats and motor vehicles.¹⁹

Many attempts were made to avoid this violent solution to liberate the Portuguese territories in India. One of them was by the people of Goa. On Saturday, December 16, 1961, with the Indian Army forces around Goa and Indian Commandos, last minute desperate attempt were made by a certain lawyer and leaders to relinquish the hold on Goa and voluntarily confer independence on the region. A monster petition was got up by these leaders to which signatures were being collected from prominent citizens. This petition was scheduled to be called 'Doctor Sailaja' on Monday, December 18, 1961. But it could not be dispatched as by then it was too late.²⁰

Our Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, said that the success in Portuguese territories with special reference to Goa should not be called a military victory as there was no fighting. The Portuguese had offered no resistance. But the great fate of the armed forces, the Army, the Air Force and the Navy, working in coordination was the smooth, swift and efficient manner of ending Portuguese colonialism in Goa. There was not a single civilian casualty while the military casualties on either side were few. The whole campaign did credit to the planning and preparation of the leaders of the armed forces. "The smooth and swift campaign of India's armed forces has made many other countries quite aware and conscious of India's capacity and strength." Mr. Nehru said that strangely enough there were two reactions to it which were completely opposed to each other. One was in India and the other was in the Asian and African countries, of complete support to India's stand. Certain countries of Europe and America though, were completely opposed to it. He said, "There is no doubt that what had happened in Goa was wholeheartedly welcome by every man, woman, and child in every city and town and village in India. There might have been one or two voices in India who did not feel happy over it. But this was welcome by everyone in every sphere of life, whether he was a worker in a factory or a patient in the field, or a tongawalla, or a taxi driver or an ironsmith or a carpenter. They had all felt happy over it." Mr.

Nehru said, "I have used the word 'happy' to describe the People's feelings in India over what happened in Goa. But this word doesn't fully express the feelings. These feelings represented in miniature the mighty wave that swept the people's hearts at the time of independence in 1947 and uplifted them. On a small scale, we saw the same feeling fill the heart of the people in India on this Goa issue."²¹

WHY DID INDIA CHOOSE 'OPERATION VIJAY'?

The *Diario da Minha*, a leading Portugal newspaper, published the reply of Indian Defense Minister Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon to London reporters under the title, 'There was no other solution'. Here, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon replied, "There was no other solution" left by the Portuguese except for the use of force to seize what did not belong to them."²²

Our Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, too stated that New Delhi had tried repeatedly in vain to negotiate with Lisbon for the transfer of Portuguese possessions on the India subcontinent.²³ He further said, "If the invasion of Egypt, Cuba, and Hungary by powerful permanent council members did not weaken the world organization, how could India's action to liberate a part of its territory produce such a disaster?" He further said, "The U.S. knew the reluctance with which India took the final decision, India postponed the action twice after fixing "vague dates" first, when some Latin

American countries wanted to bring about a peaceful settlement and on the second occasion on a suggestion from the U.S. itself. Only after the United States informed India that the "Portuguese response to the American initiative had been a negative one", did this country decide in favor of police action and that too most reluctantly. The action came after India and other friendly nations had given up the hope of a peaceful settlement."²⁴

Thus, India tried its best to stick to the non-violent policy but the action was provoked by the violence and cruel methods used by the Portuguese government on the nationalists and other freedom fighters, and the fact that an acute frustration was developing among the brave Goans who had begun to feel that the Government of India was passive and not sincere in their protestations about freeing Goa.²⁵ Thus, Portugal and its policies ultimately forced India to take armed action code-named as "Operation Vijay" to defuse the Portuguese attack and get them surrender within 24 hours. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the noted followers of Mahatma Gandhi, fully justified the steps taken to integrate the Portuguese settlements. Mr. Narayan said that it was a great pity that India had to resort to force in Goa. But politically, no alternative was open to it.²⁶ In short, it is very clear from the facts that Portugal's policy towards India forced India to apply force instead of peaceful methods to liberate Portuguese territories in India.

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4. Rao, R. P. (1963). *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961*.p.03.
5. *Ibid*.p.05.
6. *Ibid*.p.08.
7. Armed Forces of the Indian Union, Operation Vijay.p.43.
8. In public meeting at Allahabad on 1 December, 1961 Jawaharlal Nehru said "We can't tolerate such acts. We will take the necessary steps at the right time". (Operation Vijay)
9. Hondoo, G K. Goa wins Freedom - Reflections and Reminiscences.p.196-197
10. Operation Vijay.p.44. When a delegation of the Goan political convention met then Defense Minister V. K. Krishna Menon and informed him that "according to the information received by them, the Political worker in Goa released from detention were arrested again. Thus Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon assured them that, if necessary, force would be used to liberate Goa at the right time".
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HISTORICIZING THE NATURE OF TRAVANCORE GRANDHASALA SANGHAM AND ORGANIZED MOVEMENTS

Dr. S.V. Shalini

The changing character of the library movement and its organization effort were seen in Travancore. The library organization formed in this region tried to please the colonial rulers primarily with the objectives of securing funds. This was evident from the proceedings of the first conference of Travancore Grandhasala sangham.¹ The Diwan of Travancore, Sir C.P Ramaswamy Iyer, inaugurated the library conference held at P.K.M library Ambalapuzha, on 16 September 1945.

The role of P.N Paniker in organizing a library network in the state deserves special mention. He was associated with the formation of Sanadhana Dharma Vayanasala in Neelamperur, Allepy. He succeeded in getting a grant of Rs.10 from the government for this library. He realized that the government and official agencies have to play an important role in promoting the library movement, and secured all possible assistance from them in forming rural libraries. He devoted his life entirely for the cause of the library movement in Kerala.

After the formation of the all Travancore library organization, an executive committee was elected with P.N.Paniker as convener and a memorandum was submitted to the Diwan for increasing the amount of grant from Rs. 200 to Rs 240 a special aid of Rs 250 to Travancore Grandhasala Sangham was also allowed following this, Zonal organizers were deputed for propagating the activities of the organization. P.N Paniker was appointed chief organizer. The government ordered to affiliate the library under the Travancore university with the Grandhasala sangham².

Grandhasala sangham was registered under the Travancore companies Act on the 27 May 1947. The sangham published a manual in

1948, which contained articles on the library movement in other countries and in other parts of India, the methods of keeping and distributing book and of preparing catalogue. During 1934-35, the government of Travancore established rural libraries associated with the primary schools. The government donated 50 books and newspapers, three benches and almirah and desks to these libraries³. The headmaster of the local primary school was in charge of these Rural libraries. for this additional work Rs 3 was given per month as special allowance. But in many cases these funds and the furniture were misused. As the local committee was not involved in the affairs of these libraries, the public showed no interest in them and within a decade most of these libraries became defunct because its pathetic condition. By them independence was achieved and democracy established. But even then the bureaucracy was unwilling to hand over these libraries to the sangham. At that time there 240 rural libraries working together with school handing over the administration of these libraries to the sangham was celebrated as a public event in every village.

With the unification of Travancore and Cochin in 1949-50, activities of the sangham spread to Cochin also. At that time village libraries existed in every village in Cochin library organization also existed. The samastha Kerala pusthakalaya samithi under the leadership of Chenkulath Kunjiraman Menon 2nd Akhila Cochin Granthasala sangham president by M.K Raja were the organizations in Cochin change of organizing the library movement and the apex organization did not have the democratic nature and the library of its centre part in Travancore. It was by 2nd large

government affairs in Cochin under the education department and Panchayath department libraries were functioning there under which libraries came into existence in the 272 villages of Cochin in 1948, a total annual grand of Rs. 50,000 was paid to these Libraries. Even with such libraries assistance, the library movement in Cochin did not have the momentum of those in Malabar and Travancore. Lack of people's participation in the functioning of these libraries was the main handicap⁴. But with the amalgamation of Travancore and Cochin in 1949 and the formation of a democratic government, these libraries came under the sangham and the library movement in Cochin entered a new phase.

In the early decades of the library movement the local people who took part in these activities⁵ voluntarily were primarily library activists with the amalgamation of the library organizations of the Travancore more workers became necessary and paid organizers began to be appointed⁶. Their duty was to visit each and every village and motivate the local people to establish Rural libraries. Centralized library activity controlled from above thus came into being.

The history of the library movement is closely related to growth of the publishing industry. As already mentioned printing, installation at presses, and publishing of books started in Kerala during the later half of the 19th century. In the early decades of the 20th century, publishing houses, mainly those dealing with the library works of eminent Malayalam scholars, came into being. The establishment of Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangham (SPSS) in 1949 revolutionized the publishing industry in Kerala in the first 18 years SPSS published more than 2000 books, i.e, at an average of more than 100 books a year⁷. This put an end of the scarcity of books in Malayalam Co-operative between the library movement and SPSS opened a new chapter in the history of printing, publishing and sales of Malayalam books. Till then, the major public libraries had been more with English books and Malayalam books.

With the formation of Kerala state in 1956, Travancore Cochin Granthasala Sangham was renamed the Kerala Granthasala sangham and its activities spread Malabar regions also.

During the period 1957-1975, the number of libraries under Kerala State Library council increased from 1747 to 4280. This rapid growth is an indication of the effort the sangham made to bring the entire library system in Kerala under the control.

Before 1948 school inspectors used to inspect the functioning of libraries and based on the grants were sanctioned of the all Thiruvithamcore Grandhasala sangham. The first gradation committee members were M.C Narayana pillai (chairman), M.Thomas (Kerala University Librarian), and P.N Panicker. It started to function from 19th June 1949 onwards. Granthasala sangham aimed at organizing all libraries in the state and to act as central organization. Accordingly its immediate programme was to enroll all existing libraries as members.⁸ Another programme was to give publicity about the organization and the library movement through the publication of pamphlets and booklets and by holding meetings with a view to canvas support.

The Travancore education department reported to the government that Akhila Thiruvithamkore Grandhasala Sangham had affiliated more than 500 libraries as its members and organized taluk library unions with a view to consolidating the efforts of the library movement. The organizers under the association had inaugurated adult education work in certain libraries. It was also seen that the Association had succeeded in compiling accurate library statistics. The Government appreciated the laudable work done by the association for expansion and organization of library movement in the state and was pleased to add that

- ❖ All Travancore library association may be recognized by the government
- ❖ All the libraries in this state be advised to get themselves affiliated to the association
- ❖ The monthly grant of Rs. 200/- be raised to Rs. 500 from the year 1948 AD⁹.

Emergency declared during 1975-77 adversely affected the working of almost all democratic institution in India Kerala Granthasala Sangham was no exception. The government brought an ordinance for the administrative functions and its member

committee with education minister as chairman was appointed. Democratic functioning of the sangham thus came to an end. But even to after emergency was lifted this control board system lasted for more than a decade. For revitalizing and redemocratizing the library movements, Kerala public libraries act came into effect in 1989. According to this act, office bearers of the sangham at the state, the district and the taluk levels were elected members if libraries from the lower level themselves. Thus after the bureaucratic rule of a decade and a existence on the 27 April 1994¹⁰.

The growth of the library movement came to a complete halt during the period of controlled board administration. The activities of the apex body had been adversely affected, and the grass roots-level activities of rural libraries has become paralyzed. As the office bearers of the board were only bureaucrats, people participations in the administrative affairs was completely lost. The apex body was an ineffective in motivating activities at the grass route level. Changes in the socio-political context during the 1980s and thereafter and the corresponding changes in the cultural sphere were also reasons for tardy growth of the libraries.

KERALA GRANDHASALA SANGHAM 1945

A meeting of the libraries at Ambalapuzha in north Travancore in August 1945 under the auspicious of the well managed P.K Memorial Library resolved to form a central organization to fill the gap as a result the All Travancore Grandhasala Sangham was formed with membership of 47 libraries represented at the meeting. With the integration of the Travancore Cochin Grandhasala Sangham, and later when the Kerala state was formed in 1956, it

assumed its present title Kerala Grandhasala Sangham.

At the first meeting Sri K.M Keshavan was elected president P.N Panicker as secretary. From the first election in 1945 P.N Panicker was continuously elected president of the sangham with his dedicated work as the moving spirit sangham has rendered as estimable service to the cultural renaissance of Kerala, it has become a movement which has no counter-part anywhere in the world¹¹. In the beginning the function which sangham undertook were modest. It aimed to function as the central organization of all existing libraries in the state. The preliminary programs prepared by the sangham were:

- To enroll all existing libraries as members
- To revive and rejuvenate all defunct and stagnant libraries
- To establish libraries in the regions where there are none.
- To connect common fund
- To strengthen the organization by enrolling more individual members.
- To give publicity to the movement through the publication of Pamphlets and booklets and by conducting public meeting with a view to canvas.¹²

Thus the Travancore Grandhasala sangham played a prominent role in the emergence of library movement in Kerala. Libraries are the centers of learning and wisdom. Travancore rulers also encouraged to the development of library movements in Travancore. So many progressive minded persons supported the library movement. Travancore grandhasala sangham helped the growth of libraries in every nook and corner of Kerala.

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PRINT CULTURE AND NATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS IN COLONIAL RAYALASEEMA: A STUDY OF VENKATASAPATRIKA A.D. 1920-21

Prof. (Dr.) G. Samba Siva Reddy

In India, the print culture emerged as a result of the efforts made by certain officials of the English East India Company during the last decades of the 18th century. Later, it slowly but steadily spread from the presidency towns of Kolkata (Calcutta), Mumbai (Bombay) and Chennai (Madras) to the *motussil* areas including the present Rayalaseema 1 region. Despite the English elites started several papers, the latter had given importance to the issues of English educated people, English East India Company, and the British Government only. This infuriated the social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy and Nationalists like Surendranath Banarjee, B.G.Tilak, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Motilal Ghosh, N.N.Sen, G.P.Varma, and G.Subramaniya Iyer to protest against the restriction of freedom of the press and stall powerful newspapers in their respective local languages. During the last decades of 19th Century and early decades of 20th Century (1870-1918) the press played a seminal role to percolate the concepts of politicisation, political publicity, education, and nationalist ideology in order to arouse, train, mobilise and consolidate nationalist consciousness among people? During this period, the entire work of the Indian National Congress (INC) was accomplished by the press. It is interesting to note here that majority of the founding fathers of the INC were journalists. Similarly, almost all nationalist leaders were involved either directly or indirectly in the establishment of newspapers and writing of various issues in the press. The influence of the press was also extended far beyond cities and literate section. In course of time they reached remote villages and inculcated nationalist consciousness. The newspaper was not only the political educator, reading, discussing etc., but also a centre of political participation.³

This development at national level inspired the educated people of the Madras Presidency to print newspapers. The Christian Missionaries were the first to start several newspapers in local languages first in Madras and later in other regions, including Rayalaseema region. Among them mention may

be made of *Kannada Samachar* (Bellary-1812), *Karnatic Chronicle* (Madras- 1832)-the first newspaper started in Telugu language,⁴ *Fort St George Gazette* (Madras-1832),⁵ *Satyadoota* or *Messenger of Truth* (Bellary-1835)⁶ *Vrittantin* in 1838 (Madras) etc during the first half of the 19th century. In the beginning, the educated people of the region were forced to go to Madras either to start the publication of newspapers or to work as editors owing to lack of printing facilities and patronage. Some of the noted newspapers that started during the second half of the 19th century were *Sri Yakshini* (1864),⁸ *Vijayadhvaja* (1866), *Bellary Spectator* (1877), *Saraswati* (1889) and *Sanmargabodhini* (1890) all from the Bellary.⁹ On the whole as many as forty newspapers were started in the region during the British rule.¹⁰

Similarly some of the intellectuals of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions started several newspapers at local level so as to develop nationalist consciousness among people during the first half of the 20th century. For instance, Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao (*Andhra Patrika*), Matnuri Krishna Rao (*Krishna Patrika*), Gadicharla Harisarvotharna Rao (*Swarajya*), (*Nationalist*) and (*Matruseva*) etc, Pattabhi Seetharamaiah (*Janmabhoomi*), Tanguturi Prakasam (*Swarajya*), Maddoori Annapoornaiah and Krovvidi Linga Raju (*Congress*), and Atmakuri Govindacharyulu (*Satyagrahi*) were noted intellectuals and politician-cum-journalists in this respect.¹¹ In the same way noted nationalist newspapers like *Sri Sadhana Patrika*, *Balabharati* and *Pinakini Patrika* from Anantapur district, *Venkatesapatrika* and *Vidyabhi Vardhani* from Chittoor district, *Matruseva* and *Aindravathi* from Kurnool district and *Bharata Katha Nidhi*, *Sri Bhaktha Sanjivini*, *Sri Brahmanandini*, and *Andhra Chandrika* from Kadapa district were started in the Rayalaseema region.

On the whole these newspapers in general gave wide and extensive coverage, in their issues, not only various economic and social issues of local importance but also the political and national issues that were affecting the

whole nation so as to educate the people and thus create awareness and awakening among them. This article examines one of the land - mark papers, *Venkatesapatrika* of Chittoor or Putalapattu from Chittoor district of the region and its articulation of nationalist consciousness among people in this direction.

II

In fact *Sri Venkatesapatrika* was started at Poothalapattu or Chittoor by T.K. Narasimhacharya of Chittoor in bilingual Anglo-Telugu language as a weekly.¹² Along with other areas, agriculture and traditional industries namely weaving and salt making, that were main economic feature of Rayalaseema and affected seriously in the region, by the negative and indifferent attitude and their policies of the British towards India. The print culture of the time has given due attention and importance in their coverage to the recurring and burning agrarian distress in the Rayalaseema region. They bitterly criticised, through their reports and coverage, these step-motherly British attitude and policies towards Indians on the one side and issues like scanty rain fall, poor irrigation facilities, the resultant occurrence of drought and famine conditions and failure of crops, the stringent steps taken by the colonial officers, to collect revenue taxes from ryots even during severe distress on the other side. In such precarious conditions the ryots have no other option but were frequently forced to sell their lands to clear the revenue dues and maintain their families. In that situation, the ryots were prone to the pitiable position of agricultural labourers.¹³ The press of the region had exposed the harassment of the villagers, in light of promulgation of Forest Laws of 1882, by local officers like *munsifs* and *karnams*, who were given the duty of protection of forests till the separate forest department was formed. As the forests were adjacent to the villages, cattle were normally used to go to these forests, and that gave an advantage for the forest employees to catch them and extract as maximum bribes as possible from the cattle-ryots. The press had pointed out that the local officials were forced to take these bribes due to their poor salaries and maintain the revenue officers such as tahsildars, deputy tahsiladars and subordinates whenever the latter were used to visit their villages. If the village *munsifs* and *karnams* failed to look after

these forest officials, the forest officers along with the police constables were used to harass *munsifs* and *karnams*, by giving false complaints to their superiors against them.¹⁴ By showing such instances, the *Venkatesapatrika* of Chittoor district, examined:

No honour is to be found in an office the holder of which is served with a notice to appear and is subjected to worry by the tahsildar, the moment any petty official such as a constable reports against him. Not to pay them (the village officials) the small pay, on account of which they are subjected to so much high handedness, is preferable.¹⁵

The press of the region criticised the exploitation and utilisation of Indian revenues by the British to suit their colonial interests. They had given a number of instances of such false utilisation of Indian revenues. The newspapers of the region highlighted the faulty expenses of the World War I which were charged to the Indian revenues. The *Venkatesapatrika* remarked on the punitive tax levied on the people to meet the war expenditure and on the government providing military training to Anglo-Indians and Europeans who are staying in India at a huge cost to Indian revenues. It observed that these steps paved the way to increase the tax burden on the people and encourage racial feelings.¹⁶

After the World War I, the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford (1916-1921) appealed to Indians to forget the past and to co-operate with the government in the country's governance, *Venkatesapatrika* questioned the rational behind the appeal. It said: "with what face the viceroy is asking the people to forget the past events while he is levying punitive tax even on innocentmen?"¹⁷

Another area of interest shown by the press of the region was on education. Interest of the students who were aspiring for higher education was the main concerns of the newspapers. During the period of 1920s, the two reputed and noted colleges known as the Theosophical College at Madanapalle and the Ceded District College at Anantapur were started in the Rayalaseema region. At that time some of the students who got admission into the colleges in Madras like the Madras Christian College, the Pachiappa College and the

Presidency College were put to severe hardships at the time of admission. By giving such vivid details on the subject, *Venkatesapatrika*, covered an instance of the refusal of the principals of the respective colleges of Madras to give admission to the students notwithstanding the Board of Secondary School Education had given permission of eligibility to them to get admission.¹⁸ The paper made an appeal to the government to appoint an Imperial Committee to enquire into the matter further in order to do justice to the eligible and aspiring students, since all those above mentioned colleges were maintained with the public revenues. In its issue dated 10 July 1920, the paper had written:

We are sorry to learn that not one of the dozen students who passed out of the Devasthanam Hindu High School, Tirupati, in the last School Final Examination would find admission into any of the Madras Colleges. All of them have been declared eligible for admission, but the Madras principals have laid down their own regulations for admitting students. These, in many cases, are nothing more than a pretext on which to shut out students arbitrarily. If only an impartial Committee be appointed to enquire into the stories of admissions we fear a ghastly tale would be told. The fact, however, remains that year after year students are finding it difficult to secure admission into the Madras Colleges...The government lavishes its funds on these colleges from the public revenues, and if their managers would treat the institutions as their own, it is time the government withdraws *sic* / this help unless the institutions impartially respect the certificates of eligibility issued by the Secondary School Leaving Certificate Board. The principal of "first come, first served" is the only proper one to be adopted by the college authorities that desire help from public revenues".¹⁹

In this manner the press played a pivotal role to draw the attention of the government to the anomalies and sought modification of the rules so as to facilitate the admission of eligible and interesting students into the colleges of Madras.

The press of the time was more concerned about alcoholism. Drinking or intoxicating liquor as a habit was coming down to the people in India from time immemorial. The alien

government had given licence to sale liquor and collected excise duty from the liquor shops. People belonged to poor economic sources were became addicted to alcohol. They used to spent major portions of their daily earnings on it and exposed their families to severe social and economic hardships and spoil their families both mentally and physically. Both the elite as well as the press were more concerned about this evil practice and they urged the government to take serious steps to discourage people not to take it and became slaves to it. Papers like *Venkatesapatrika* wrote vehemently against alcoholism and government's policies towards it. This paper on the one side criticised the British government on its lighter vein of attitude towards it, on the other tried to educate the people on the evil impact of alcoholism on their lives. Under its influence the people of Narayanavanam in Chittoor district objected the starting of a toddy shop and that was run under the government licence and located in the midst of residential area. They requested the District Collector to take steps to shift that shop to distant place, but the former rejected it. On this the paper commented in its issue, "What else can be the meaning of flouting the unanimous opinion of the people of Narayanavanam, unless it be that the authorities wanted to tell them plainly that they must really learn to depend on themselves for everything and not rely on the government".²⁰

Apart from these socio-economic issues of the time, the nationalist fervour attracted the attention of the press. Among the nationalist issues, the Punjab disturbances and the police atrocities were occupied a prominent place in the coverage of the press. As a result of the impact of revolutionary movement in Bengal in the beginning and other parts of north India like Central Provinces, some areas of Bombay Presidency and Punjab later, the people of North India, especially the people of Punjab were resentful against the British policies and coercive methods like forcible employment, racial discrimination, severe and excessive police actions etc applied towards the Sikhs. They conducted large scale public meetings and showed violent demonstrations against the prevention of the entry of nationalist leaders into Punjab. These developments were reported by the press in the entire country including Rayalaseema. For instance, *Venkatesapatrika*

expressed its anguish against the British for the exaltation of the House of Lords on General Dyer who killed hundreds of innocent people at Jallianwalabagh in 1919 on the ground that he save many Europeans in India. It criticised the British and the House and warned that unless the British changed their attitude, "the lives and honour of the Indians are not safe" and that "we (Indians) will have to make them understand that their action is dangerous to the British connections"²¹ with India.

During the period of the Indian National movement, from the beginning both the leaders and the people of the Rayalaseema region participated actively in large number in all nationalist activities so as to foster unity and develop nationalist fervour among people. The press played a stellar role to cover all their activities and encourage them in all dimensions. The papers like *Venkatesapatrika* supported the Indian National Congress (INC) stand that the people of India should not buy foreign goods, but buy locally manufactured indigenous goods only and encourage *Swadeshi* industries. It wrote,

"The cotton required for clothing can be had here. If, as in olden days, we again engage ourselves with the spinning wheel in our houses for the preparation of our clothing and wear for some time at least coarse clothes, the foreigners will close their shops and go. We will be happy and our country will obtain *swaraj*"²²

The paper covered extensively different activities of Non-cooperation Movement (1920-1922) in the region. The triumphant mood of the paper can be visualised when it encouraged the Movement, "The elections are over. Non-cooperation has triumphed in the places in which it was preached...The Public Officer may try to club the figures of the whole district (Chittoor) and say that non-co-operation has failed in the district. But we will ask him to explain why, in spite of all his attempts to give even a colour of official mandates to the village officials and ryots to go to the polls, the Karvetnagar Zamindari and places like Tirupati failed to succumb to the election blandishments, while only the other portions untouched by our propaganda and non-co-operation workers have fallen into the trap...It is, however, needless to pursue the matter. People have absolutely no faith in these elections...We have

no doubt the new Councils will demonstrate their impotence from the beginning, and the people fully educated to demand complete *swaraj* will obtain it by adopting the inevitable non-co-operation in some form or other"²³

An important and interesting turn took place during the Non-co-operation Movement in the Madras Presidency when the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin issue developed in the second half of the century. This was because of the emergence of Justice Party and its Non-Brahmin activism. Some of the papers like *Andhraprakasika* and *Justice* supported Non-Brahmin Movement, whereas *The Hindu*, *New India*, *Venkatesapatrika* and *Balabharati* were neutral and wanted to see unity between the two groups. The papers of the region opposed the Non-Brahmin Movement and criticised the government for creating difference of opinion among its leaders. When the Justice Party was started, *Venkatesapatrika* suspected the highhandedness of the government behind the whole drama. Examining the mechanism of the government, it commented,

"The problem is now creation of the tried Messers. Thyagaraya Chetti, Ramarayananagar and Dr. T.M. Nair. The government whose influence is everywhere present have given them a helping hand. The Brahmins assembled in large numbers in the Congress sessions, criticised government measures and demanded *swaraj*. The British government promised to grant it. This would prejudicially affect the prestige and pay of European officers such as Collectors. If a division could be affected among the people, the grant of *swaraj* might be put off. It is therefore good to create a non-Brahmin party. If non-Brahmins were taken into confidence and Brahmins discarded, the former might condemned the government. So thought some of the Europeans, and accorded their patronage to the non- Brahmins"²⁴

When the elections were planned to the Madras Legislative Council as per the Montford Reforms of 1919, the papers of the region like *Venkatesapatrika* exhorted the people to be followed the decisions of the INC and observe the ideals of non-co-operation in the elections according to the INC plan, which would force the government to grant *swaraj* to India. Encouraging such course of the action by the people of the region, *Venkatesapatrika* wrote,

"...in the British empire, we have no redress for the evils we suffer at the hand of the white men. Unless we do our utmost with the persistent effort, the British government will not give us *swaraj*. The Congress has feared that representatives in the new Councils may be caught in the net of authorities and say like some moderates of today that the Indians are unfit for *swaraj*. So it had decided on a policy of con-co- operation. If the voters obstinately refuse to give votes, the British government cannot but grant *swaraj* to India."²⁵

These are some of the areas covered by *Venkatesapatrika* of Chittoor in the

Notes and References

1. *Rayalaseema* had its own antiquity and hoary past. In the past, the 'Rayalaseema' region was known, variously, as *Hiranyarashtra* or *Maharajaranadu* or *Maharajanadu* or *Marjavadinadu* or *Renadu*, "*Rayalavariseema*" and "*Rayalaseema*". Subsequently, during the colonial hegemony (1800-1928), the region was known as Ceded Districts. But, later, when the people of the region were under the grip of the patriotic fervour, the intellectuals of *Rayalaseema* region participated in the Andhra Maha Sabha held on 17 and 18 November 1928 at Nandyal in Kurnool district of the region. One of the prominent participants of the region, Chilukuri Narayana Rao coined the name '*Rayalaseema*' for the region in memory of the Rayas of Vijayanagar, Krishnadevaraya in particular. For more details see P. Yenadi Raju, *Rayalaseema during Colonial Times, A Study in Indian Nationalism*, New Delhi, 2003, pp.3, 10,11, see also M.Veerabhadra Rao, *Sri Sarvothama Jeevithamu* (A Biography of Gadicharla Harisarvothama Rao) (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1965, pp.311-312, 317 and K.V.Narayana Rao, *The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh*, Bombay, 1973, p.166.
2. Bipan Chandra, etal. *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi, 1988, pp.102-103.
3. Bipan Chandra, etal. *India's Struggle for Independence*, pp.102-103.
4. R. Suntheralingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, 1852-189 I*, Jaipur, 1980 (151 pbd. Arizona, 1974), p.143.
5. Report of the Press Commission, part II (Delhi, 1954), pp.63-64, quoted in J. Mangamma, *Book Printing in India*, p. 279, see also G. Ramakrishna Rao, "Prajala Bhasha-Patrikala Patra" (Language of the people-Role of the Press) (Telugu) in *Vudayam*, 9 January 1995, Tirupati, 1995 and *The Fort St.George Gazette*, 27 August 1834, p.436 (Regional Office of the State Archives, Tirupati (ROSAT)).
6. B. S. R. Krishna, "Telugu Journalism in *Rayalaseema*" in K. R. Seshagiri Rao (ed.), *Studies in the History of Telugu Journalism*, Delhi, 1968, p.35.
7. A significant feature, at this juncture, of the press in the region was the publication of this Telugu newspaper, *Vrittantini* in 1838, at Madras, under the editorship of Mandigala Venkataraya Sastry, who hailed from Kadapa district of the region. For details see Arudra, "Beginnings of Telugu Journalism", in K. R. Seshagiri Rao (ed.) *Studies in the History of Telugu Journalism*, pp.10-12. This indicates that despite the economic and educational backwardness, the region contributed an editor to Telugu press in the first half of the 19th Century.
8. B.S.R.Krishna, "Telugu Journalism in *Rayalaseema*" in K.R.Seshagiri Rao (ed.), *Studies in the History of Telugu Journalism*, pp.45-46.
9. P. Yenadi Raju and G. Samba Siva Reddy, "Press and its support to the Freedom Movement in *Rayalaseema*", *Proceedings of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress*, Rajahmundry, 2000, p.130. Bellary district, which is in the Karnataka state at present, was one of the erstwhile Ceded Districts of the *Rayalaseema* region of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh state.
10. For more details see K. Subrahmanyam, *The Press and National Movement in South India*, Madras, 1984, pp.238 ff, see also P.Yenadi Raju, *Rayalaseema during Colonial Times*, Appendix-XUI, pp.246-248, and G. Samba Siva Reddy, *Colonial Dominance and Local Resistance in South India*, Appendix-II, New Delhi, 2016, pp.380-383.
11. K.Subrahmanyam, *The Press and the National Movement in South India*, p.26.
12. For more details see K. Subrahmanyam, *The Press and National Movement in South India*, p.12, and Appendix - , p.244, see . Yenadi Raju, *Rayalaseema during Colonial Times*, The title of the paper was used as *Venkatesa Patrika* instead of its original name *Sri Venkatesa Patirka* in the sources like extracts from *Native Newspaper Reports (NPR)* and secondary sources like K. Subrahmanyam, *The Press and National Movement in South India*, and P.Yenadi Raju, *Rayalaseema during Colonial Times* etc.
13. For details see *NPR*, for March 1885, p.5, and October 1885, p.5, and *NPR*, for December 1904, p.392 (Tamilnadu Archives (TNA)).
14. *NPR*, January 1894, p.38 (TNA).
15. *NPR*, 15 May 1920, p.571 (TNA).
16. *NPR*, September 1920, p.1133 (TNA).
17. *NPR*, September 1920, pp.1132-1133 (TNA).
18. *NPR*, 14 August 1920, pp.922-923 (TNA).

19. *NPR*, 14 August 1920, pp.922-923 (TNA).

20. *NPR*, October 1920, pp.1227-1228 (TNA).

21. *NPR*, 21 August 1920, p.864 (TNA).

22. *NPR*, September-October, 1920, pp.1412-1413 (TNA).

23. 4 December 1920, *NPR*, 1921, p.44 (TNA).

24. 2 October 1920, *NPR*, 1920, p.1200 (TNA).

25. 30 December 1920, *NPR* 1920, p.1389 (TNA)

TILAK'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Dr. K.V. Sreedhar Goud & Dr. Mallela Nagendra

INTRODUCTION

Freedom struggle is a greatest event in the history of modern India. In this movement great patriots of this country sacrificed everything for the nation. Among them Bala Gangadhar Tilak was one. He was source encouragement and boldness. He was born in 1856 and died in 1920 his life was full of events.

FOUNDATION OF TILAK'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

If political philosophy means the speculative construction of an idealistic utopia, then Tilak has not given us any picture of the politically perfect society in this sense of the term political philosophy. He does not discuss the features and possibilities of the best State as Plato, Aristotle and Cicero do. He does not create the architectonic of the conceptually perfect State in the manner of Hegel and Bosanquet. His main problem in life was the political emancipation of India and hence there is an element of great realism in his political ideas and outlook. However, he was not a realist in the Hobbesian and Machiavellian sense of the term. He was never a political pragmatist. He was deeply versed in ancient Sanskrit philosophy and his political thought represents a synthesis of some of the dominant conceptions of Indian thought and the nationalistic and democratic ideas of the modern west.

The dominant, metaphysical assumptions of Tilak also influenced his political ideas. He was a Vedantist. The metaphysics of non-dualism of the Vedanta implied, according to him, the political conception of natural rights. Because the spirit is the supreme reality and because all men participate in that absolute essence, hence all have the same autonomous of Hence, Advaitism taught him the concept freedom.¹ "Freedom was the soul of the Home Rule movement. The divine instinct of freedom never aged. . . Freedom is the very life of the

individual soul which Vedanta declares to be no: was as to separate from God but identical with him. This freedom principle that could never perish. Thus, freedom according to Tilak was a divine attribute. Freedom was equated with the autonomous power of creativism. Without freedom no moral and spiritual life was possible. Foreign imperialism kills the soul of a nation and hence Tilak fought against the British empire. Thus there were philosophical foundations for the political struggle for liberty in which Tilak was engaged.

Tilak's nationalism was also influenced by the western theories of national independence and self-determination. In the famous trial speech of 1908 he quotes with approval John Stuart Mill's definition of nationality.² In 1919 and 1920 he accepted the Wilsonian concept of self-determination and pleaded for its application to India.³ Hence, Tilak's philosophy of nationalism was a synthesis of the Vedantic ideal of the spirit as self-contained freedom and the western conceptions of Mazzini, Burke, Mill and later on of Wilson. This synthesis he expressed in terms of Swarajya, a Vedic term which was used in Maharashtra to indicate the Maratha polity of Shivaji.

Because of his spiritual approach, Lokamanya regarded that Swarajya was not only a right but a Dharma. He also gave a moral and spiritual meaning of Swarajya. Politically, Swarajya meant Home Rule. Morally, it meant the attainment of the perfection of self-control which is essential for performing "one's duty" (Swadharma). It also had a 'spiritual significance because it is the realization of spiritual inner freedom and contemplative delight. Tilak defined the spiritual connotation of Swarajya in these terms "It is a life centered in self and dependent upon self. There is Swaraj in this world as well as in the world hereafter. The Rishis' stance who laid down the law of duty betook themselves to forests, because the people were already enjoying Swarajya or people's dominion which

was administered and defended in the first instance people who by the Kshatriya Kings. It is my conviction, it is my Swaraj in the life to come cannot be the reward of a people who have not enjoyed it in this world.⁴ Hence, Tilak wanted both political liberty and spiritual freedom

NATIONALISM, REVIVALISM AND HINDUISM

Tilak's nationalism had a revivalistic orientation. He wanted to bring to the front the message of the Vedas and the Gita for providing spiritual energy and moral enthusiasm to the nation. A recovery of the healthy and vital traditions of the old culture of India was essential. He said : "a true nationalist desires to build on old foundations". Reform based on utter disrespect for the old does not appeal to him as constructive work. "We do not want to anglicize our institutions and so denationalize them in the name of social and political reforms.⁵ Hence, he pointed out that the Shivaji and the Ganapati festivals had been encouraged by him because they served to link-contemporary events and movements with historical traditions.

But because Lokamanya was, partially, a revivalist, it must not be thought that he was a mere Hindu nationalist. As a person, he had intense pride in Hindu religion and culture. As a political leader he wanted to preserve the legitimate interests of the Hindu people and would not sanction cowardice and surrender. But it is wrong to say that he was a mere Hindu nationalist and was opposed to the Muslims. Zacharias says that Tilak was the spokesman of an anti-Muslim retaliation. A British historian, Powell Price, says that "The Muslim League was an answer to the Indian National Congress, necessary because the possibility of self-government raised the spirit of separation which the intolerance of Tilak had emphasized."⁶ Chirol says that due to Tilak's extreme orthodoxy the Muslim members of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha resigned from that body. Palme Dutt blamed Lokamanya Tilak and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh because their identification of national awakening with the revival of Hinduism cut off the Muslim masses from the national movement. But all these are partial and even incorrect interpretations of the political thought and action of Lokamanya.

Jinnah, Dr. M.A. Ansari and Hasan Imam have praised the nationalistic sentiments and spirit of compromise of the Lokamanya, because due to his wise counsel and moderation the Lucknow Pact of 1916 could be achieved. Shaukat Ali and Hasarat Mohani regarded Tilak as their political *Guru*. Shaukat Ali says : "I would like to mention again for the hundredth time that both Mahomed Ali and myself belonged and still belong to Lokamanya Than political party. Hasarat Mohani says : "I even at that early age, chose the Lokamanya as the ideal Leader for me... When I declare that all through Tilak's life I was both intellectually and practically a blind follower of his, anyone can well judge thereby, of that love that I cherished towards him."⁷ Hasan Imam as the president of the Bombay special Congress went to the extent of calling Tilak his father in Indian politics. Imam stated : "Let me say, and it is with great pride, that Lokamanya Tilak is my father in point of politics. Furthermore, Tilak had promised to support the Khilafat movement if the majority of the Muslims were behind that. Tilak had proposed the Congress resolution for the release of the Ali brothers. If Tilak would have been anti-Muslim he could never have commanded the confidence of the great Muslim leaders. Hence it can be said, that with the profoundest regard for Hinduism in private life, as a political leader Tilak had a broad policy calculated to lead to national emancipation.

TILAK'S THEORY OF NATIONALISM

Lokamanya wanted to substantiate the nationalistic movement in India by a strong cultural and religious revival of Hinduism. But he also accepted the economic arguments for nationalism. Dadabhai Naoroji made famous "Drain Theory" in Indian economics, Both Lokamanya and Gokhale accepted that foreign imperialism resulted in the enormous "drain" of India's resources. In 1897, Tilak wrote three articles in the *Kesari* at the time of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria. In the article written on the 22nd June he stated that India's art and industries had declined under the British rule. He wrote that the various economic enterprises and investments in India, under the ownership and management of the foreign capitalists, only created a delusion of prosperity. He referred to the evidence given by Dadabhai before the Welby Commission of 1896 wherein that veteran patriarch of Indian politics had

shown that during the imperialistic sway of Great Britain India had become impoverished and economically ruined. He referred to the economic "drain" of India also in the interview he gave to envision in 1907.⁸

Tilak held that the attainment of Swarajya would be a great victory for Indian nationalism. Hence, he gave to Indians the Mantra "Swarajya is the birth-right of Indians". Although in his speeches and writings Lokamanya always said that Swarajya did not imply the negation and severance of ultimate British sovereignty, still people knew that in his heart of hearts he always wanted complete independence. He once wrote that Swarajya is "the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity. He always pointed out that the path or the attainment of Swarajya was full of suffering and misery. During the Home Rule days Lokamanya always was careful to say that he was not opposed to the King-Emperor but he only wanted to change the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. He confidently asserted that to preach against the despotism of the bureaucracy was not sedition. Since Lokamanya did not advocate the doing away with the King-Emperor hence Bipin, Chandra Pal says that Lokamanya was a believer in "imperial federation" which would be composed of Great Britain, Ireland and Egypt, India and the dominions, each absolutely autonomous internally but combined for the purposes of protection and progress.

We have earlier referred to the fact that Tilak was a Vedantist in his metaphysical views. His conceptions of freedom as a divine instinct in man, and of Swarajya as inner self-realization, indicate his Vedantic views. His belief in human fellowship also followed from his Vedantism. In a way, he pleaded for the reconciliation between the ideal of nationalism and the Vedantic conception of human unity. In a speech he once said : "If the Vedantic ideal is higher, it necessarily includes the national ideal which is lower. The two are not irreconcilable if you know how to reconcile them. The two are not opposed to each other. One includes the other much in the same way as a thousand includes five hundred. The two ideals are mutually consistent and both of them demand a kind of self-sacrifice and self-control. Both of them demand in addition to self-control and self-sacrifice, a kind of higher altruistic feeling by

which man is impelled to ignore selfish considerations and to work for persons and for objects which do not in least savour of any egotistic aim. The feeling is one of love for humanity, for the equality of man before God, and it is the spirit of that feeling that governs the two ideals, Vedantic and National.

Edward Shillito has written a book entitled nationalism: man's other religion. In that book there is a chapter entitled, "The two Tilaks". Shillito says that Narayana Vaman Tilak, the Christian poet, was a believer in the kingdom of God on earth while Bala Gangadhara Tilak was a strong believer in Swarajya. Shillito has presented an imaginary dialogue between the two Tilaks. But Shillito's interpretation is inadequate. Although Lokamanya Tilak was a great patriot and a convinced nationalist he definitely states in his commentary on the Gita that love of the country is only a step to cosmopolitanism. He quotes part of the famous Sanskrit Shloka which means that for the wise man of generous feeling the whole world is one big family.⁹

TILAK AND THE MODERATES

Lokamanya Tilak has won lasting fame by creating the vital foundations of an assertive nationalism. He was an extremist and there were several factors responsible for that. Temperamentally he was buoyant and represented the aggressive vigorous spirit of manhood. He had been inspired by the careers and exploits of Shivaji and the other Maratha heroes who represented struggle and fight and successful victories. His extremism had also been influenced by his growing disillusion at the coercive and repressive technics of bureaucracy. But although an extremist, he believed in legal methods of agitation. He was twice elected to the Bombay legislative Council. He contemplated election also a third time. He formed the Congress Democratic Party in 1920 for contesting elections. But although Tilak accepted the framework of the existing law he wanted to use the areas of action left free by the law of the British government to intensify the nationalist movement in the country. Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale went to the extent of regarding the British rule in India as part of divine dispensation, but the leaders of the extremist party always believed in the independent destiny of India. In speech in 1909

Gokhale defended passive resistance¹⁰ but although Tilak and Gokhale might in times have used the same words and might have put their faith in the same political objectives still there was fundamental difference in their political technics. The activities of Lokamanya in the famine agitation of 1896, in the movements of 1905 to 1908, and during the Home Rule days were calculated to train the people in organized action. He wanted to infuse a spirit of dynamic activism and assertiveness among a people who had grown enervated and prostrate. His advocacy of no-rent campaign in 1896, his stress on national education, his advocacy of picketing for the purpose of stopping the sale of liquor and his firm support of Swadehi and boycott definitely showed that Lokamanya wanted that the national movement should have its strong roots in coordinated and united action by the Indian people. Before Tilak came into active prominence as a leader, the Indian nationalist movement was committed to a philosophy of intellectual discussion on occidental lines. He taught the gospel of Indianization of the nationalist movement. Hence his technics of political action and his philosophical defence of the nationalist movement were oriented to the historical heritage of the people of India. If some of the important moderate leaders looked only to Burke, Mazzini and Spencer for intellectual inspiration, Tilak also looked to Shivaji and Nana Fadnavis and the Bhagavadgita. Tilak's attempts to Indianize the policy and orientation of the nationalist movement brought to him the support of Lala Lajpat Rai who in several respects closely associated himself with Gokhale. Lalaji in distinguishing the technics and ideas of Tilak and Gokhale writes : "Tilak was the man of the people. Gokhale was the man of the intelligentsia. Tilak was a hero for all times

to come. His heroism at times verged on recklessness and regardlessness of consequences to himself and his free co-workers. Gokhale was a careful politician, weighing every word before he uttered, and balancing every thought he gave expression to, always trying to say the right thing but in a way most inoffensive to the authorities that be, and the people that he criticised. Tilak was a blunt incisive speaker who never minded matters, spoke few words, but gave out the truth from all embarrassment of language. Gokhale was an accomplished speaker, full of pathos, who prepared everything beforehand, and realised the significance of every word that he uttered. Gokhale's ethics would not sanction any violence in politics. Tilak would not only justify it but even press it under certain conditions.¹¹ The latter history of Indian nationalism, however, showed the efficiency of the methods of Tilak.

CONCLUSION

Lokamanya, as a political philosopher has given us a theory of Nationalism. He did not have the time to elaborate upon the other conceptions of political science like sovereignty, justice, property, etc, although he has referred to these. His theory of Nationalism was a synthesis of the teachings of both eastern and western thinkers. He was a thorough believer in democracy and that was the secret of his unique hold on the masses. He did not adopt an idealistic or conceptual and speculative approach to politics. He belonged to the school of realism. But he never tolerated the excess of realism into the apotheosis of the cult of power, force and success, Hence, his school of political thought can be characterized as Nationalism founded upon "Democratic Realism"

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THE FORGOTTEN LEGEND OF THE JUSTICE PARTY: P.RAMARAYANINGAR

G. Srinivasa Reddy

Panuganti Ramarayaningar, also known as the Raja of Panagal was very influential politician, strategist and leader of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras presidency in 1920s. He was the first graduate from aristocratic families in Madras presidency. As one of the important leaders of the Justice party he became chief minister in 1921 and led the first popular government in Madras presidency introduced under 1919 Act. He was born in Kalahasti, Chittoor district on 9 July, 1866 in an aristocratic family. His ancestors hailed from a village called Panagal, near Srikalahasti¹. They left their ancestral home some generations ago and settled down at Kalahasti, Chittoor district. They soon entered into marital relations with Raja of Kalahasti. Since his father-in-law had no sons, his estate came into the hands of father-in-law of Ramarayaningar. Thus, both estates that of Panagal and Kalahasti merged into one².

He was educated in Telugu and Sanskrit at his house. He started the English alphabet in his 17th year at home after intensive private coaching for a year. He completed his schooling from Triplicane High School, Madras in 1886. He entered presidency college, Madras in 1883 with advanced chemistry as his optional subject. He graduated in B.L and MA (Philosophy and Dravidian languages) in 1899. He appointed a fellow of the presidency college in 1919. The Raja entered politics when he was appointed to the district board of North Arcot. He was elected member of the imperial legislative council in 1912 from Southern districts landlord constituency. There he soon made a mark as skilful debator though not as an orator. "Lord Harding, the Viceroy, made a particular reference to his wise suggestions and constructive criticism. Raja strongly pleaded in imperial legislative assembly for the betterment of the agriculturalists and education in regional languages"³.

The Raja second time contested to the imperial legislative assembly from Southern districts landlords' constituency in March 1916, but was defeated in the hands of his opposite candidate, the Raja of Tiruchinapally⁴. He was also active in the All-India Non-Brahmin movement. He was a friend of Sahu Maharaj of

Kolhapur and was closely associated with his Satyasodhak Samaj. "He attended the All India Non-Brahmin conference held at Belgaum in December, 1924, and presided over the second All-India Non-Brahmin conference held at Madras on 25th May, 1925"⁵.

Raja was a great politician. His ability to organise, his ability to bring friends and foes to a cause, and his capability to hold and sustain the realms of power, all placed him in good stead in turbulent and elitist politics of Madras presidency in 1920's⁶. He was very active in Dravidian Association founded by Natesa Mudaliyar and elected as its president in 1914. He donated funds for construction of Dravidian Home in Madras. He was very active in non-Brahmin movement in Madras. He was harassed by the Mylapore clique of the Tamil Brahmins in local affairs. In the district Board affairs the Mylapore clique helped his rivals. "When Raja wrote a letter to Sivaswamy Aiyer, the leader of Mylapore clique, to have one appointment for his men, Aiyer gave it to the candidate of Raja's rival in local district board"⁷. This enraged Raja and his defeat in the 1916 imperial legislative council election in the hands of zamindar of Tiruchirapally, a Brahmin, further influenced his attitude towards Brahmins.

Raja slowly drifted towards Non-Brahmin movement. He criticised the Home Rule movement as a movement of Brahmins. "Annie Besant, he said, had no contact with anybody except Brahmin leaders. She never came out of Adayar's headquarters and for her India is embodiment of the Brahmins only, only whom she knows about"⁸. He was the president of the first Non-Brahmin conference held at Coimbatore in August, 1917 and explained his future plan of action in his speech. He was very active in the Justice Party election campaign for the legislative assembly elections which held in November, 1920. In this election he won from the North-Central Landlords constituency against his old rival, Raja of Tiruchirapally and entered Madras legislative council⁹. As per the provisions of Diarchy there would be three ministers in charge of the transferred subjects like local self-government, education, health, endowments, and public works and so on.

The Justice Party won with comfortable majority in this election and formed the government in November, 1920. On the advice of the party president P.Tyagaraya Chetty, the Governor Wellington appointed A.Subbarayalu Reddiyar as the first minister. Tyagaraya Chetty opted for P.Ramarayaningar as the second minister. The Raja took his oath as minister and assigned the departments of local self-government and public health. K.V.Reddy Naidu was the third minister¹⁰. Within a short period A.Subbarayalu Reddiyar resigned on health grounds. P.Ramarayaningar was elevated to the office of Chief Minister and he retained the portfolio of Local Self-Government¹¹.

Thus, the career of Raja of Panagal started as the chief minister of Madras Presidency in March, 1921. He had no connection with local bodies which constituted the training ground and stepping stone into the legislature in those days. Raja had practical experience gained in the hard school of realities in life. He became a mature politician and an able administrator. He was a good chess player. These qualities helped him to attain a mental equilibrium which stood him on good stead at times of strain and stress.

Raja as Chief Minister:

P.Ramarayaningar acted as the chief minister of Madras state from January, 1921 to November, 1926. He shouldered the responsibility of implementing the Justice party mandate. In 1925, on the death of P.Tyagaraya Chetty, Raja became the president of South Indian Liberal Federation and leader of the Non-Brahmin movement; which position he held till his death¹². He believed in evolution, not revolution. Coercion by law would never bring success but progression by social reform, said Raja when a member in the council wanted revolutionary act to eradicate untouchability. Raja uttered these words when P.A.Sundarapandiya Nadar moved a resolution in the council to bring legislation in penalising any kind of obstruction in using public roads, schools, wells, etc; by people irrespective of caste and creed¹³.

He assured the members that if at all a new legislation would remove the disabilities of the depressed classes that his government would have no objection to introducing any number of bills to remove such disabilities. In

such a way he persuaded the member to withdraw the bill¹⁴. It is a good quality of the legislators to use similes and examples to justify their arguments. He proved this quality while discussing on a motion introduced in the council questioning the special status accorded to the presidency hospitals in Madras by B.Munuswami Naidu. "Raja used the simile that God has created only one heaven for many worlds. So far as Madras is concerned, it was the presidency capital and institutions there should be ideal and serve as examples to the mufasal towns. Thus he persuaded Munuswamy Naidu to withdraw the motion"¹⁵.

The Raja was capable of pointing out precisely and accurately all the technical points included in the issues raised by the members. When he introduced the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill (1922) he was bitterly criticised from a section of the members. There was criticism that why the chief minister excluded the Mohammadan religious endowments. Raja replied that, "I have no doubt that the honourable member will readily agree that the Khilafat question is still disturbing the minds of the Islamic committees, the time is not at all suitable for undertaking legislation with regard to Mohammadan Religious Endowments"¹⁶. It shows that the Raja was a man of realities. Because at that time the Khilafat movement was at its peak and the Raja did not want to pour oil to the fire of Mohammadan feelings. Actually this situation should have led to pandemonium in the house. But his tact, timing and sense of knowledge, ability to update on current issues convinced the members.

The Raja's style of facing the Non-confidence motion in 1923 reflected his ability to safely get out of stormy troubles. The Non-confidence motion was introduced in the legislative council in November, 1923 by a united front of all the opposition parties under the leadership of C.R.Reddy on the grounds that the ministry lost the confidence of the people. During the discussion on the no-confidence motion against the Justice ministry, the chief minister replied that, "The strength of the ministers' party and opposition could be tested in a different manner. Because apart from opposition party there would be individuals who could not see eye to eye as much to the

opposition as with the ministry. If such individuals or individual parties vote to the opposition or the ministry due to the tactical move on the part of the mover, it would not signify the magnitude of the opposition or the ministerialists¹⁷. He made this comment because there were many differences among different opposition parties, but they united for the purpose of knocking down the ministry. This clarification will always help the legislators to study the trends in politics at the use of tricks by some skilful politicians. This is a great moral lesson to the public representatives and is relevant as long as democracy survives in this country. Regarding the allegations of patronage politics during the non-confidence motion the Raja openly admitted in the style of Gladstone, the British prime minister, that if we confer patronage on three people, we will get three doubtful friends and, surely twenty enemies. It reflected the political fluidity of his times and indicates the emergence of politics of opportunism and confusion.

The Madras presidency witnessed a new era of political activity under Rajas Ministry from 1921-1926. Several laws were passed to fulfil the ambitions of the non-Brahmin communities as promised in the manifesto. The important legislations under Raja's leadership:

1.The Communal Representation: The main allegation of Raja along with other Justice leaders against the Brahmins was the latter's disproportionate representation in the public services. Under Rajas guidance and masterly support "O.Tanikachalam Chetty moved the resolution on August 5, 1921 which prescribed minimum qualifications for non-Brahmins and maximum qualifications for Brahmins"¹⁸. This bill led to bitter opposition from Brahmin members. The two communal G.Os passed on 16th September 1921 and 15th August, 1922 respectively gave the non-Brahmins more opportunities to enter into public services. Both the G.O's were based on government statistics; this led to some problems for the ministry¹⁹. Speaking on the communal representation, the president of the house commented that Raja's commitment towards downtrodden among non-Brahmins was fulfilled. Speaking in the debate on communal G.O's Raja said, my government intended to give special treatment for non-Brahmins to establish an egalitarian society by

bringing all castes on par with the Brahmin brethren. It is one of the measures towards democratisation of Madras society²⁰.

2. The Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1925: It was a personal triumph of Raja of Panagal. Most of the Justice leaders were very much traditional and religious minded. As said above there was lot of opposition and fears about the bill. The bill was intended to democratise the temple committees in the presidency. Hitherto the temple committees were monopolised by the Brahmins and the government control on the temples was very less. Now the bill proposed to bring the temples under the government control. The Raja had to face bitter opposition, especially from Brahmins within and outside the council. Many non-Brahmin landlords and zamindars feared that their personal interests in the local temples will be affected. But raja was very firm and committed on this bill. "The calm and dignified manner with which he persuaded the ideal he had set before himself and piloted the Bill through the legislature amidst difficulties of no mean order and bigoted opposition from interested quarters-these showdown the conspicuous manner what a through going reformer he was and how tenacious and steadfast he could be to causes on which he has set his heart"²¹. While T.M.Narasimhacharyulu, an orthodox Brahmin legislator from Cuddapah, demanded that endowment board should consist of Brahmins only, Natesa Mudaliyar from Justice Party demanded that the Board should consist of mostly non-Brahmins since most of the endowment funds come from the non-Brahmins. Raja pacified both the groups and assured that the Board will consist of the official and non-official members and membership will be given to the Brahmins and non-Brahmins²². The Raja's tact and balance of mind lies in the fact that T.Sadasiva Ayer, a Tamil Brahmin and a retired judge of the Madras High Court, was appointed as the first president of the Hindu religious endowments board²³. Thus, Raja pacified the Brahmin intelligentsia.

Other Important Legislations: The state aid to industries Act, 1922 was intended to give financial assistance to developing industries to increase national wealth and industrial regeneration. The Raja assured that the state aid

to small industries would provide employment for a number of persons and encourage industrial development. It was a great victory for the Justice Party since it committed the government to the policy of industrial development with the support of public funds. The government might have been agreed to this since the British companies will also benefit. "The direct control of the government over the elementary education was withdrawn by an order under Madras Elementary Education Act. This was left to the control of the local boards"²⁴. Compulsory elementary education was introduced for the first time in Madras Presidency in seven municipalities from the academic year 1922-23. Raja was very much interested in medical education. He established two Medical colleges in 1923- one at Vellore, another one at Vizagapatnam.

The district boards and municipal councils during Rajas Ministry gradually came under the control of non-officials. The system of election was introduced to the office of president of the district boards and chairman of the municipalities. The local bodies can levy a tax for the development of the elementary education. Another important Act was enfranchisement of women. The 1919 Act did not give right to vote for women. "M.Krishna Nayer moved a resolution on April 1, 1921 demanding the right of the women to seek election for the legislative council and giving right to vote to them in the elections. Since the first one did not come under the purview of the legislature, his resolution seeking franchise for women to the provincial legislative council elections was passed by huge majority"²⁵.

Thus the Justice Party was able to face intense opposition within the party and from the opposition because of the tactful and strong leadership of the Raja. He was able to sustain non-confidence motion in the house moved by C.R.Reddy. His talent lies in the fact that he was able to maintain good relations with the government though defeated in the 1926 elections. His political manoeuvring led the government, led by united front of the opposition parties, to depend upon him, while sitting in opposition he proved himself as an intelligent leader of the opposition.

During Simon Commission's boycott the congress members G.Harisarvottama Rao

moved a resolution in the council opposing cooperation with the commission by the council. The motion was debated. The chief minister Subbarayan voted against the motion while his two ministerial colleagues A.Ranganatha Mudaliyar and Arogyaswamy Mudaliyar supported the resolution. The resolution was passed by huge majority and surprisingly the Justice members also supported the motion²⁶. Now the Governor felt that without Rajas support the Subbarayan ministry will not survive. Therefore he wanted to win back the support of Raja by appointing Raja's best friend M.Krishna Nayar as the new law member. The ministry was reshuffled. S.Muthaiah Mudaliyar and M.R.Sethuratnam Ayer were taken as new ministers²⁷. Undoubtedly it was the political ingenuity of the Raja. Raja made the two new ministers defected from the Swarajist camp. Thus, the newly rebuilt boat of Subbarayan ministry was dependent upon Raja. Though defeated in 1926 elections and sit in the opposition the Raja made his party return with new vigour. From the low ebb of the 1926 elections Panagal has rescued the Justice Party²⁸. Raja's supremacy was unchallenged in Madras politics by December, 1926. Especially in 1928 Panagal reputedly enjoyed more power and influence in government circles than he had done even while acting as the chief minister. He more influenced the Governor than the chief minister Subbarayan in policy making issues. He played political game with veteran congress leader Satyamurthi, the chief of Swarajists, successfully. Undoubtedly P.Ramarayaningar may be considered as the Chanukya of Madras politics in 1920s and surely king maker between 1926-1928.

Unfortunately, the Raja of Panagal died on 16th December, 1928 at the age of sixty two, the last of the trio of the non-Brahmin movement. It was a great loss not only to the Justice party but also to the non-Brahmin movement in Madras presidency. "Possessed as he was of the enthusiasm of youth and the wisdom of age he was always a guide, friend and philosopher to all his followers and we lost him on the 16th December, 1928. May his soul rest in peace"²⁹. His death marked the end of the Justice party for all political purposes in the Madras presidency.

End Notes

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LORD CURZON AND THE PRINCELY STATES: SOME SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

Suhail Ahmin Mir & Bilal Ahmad Khan

The administration of Lord Curzon (1898-1905) is rightly called the “High Noon”¹ of the British Empire. His administration saw the apogee accomplished by the strategy of thinking about Indian rulers as administrative agents of the Government of India, determining their rights, forces and nobilities from the Crown. His strategies and measures included the intervention in the internal affairs of the states at a greater level. At the installation ceremony of Nawab of Bhawalpur, he affirmed that, “No Native Chief in our opinion is in possession of sovereignty of his state.” “The sovereignty of the Crown”, he remarked, “is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid the limitations of its own prerogatives.”² It was “a claim not to paramountcy but to complete sovereign.”³ With his sharp brain, endless vitality and firm commitment to the British Empire, he works hard to twist the Indian Princes to his will. The princes were reduced to the position of merely hereditary officers who once were considered as the allies of British.

In the course of his very first of the speeches about the Native States delivered at Gwalior on 29 November 1899, he remarked, “The native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain vis-a-vis of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and vis-a-vis of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn... that his *Gadi* is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty”.⁴ Curzon viewed the Princes as “no longer separate appendages to the Empire, yet its participators and instruments.” In his first speech about the Princes of India delivered at Gwalior on 29 November 1899, he stated: The native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is

concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain vis-a-vis of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and vis-a-vis of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn... that his gadi is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty.⁵

He spoke of the Indian princes as very strange people, "these natives; they have such an extraordinary respect for strength of decision and action that, if it be based upon sincere purpose, and expressed in sympathetic language, there is scarcely anything that they will not accept from their rulers, however contrary to their own previous utterances or prepossessions."⁶ At the same time he maintained the ultimate authority of the British power, as he affirmed that, "I maintain that the essential attributes of sovereignty in India are exercised by the British Crown and by it alone; and that so much of the essential attributes of sovereignty has been taken from the Native States that to continue to give them the title is not merely a misnomer, but is a political error. I deprecate the constant use of all those vague and unsatisfactory terms—the invention of constitutional lawyers—such as subordinate isolation, subordinate co-operation, protected sovereignties, subordinate allies, and the like."⁷

Lord Curzon in 1904-1905 attempted to create an advisory council of the princes, which, according to Lord Minto, could also serve as a counterbalance to congress goals.⁸ The majority of the ruling chiefs did not like the proposal of forming the "Imperial Advisory Council of territorial Magnates of British Indian and Ruling Chiefs"⁹. They didn't want any kind of interference from British India in their internal affairs which a close association might involve.¹⁰ Amid his vicerealty, the princes of India got a chance to participate in the coronation ceremony of the King-Emperor, Edward VII in London as a sign of their loyalty to the British Sovereign. In January 1903, Curzon held the Coronation Darbar at Delhi to proclaim the accession of the new sovereigns. This grand programme further strengthens the

bonds between the Native states and British Government. For the first time in the history of British India a British Emperor was to set foot upon the soil of India to receive the homage of princes and people. It was meant "to remind all the princes and peoples of the Asiatic Empire of the British Crown that they had passed under the dominion of a new and single sovereign."¹¹ "My one desire", the Viceroy explained in a circular letter to all the Chiefs, "has been that the Indian Princes, instead of being mere spectators of the ceremony, as they were in 1877, should be actors in it. It is their King-Emperor, as well as mine and ours, whose Coronation is being celebrated... The Darbar is not the Viceroy's Darbar. It is held for the Sovereign and the Sovereign alone."¹² Lord Curzon whose seat was allocated next to the Duke of Connaught announced the reduction of interest on famine loans to Native states for three years. He was likewise acutely desirous of the reduction of salt tax but the Home Government did not allow him to do so despite his many requests to the Secretary of the state which the latter thought that such a reduction would set an "awkward precedent."¹³ The Darbar marked the end of an era, however planned to inaugurate the beginning of a new one: "For the last time medieval India was revealed in its old barbaric splendour."¹⁴ Curzon felt he was "the true British Moghul.

The motives of the Viceroy were laudable. 'I entertain so strong a sense of the harm that is being done to India, and to the class of Native Princes, by the multiplication of the category of half-Anglicized, half-denationalized, European women-hunting, pseudo sporting, and very often in the end, spirit-drinking, young Native Chiefs, that I mean to put every obstacle in the way of their evolution that I possibly can.'¹⁵ Curzon's policies towards the minority of the princes proved advantageous to the British Government. In case of minority of the princes, Curzon took over the administration of the state in the hands of government as was in case of Nawab of Bahawal Khan V of Bhalwalpur whose ruler was only sixteen years of age at the time of his accession in 1899. Curzon arranged the special education and training for the minor prince and assigned the reigns of administration in charge of British Superintendent. Even in case of maladministration, the government took stern action against the ruler and Curzon did

not hesitate to deprive them from the *Gaddi* for instance, the case of ruler of Bilaspur, Raja Bijai Chand who was found incompetent and was deprived from his powers. Curzon also blamed the Punjab Government for having shown resolution' in the matter and ought to take action against the Raj much earlier.¹⁶

Curzon was averse of the frequent visits of the princes to foreign countries. It was believed that the financial loss of the states of Kapurthala and Baroda was due to the repeated visits of their respective rulers to the foreign countries. Therefore, in 1900 the Curzon government issued a circular in which the foreign visit of the Indian princes was prohibited without the consent of the British government. It was also stated that the princes must devote their best to the welfare of the people and administration of the state.¹⁷ Curzon also planned to make drastic changes in the previously established 'Imperial Service Troops' in order to extend it to all the princely states. It was suggested that every state should contribute at least ten per cent of its gross revenue for Imperial defence and sought the opinion of all princes regarding this. But the Secretary of the State intervened and declared that no further action would be taken without his consent¹⁹ which was virtually the rejection of this proposal.

Numerous princes resented his attitude of considering them as servants of the Imperial Government, bound to take orders from Shimla and Calcutta and having no rights of their own. His *modus operandi* was unbearable to many of his fellow princes. According to Ganga Singh of Bikaner, the viceroyalty of Curzon was so painful for some princes that merely talking about the epoch was enough to reduce them to tears.²⁰ He took a strong action against the Residents and Political officers about many valuable privileges and advantages enjoyed by them at the expense of Indian Princes. Amid his term of office, he strongly objected to this and issued a circular to prohibit it.²¹ Curzon was an absolute colonialist. He did not allow the princes to get indulged in traditional ceremonial grandeurs. Apart from his mental vigour and swift apprenticeship, Curzon conveyed two incredible qualities to the Indian opportunity—immense powers of work and an unanswering dedication of duty. Lord Curzon enjoyed impressive impact over the Princely states of India in the closing years of his Viceroyalty than any other Governor-General did in the past. Therefore, the various aspects of British Paramountcy vis-à-vis the Princely states reached its culmination during his viceroyalty.

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MEGALITHIC CULTURE: ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY, SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM

K.S. Sujatha

Megalithic burial culture can never be treated as a byproduct of any single item called, technological growth, social gradation, ritual practices etc. The existence of all these elements together within same or different periods may lead to these practices in Pre or Early historic period in Kerala and South India as a whole. Of course the origin of technology and the explosion of the same were happened but when and how is a question still exist as difficult to make clear by people who worked in this field. Knowledge system here meant a thought or an idea behind that practice, in other sense with the emergence of new Archaeological trends it began to give equal importance to the mental activities behind an action. So here just going to discuss the role of whole these elements in the context of the development and spread of burial culture. It was a common phenomenon in all over the world. So the origin of this practice was traced from various part of the world by archaeologists and historians etc. The European megaliths are much older than the Asian ones as they have been located in a broad time bracket from 5000-2000 B.C.¹ Generally South Indian megalithic chronology was fixed tenth Century BC to the beginning of Common Era, and the early Historic from to 3rd century B.C to 3rd century A.D, with some overlap between the two. But in the case of Europe the dolmens have been identified with Stone Age and do not contain wheel made pottery.² The diffusionists like Elliot Smith and W.J. Perry who thought that the megalithic monuments all over the ancient world had been diffused from ancient Egypt.³

However, N.R. Banerjee argues that Megalithic technology came to India from Northern Iran and central Asia through Baluchistan and Vindhya. Scholars like Leshnik, Allchin and others support this view. Leshnik enlarged the central Asian theory and Lal made comparisons with Indian megaliths and Nubian graves in Egypt. But he is also aware of the fact that in the Nubian graves iron is completely absent⁴ Just mention these arguments for make clear that the picture of

megalithic origin and distribution is a controversial one.

MEGALITHIC CULTURE

The term 'megalithic' was originated from the words 'megas' meant big and 'lithos' meant stone.⁵ But all the burial monuments are not included in the list of megalithic monuments as a whole. The types like urn burials, pit burials etc are listed under this category based upon the remains of the grave goods. Megalithic monument was a burial culture with huge architectural features was found to be connected with Iron Age culture and practiced till by some tribal groups in South India.⁶ Generally this burial practice was called with the name 'Megalithic culture' 'culture' means 'a set of shared values, ideas, and beliefs.'⁷ When a society can going through a 'culture' indicates that a kind of common thoughts were followed by the people at that time for a common purposes. But here it is found that a burial culture was existed at there and people can followed this. But interestingly not all burials were made with same typology and grave goods also found to be different in various burial types. Various observations were made by scholars regarding these typological differences; the role of geography is one among them. But I think that the geographical differences are only one among them and so many other factors like social stratification, cultural diversity through people's involvement within and neighboring areas on trade or other practices also may have played a crucial role in this.

The concept of Death and burial

The concepts like death and life after death are found to be existed from the very early period onwards in almost all parts of the world. In one or another way all ancient civilizations were practiced some kind of funeral rituals in all parts of the world. The Egyptian, Mesopotomian, Chinese and India all have practices some rituals relating with the burial of human beings. In the case of India it is found that Harappan civilization and Vedic -purana texts also mentioned about this kind of practices

in here. That means in here they never treat the concept of death as an end to the living at the same time it was part of a circle that never be going to end otherwise it was the end of body and not by soul⁸. It of course indicates the role of a ritual importance in these practices. Burial was a common practice which is found in all kinds of societies from the stage of beginning itself. But it is little confused to call all these practices under the name 'Megalithic Burial'. These burial practices existed from early period but was find not to be attached with any kind of monuments or other things. So the Burial practices with huge stone monuments were a peculiar feature for this period.

In India it is found that the funeral or burial remains were seen from Upper Paleolithic period onwards and most visible from Mesolithic period. When it reached to Neolithic period the burial monuments were getting more common and increased in numbers. The burial remains were seen in Kashmir, South India and Orissa in Neolithic period. Chalcolithic period onwards found the remains of burials in large number. All the burial monuments are seems to follow certain kind of ritual practices.

Harappan period was also notable with the burials from various sites like, Kalibangan, Dholavira, Harappa etc. Infant burials also were reported from Mehgarh one of the important sites from here.⁹ Sanauli one important Harappan site was notable with the presence of burial types like extended, secondary and symbolic burials etc. The symbolic burials were clearly indicates the existence of some kinds of practices and beliefs behind that processes. U.S.Moorti opined that through the practice of various burial types found the development of stratified society and says that megalithic community was a stratified one.¹⁰

The burial architecture of this Iron Age was notable with its grave goods as well as typological variations. Both these indicates the relation of people with other areas and their efforts behind this practice. Probably this is the reason why scholars considered the society at that time is not to be existed as an isolated in nature.¹¹ Most of the burials in Megalithic period are found that it was secondary, some argued that it was really interesting that even a pre or early historic time people have spend much time for this kind of construction for their

ancestors. It is argued that the nature of grave goods may determine the nature of peoples and their social position at that time.¹²

Another point relating with the spread of burial culture is the technology stood behind that practice. It is not important that a society is there with some kind of *technology, at the same time it became relevant only when anybody can needs that technology in practice*. So here understood that in an early historic society like Megalithic period, the demand of technology for a common purpose is indicates the common nature of that practice in that time. That means the technology like tools and weapons making, pottery making, stone cutting etc have existed at that time in an easy available way.

The needs of that technology in a society can determine by the social stratification existed of that society with in a particular period of time. All these showed the importance of human involvement of this action. From the very beginning onwards people have maintained some kind of fear or anxiety towards 'death'. May be that was one reason for getting more importance to this burial culture and when periods are going that practice may reach to more and more elaborate forms.

When going through the past of India it is found that the country has a notable position in the world of producing ancient civilization. The country included in the list of seven countries which had produced food plants at first time in early historic period.¹³ It is found that when a human being transformed from primitive men to tool making and using men may indicates the fight by human beings with nature and the final achievement was a result of the continuous growth of them.

Like that the invention of metal in pre-historic and early historic time is a milestone in the development of the society at that time. Because the change of human beings from a stone using society to metal using one is not a simple one. The growth of human beings was found through changes in their tools and weapons also. When starting the history of human beings it is found that the tools and weapons were made out of stone, woods, ivory etc. So the technological growth of human beings were understood through the change happened in their tools also.

The historians and Anthropologists have made certain kind of generalizations about the means of living by the people in pre or early historic time based up on the artifacts used by the people at that time. That means they make a picture about the people and their way of living etc are determined by the type of tools used at that time. The divisions like hunting, fishing, agriculture etc are made based up on the tools used by the human beings at that time.¹⁴

From the monuments in Kerala received so much of artifacts made out of metals and wheel made potteries, precious and semi-precious stones etc. The artifacts made with Iron, Bronze, Copper, Gold etc are found from Kerala. But the sources of these metals were not to be traced by the archaeologists in now-a-days. The Bronze was received from Thiruvilwamala, one megalithic site. Like that gold and copper was reported from Arippa. Interestingly both the copper and gold from here is very pure in nature. Dr.P.Rajendran says that in Kerala gold was found in near Beypore river bed and Nilgiri hill ranges of Malappuram district, maybe it was the source of gold in Kerala. Like that it is found that the copper rings from Arippa are found that it was pure one. So it is considered that may be gold was obtained by them is available from here, but copper was not to be traced anywhere from Kerala, so that was used them through the contacts with other part of the world by trade or any other kinds of contacts.¹⁵

Another notable change in the history of South India is the development of agriculture in South India during the time of Megalithic period. But peoples who worked in this field

also have shared difference of opinions regarding the practice of agriculture at that time. Peoples like Leshnik, Deo etc said that the people of megalithic were not to be involved with agriculture or any other kinds of cultivation and latter people like R.K.Mohanti, U.S.Moorti, Selvakumar etc mentioned that they were practiced cultivation in small scale and of course pastoralism was an important form of living by the people who practiced this burial culture.¹⁶

In this paper here am trying to mention the nature of Megalithic communities in South India. This burial practice was never to be happened through a single incident or a single change in history. But it is clear that the facts like, technological growth, beliefs, social stratifications etc have equal role in this kind of practices in early historic time. Of course an 'agency' may work out in here for spreading these practices in almost all parts of the world as a whole. So many questions are exist here as a puzzle but one thing is almost sure that atleast they were not lead an isolated life. Because in Kerala found so many sites of megalithic sites in Palakkad, Thrissur, Calicut, Malappuram, Kasargod, Idukki, Kollam, Trivandrum etc. So many typological and technological similarities were found between these monuments and with the monuments of other parts of South India. Like that when conduct field work on the area of Palakkad which is lying as close to Western ghats it can able to trace craftsmen communities like potters, Blacksmiths, Masons etc close to the Bharathapuzha basin. All these lead us to conduct further studies on these area regarding this problem.

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IDAYARAMAD HILLS DISPUTE BETWEEN TRAVANCORE COCHIN : AN ANALYSIS

Dr.J Suresh

The land and water cannot be separated under any circumstance. The world civilizations had emerged on the banks of various rivers. The river water and land had served as a bone of contention between States. The river Periyar is located on the border of Travancore and Cochin. The encroachments and sharing of river water had caused certain differences and disputes. An attempt to establish domination over Munambam Bar and the hilly place of Idiyaramad led to certain disputes. These disputes, though continued for a long period of time, might be settled amicably

Idiyaramad Hills located near to Malayattoor Hills. Idamalayar River passes through this place and joins Periyar, a slight above Malayattoor. In AD 1762, when *Zamorin* threatened Cochin, the Cochin ruler offered Alangad to Travancore for their assistance, like wise given. In 1764 the territory of Paravoor was also given to Travancore. Later Travancore raised the argument that Nayathodu temple situated in Alangad had certain income sources from Malayattoor forest region. So Travancore demanded Malayattoor and Idiyaramad hills to be their own. The then Resident to Travancore Cochin Col. Macaulay noticed the problem. British government without any trial or findings makes the matter favorable to Travancore. Cochin ruler again appealed to the matter. Actually Idiyaramad and Malayattoor were the continuation of Kodashery Hill ranges of Cochin. But with the decision of Macaulay, he issued a royal proclamation stating that the people of his kingdom should aware the fact

that the region to Malayattoor was given to Travancore and it was now under the position of Travancore.

British government extended the date of submission of Idiyaramad hills to Travancore. The reason for that is, in the Cochin kingdom the arrears in due to the British by Cochin were pending. So after solving problem, Cochin should give the territory. As a result when the dues were solved Col. Munroe demanded Cochin *Dewan* Nanjapayya to do the same. Likewise the treaty of 1818, Idiyaramad was surrendered to Travancore under Munroe's demand. However the Cochin rulers gave appeal to British government against this decision. Therefore J.C Hannington was appointed as arbitrator. The arbitrator declared his verdict in favor of Cochin. He demanded that Idiyaramad hills should be transferred to Cochin on or before July 1st 1882.

The Cochin Government admits that the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja of Travancore is at present in possession of the Idiyaramad Hills and in receipt of the produce of the same.¹ It denies that the Travancore Government has any right, legal or otherwise, either to hold possession of the Idiyaramad hills or to collect the produce of these hills, or that it has, as a matter of fact, ever collected there from any produce prior to 1818.²

Dassa Poy, inhabitant of Cochin, has rented from the Rajah of Cochin two Hills named Iddiara Mudda and Curijoo Mudda situated on the road to Malayattoor, for the

propose of cutting timber and bringing the produce of the Hills to Cochin. Also four elephants for the term for five years and agreed to pay annually for the Hills Rupees (2,800) two thousand and eight hundred and the elephants Rupees(1200) one thousand two hundred, for which grant he has the Rajah's Bond under date 1st August 1809 and the Rajah's is in possession of a counterpart.³

On the expiration of Dassa Poy's lease, Cochin resumed possession of the Idiyaramad Hills as well as of Curijoo Mudda and with such possession the exercise over them of all proprietary and sovereign rights, and this state of things continued undisturbed until Colonel Munro, who had succeeded Colonel Macaulay in the Office of Resident.⁴

Dewan Nunjapiah received Colonel Munro's letter on the 29th February, and without communication with His Highness on the subject tool upon himself at once to direct Captain Lethbridge in charge of the Cochin Forests to make over the Idiyaramad Hills to such persons as may be deputed for the propose by captain Gordon of Travancore service and on 30th June wrote to the latter requesting him to make arrangements to talked delivery of the Hills.⁵ His Highness had somehow or other, came to know of the receipt by his Dewan of Colonel Munro's requisitions for the surrender of the Hills and he accordingly addressed the Colonel on the 1st of Minom following, protesting against such surrender. Meanwhile the Dewan appears to have communicated to Colonel wrote to Nunjapiah on the 12th of the same month .to say that the surrender was justified by the tituram of the 9th July 1806. Other mater consideration, however, he seems to have c considered that something more was necessary for justification and accordingly on the 17th July, in replying to His Highness communication of the 1st August above alluded to, he relied not only up in the Tituram in question, but upon the fact of his having been informed, since his arrival in Travancore, by the people there that the Idiyaramad Hills belong to that State. His Highness was, however, not convinced of the justice of Colonel Munro's proceedings and therefore addressed him again on the subject on the September 1819. To this Colonel Munro replied on the 9th of that month, saying

that as "every case must be disposed of in accordance with Justice" he would reconsider this case too and communicate the result to His Highness without delay. But nothing further appears to have been done in the matter.

The question whether the dispute has been settled or not. Colonel Munro, the British Resident appears to have considered that Cochin had, by a Tituram dated 9th July 1806 surrendered the Idiyaramad Hills to Travancore, I am not prepared to admit that His Highness and issued any such Tituram, but conceding for arguments sake that a Tituram of the kind relied upon by Travancore had been issued I submit that a reference to it will shew that there is nothing in it to prove that the Idiyaramad Hills had been so surrender. The enquiry by Colonel Macaulay the resident and the decision come to by the Madras and Supreme Governments on such enquiry had reference exclusively to the Malayatoor Hills and the wording of the Tituram which was issued in difference of the views of the British Government, Clearly indicates that all that was relinquished by His Highness the Maha Rajah of Cochin in favor of his ally of Travancore was the places or hills in Malayatoor. In the Tituram there is no mention whatever of the Idiyaramad Hills which form no part of ht Malayatoor range.

There was treachery on the part of Dewan Nunjapiah in the matter may also be inferred from his subsequent action during the conference held at Quilon in 1824. He submitted to the Resident privately a memorandum in which he pressed for the restoration of the Idiyaramad Hills to Cochin, but in the list of disputes that he formally furnished to the Dewan of Travancore on the occasion he omitted all mention of claim of this Sirkar to the Hills, the more so as the Travancore Government was at the time advancing a claim of Rupees 40,000 as against Cochin in respect of these very Hills⁶. He not only failed to ask for a determination of the Claim this Sirkar had and has to the Idiyaramad Hills, but made admissions and give his assent to decisions in certain minor cases obviously with a view to favor the pretensions of Travancore and prejudice the interests of Cochin. The Idiyaramad Hills form part of the Codasher range of Hills which are admittedly in Cochin Territory. The situation of the Idiyara

Hills with reference to Codasheri in Cochin and Alungat within which it is contended by the Travancore Sirkar to lie, affords in itself cogent evidence if the fact of the disputed Hills being within the territorial limits of this Sirkar⁷. There is moreover nothing to show that these Hills were ever an appendage of Alungat or that the Rajah of Alungat had any time exercised any rights of ownership over them.

It is true that on two occasions Travancore advanced pretensions of the Hills in question and caused the Sirkar both loss and annoyance, but it should be borne in mind that the Government had to waive those pretensions on action taken by this.

The Idiyaramad Hills solely and exclusively belong to Cochin and that they should accordingly be restored to it by the Travancore Government, together with the value of produce for the past sixty-three years.

Before the court of Arbitrator duly constituted under the resolution of the Government of Madras, No 481 dated 29th October 1880, for the settlement of boundary disputes and other matters of contested Sovereignty between the two States of Travancore and Cochin. Statement submitted by the Dewan of Travancore on behalf of the Government of His Highness the MahaRajah of Travancore under Article III of the agreement of 1880 with reference to the dispute regarding the Idiyaramad Hills,⁸

First: That the Idiyaramad Hills belong to the MahaRaja of Travancore exclusively.

Second: That the Travancore Government is in exclusive possession of the sovereignty of the said Idiyaramad Hills and is in receipt of the forest produce of the said Hills.

Boundary of the Idiyara Hills- the boundary begins from Panny Moodu kuthoo; it then proceeds northwards along the small Nulla to a point called Kallyanypunthal, thence westward along the course of the Sholayar up to Choraykal. Whence it turns north waves and passes along the course of a small stream to a highly wooded top of a table land, thence turning westward proceeds along the crest of the Kurramanacil bridge which forms the south and south eastern boundary of the Nemarry sub-division of the Chittoor District of Cochin,

until it reaches a point a little to the west of Oorcoombanmad, thence takes a north westerly course along the Sholayar until its junction with vetecoly Poya; hence the boundary turns south westerly along the course of that stream until it reaches a point a mile north of Athirapulaymad; thence it proceeds south east and south along the crest of the ridge containing Mylloopunny Moody and Chokanny Moody until it reaches the Idiyaramad peak; Then the boundary turns south wards and follows the course of the Yeddumulayar until it reaches a point called Kavallalh, thence it turns north east and passes along the crest of the high ridge running west to east parallel to the Yeddumulayar on the north of it.

Counter statement submitted on behalf of the Cochin Government in answer to the statement filed by the Dewan of Travancore before J.C Hannigton Esquire, Arbitrator, on the 14th December 1880 in regard to the Idiyaramad Hills.

The Cochin Government denies⁹

- (A) that the Idiyaramad Hills belong to His Highness the MahaRajah of Travancore and
- (B) That the right of His Highness the MahaRajah of Travancore to the possession of the Idiyaramad Hills has been formally decided by the Madras Government and formally acquiesced in by His Highness the Rajah of Cochin as per Theetooram dated 9th July 1806 and also by article 39 (Travancore claims) of the agreement of 1824. between the two states.¹⁰

The Cochin Government is unable to admit that any such Theetooram as exhibit, filed with the statement of the Dewan of Travancore, had been issued by His Highness the Rajah of Cochin on the 9th August 1806. Or any other date¹¹.

The Cochin Government admits that the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja of Travancore is at present in possession of the Idiyaramad Hills and in receipt of the produce of the same, but it denied that the Travancore Government has any right, legal or otherwise, either to hold possession of the Idiyaramad Hills or to collect the produce of these Hills, or

that it has, as a matter of fact, every collected there from any produce prior to 1818¹².

The cochin Government submits that the burden of proving the alleged adjudication of dispute relating to the Idiyaramad Hills and the

alleged proprietor and sovereign rights of the Government of His Highness the Maha Rajah of Travancore to these Hills, rests upon that Government and that nothing that has hitherto been advanced is sufficient to prove either such adjudication or such rights.

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DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN COLONIAL TAMIL NADU

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This paper focuses on the emergence of political associations in Madras Presidency during the period of later Nineteenth Century. After the Vellore Mutiny, the Madras Presidency, especially the Tamil Country, was relatively peaceful. Marathas, Sikhs and others resisted the British at different times. The 1857 Revolt was a major event but this did not affect the Madras Presidency. The growth of Madras during the Nineteenth Century was remarkable and it dwarfed all other towns, eclipsing such ancient dynastic capitals such as Madurai, Kanchi, Tanjore and supplanting more recent and commercial centres such as Calicut. The growth of this Metropolis created a new middle class and an elitist group. The elite took the first step in introducing the modern political party system and a new political consciousness emerged in the Madras Presidency.¹

In mounting their agitation against the missionaries, the Hindus in Madras were not aided by a political association. This did not mean that the instincts of corporate action were absent among the Hindus. Urban life in Madras,

by its very complexity and competitiveness, was compelling many Hindus to redefine their relationship to each other. When the Hindus first migrated to the City, caste bodies emerged to regulate the activities of their members and protect their traditional rights from encroachment by rival groups. However, the rapid changes that overtook Madras, following the establishment of British power in the area, coupled with the slow erosion of certain traditional institutions and habits, called for relationships other than those based upon kinship and caste.

Madras Hindu Literary Society

An early example of this new kind of relationship was the Hindu Literary Society. Founded during the 1830s, this body admitted members from different Hindu castes and occupations.² Within its ranks were found Brahmins as well as Non - Brahmins, Hindu pundits as well as merchants. This society held periodic meetings and organized lectures to review the contemporary issues. Though not

exactly a voluntary association, it was the nearest to one to be found in Madras during the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

The Madras Hindu Literary Society became somewhat inactive during the 1840s, at a time when the anti-missionary agitation was reaching new heights. This agitation, among other things, had resulted in a heightened sense of Hindu communal solidarity in Madras. There were appeals for a voluntary association to give effective direction to this new born Hindu consciousness. Some Hindu leaders, notably Srinivasa Pillay and Lakshminarasu Chetty, however, favored the idea of reviving the Hindu Literary Society, hoping thereby to instill new vigor and purpose into its activities.³ In March 1864, a meeting was held in Madras to revive the Society. Srinivasa Pillay, while calling for unity among the Hindus, argued that failure to achieve it would be a great impediment to their political advancement. This attempt to breathe new life into the society failed but failure only underlined the need for a new political association which would give expression to the growing Hindu solidarity in Madras.

Formation of Madras Native Association

The initiative to form a political organization came not, however, from Madras but from Bengal where the British Indian Association was launched in October 1851.⁴ Formed for "a period of not less than three years," the Association's immediate aim was to voice India's grievances during the impending enquiry into the affairs of the English East India Company. Believing that its representations would carry great weight if they were made simultaneously by the natives of every part of British India, or by a Society to represent them, the British Indian Association solicited the collaboration of other Indian centres.⁵ Madras was among those invited to co-operate, either by forming a branch body affiliated to the British Indian Association or by having an independent association with broadly similar objectives. This invitation was discussed in February 1852 at a large meeting of the native inhabitants of the Presidency and it was then decided to form a Madras Branch of the British Indian Association.⁶ The constitution of the parent body was adopted and a Committee of Management was elected to discharge the routine matters of the branch association.

It is apparent that this association was largely the product of the Hindu caucus which had spearheaded the opposition to the missionaries during the preceding decade. The caucus consisted mainly of merchants belonging to the Tamil and Telugu Non - Brahmin Castes. The dominant figure was undoubtedly Lakshminarasu Chetty. His popularity among the Hindus of Madras stemmed partly from his courageous fight against official involvement in missionary operations and partly from his readiness to sacrifice his wealth towards the cause of Hindu interest. The *Crescent*, for example, was known to be run at considerable loss to Lakshminarasu Chetty. He brought into the Committee of Management a number of Hindu merchants, notably Appasamy Pillay, a senior partner of an agency firm, P.Appasamy Pillay, P.Veeraperumal Pillay, a partner in the same firm and A.Alwar Chetty, proprietor of a large provision firm in the Black Town.⁷

But it would be wrong to conclude that this Association was exclusively a body of Hindu merchants. Other interests were also represented. C.Y. Yegambaram Mudaliar, its first President, was a rich Mirasdar with extensive landed property. Representing the small western - educated class were V. Sadagopah Charulu and V. Ramnujachari, both graduates of Madras High School. It was Ramanujachari who filled the position of Secretary of the Association. As the Torture Commission reported in 1854, these leaders constituted a fair representation of the Hindu wealth and influence in the Presidency. Exercising influence from outside the association was Harley, Editor of the *Crescent* and trusted aide of Lakshminarasu Chetty.

Relations between the British Indian Association and its Madras Branch ran into difficulties from the beginning. The Madras leaders found their freedom of action "unexpectedly impeded by the union of the Madras Association with that of Calcutta".⁸ There were also differences over the question of reform proposals to be submitted to the British Parliament. These differences became evident when Bengal drafted a petition which, according to Lakshminarasu Chetty, related almost wholly to the plans and recommendations of the change of government

and for the exaltation of the higher classes of Hindus while ignoring the grand object for which the association was founded. What precipitated the matter was the decision of Bengal leaders to circulate the petition in England without securing prior approval of Madras.⁹ The leaders of Madras resented this arbitrary action of Calcutta Association and decided to form an independent organization to serve the interests of South India. The new body was called the Madras Native Association (hereafter referred to as M.N.A.) and it was inaugurated at a meeting in July 1852.¹⁰

The immediate task before this association was to present its case in a formal petition to the British Parliament. Data were painstakingly collected and an appeal was launched for funds to cover expenses, estimated at Rs. 50,000. By December 1852, the document was completed, with Harley putting the finishing touches and a public meeting was convened to seek endorsement before dispatching it to England. The M.N.A. summarized the main grievances of South India as follows:

“That the grievances of your Petitioners arise principally from the excessive taxation and the vexations which accompany its collection and the insufficiency, delay and expense of the Company’s Courts of Law; and their chief wants are the construction of roads, bridges and work for the supply of irrigation and better provision for the education of the people. They also desire a reduction of the public expenditure and a form of local government more generally conducive to the happiness of the subjects and the prosperity of the country.”¹¹

The M.N.A. was sharply critical of the Company’s rule and dealt with in detail the shortcomings of the revenue and judicial system in the Madras Presidency. Some of its harsh criticisms, however, were reserved for the religious policies of the Indian authorities. The M.N.A. objected strongly to the Caste Disabilities Removal Act and charged that in its implementation, the Act had been stretched even beyond the principle on which it was professedly framed. It also took exception to the diversion of state funds to missionary schools under the grants-in-aid system, contending that such a policy would tend to distinctly identify the State with missionary work. The British Parliament was also asked to legislate to

dissuade the Indian authorities from enacting laws which insult and outrage the Indians and their religion.

This criticism of the British authorities, particularly the structures on their religious policies, created a split within the ranks of the M.N.A. One faction, led by Srinivasa Pillay, was aggrieved at the tone and much of the content of the petition and decided to quit.¹²

It must, however, be pointed out that there had always been an element of friction between Srinivasa Pillay and Lakshminarasu Chetty, stemming principally from their perception of the role that the British Raj should play in effecting social change in India.¹³ Srinivasa Pillay, who visualized an India free from the shackles of caste, superstition and poverty, believed that the British rulers had a part to play in bringing about this transformation. He wanted the Indians to give whole-hearted support to their rulers in achieving this grand design. Srinivasa Pillay had a long record of service in various charities and other organizations, including the Monegar Choultry, the Pachaiyappa Charities and the Madras Literary Society. In these bodies, he had endeavored to cultivate cordial ties with the Europeans, be they officials, merchants or missionaries because he believed that such ties would strengthen the bond of goodwill between India and the West and elicit European help in the regeneration of the Indian people.¹⁴

Lakshminarasu Chetty, on the other hand, did not share much of Srinivasa Pillay’s zeal for rapid westernization or for seeking British aid to bring about social change in India. He was not opposed to social change *per se* but he believed that change must come from within the community rather than from without. He was strongly opposed to the missionaries or the state, being an alien one, meddling in the religious and social affairs of the Indian people. Religious neutrality, Lakshminarasu Chetty believed, was the correct policy for the British rulers to adopt. Where they departed from this policy of neutrality, he wanted the Indians to declare their opposition and appeal to the Court of Directors and the British Parliament for corrective measures.

After the break with the M.N.A., Srinivasa Pillay and his supporters formed the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society in November 1852.¹⁵ The program of this body included the promotion of widow remarriage, the encouragement of female education and the uplifting of depressed castes. Many of Srinivasa Pillay's coadjutors in this venture were his Hindu friends who were associated with him in the management of charitable organizations such as the Monegar Choultry and Pachaiyappa Charities.

His closest ally was M. Venkataraylu Naidu, a Pleader in the Sadr Court, who shared many of Srinivasa Pillay's ideas on the regeneration of India. Venkataraylu Naidu was born into a poor family and his education was largely financed by charitable friends and relatives. When he entered government service, promotions came rapidly but he was summarily dismissed by the Tweed Dale Administration for allegedly transmitting official papers to the *Crescent*. He went to the court to prove his innocence but he never regained his post and he decided to enter the legal profession. Despite these misfortunes, Venkataraylu Naidu did not harbour any hostility towards the British. He fervently believed that Indians could only advance by approaching closer and closer to their rulers and called for an entire identification of European and Native interests to bring about the regeneration of India. For many years, he had been a vigorous advocate of widow remarriage and wrote often in the columns of the local newspaper urging some action.

In July 1853, Venkataraylu Naidu started his own paper, the '*Rising Sun*,' mainly to focus discussion on the social problems affecting the Hindu Community.¹⁶ In the same year, with the death of Srinivasa Pillay, he assumed charge of the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society and continued to support the causes his predecessor had championed. Schools were established for children of depressed castes, scholarships were given to needy students and support was obtained for social legislations like the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856. Venkataraylu Naidu was also anxious to provide the youth of Madras with the opportunity to read widely and acquire the facility of public speaking. Two societies called the Hindu Reading Room and the Hindu

Debating Society, were founded and they attracted students from various educational institutions in Madras. Government support was welcomed mainly to acquire official publications free of charge and prominent Europeans were invited to deliver lectures or conduct discussion groups. Through such means, Venkataraylu Naidu hoped to stimulate the spirit of inquiry which, he believed, would trigger a mighty revolution in India. But such grandiose hopes were rather misplaced in the conservative world of mid-nineteenth century Madras. Hindu opinion was hardly prepared to accept the radical ideas emanating from the leaders of the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society. Venkataraylu Naidu died in 1863 and with him died many of his projects, including the *Rising Sun*.¹⁷

The M.N.A. was not adversely affected by the secession of Srinivasa Pillay and his friends. If anything, their withdrawal strengthened the hand of the faction led by Lakshminarasu Chetty, which then pressed ahead for political and economic reform of South India. Throughout the 1850s, the period of its active existence, the M.N.A. remained a vigilant and unsparing critic of the government's policies and actions. In 1852, it had called for a full scale inquiry into Indian affairs before the Charter of the Company was renewed. This demand was supported by similar associations in India as well as the India Reform Society which had been formed in London in March 1853 but the British Government rejected the request.¹⁸

The M.N.A. was not despondent. In October 1853, when Danby Seymour, Chairman of the India Reform Society, visited India to make an on-the-spot investigation, the M.N.A. nominated two of its leading members to accompany him on a tour of the mofussil areas. The party visited a number of centers, including Cuddalore, Tiruchirappalli, Kumbakonam, Salem, Tirunelveli, Calicut and Mangalore.¹⁹ From the evidence he gathered, Seymour was convinced of the validity of the general complaints which the M.N.A. had listed in its petition to the British Parliament. On his return to England, Seymour called for an inquiry into the land tenure system in South India and alleged that excessive land tax had led to many abuses in its collection, including the use of

torture by officials. The Madras authorities agreed to investigate these charges and appointed a Torture Commission which found evidence of torture perpetrated by Indian revenue and police officials.²⁰

One of the problems, with which the M.N.A. had to contend with, stemmed directly from its relationship with the local officials. Until the formation of M.N.A., the Madras authorities had been able to discharge their responsibilities without any fear of public scrutiny or sustained criticism. The advent of M.N.A. altered the situation and officials soon found out that they had to face a small but active band of Hindu leaders, determined to probe into governmental affairs and criticize policies and expose official misdemeanors. What irked officials even more was the M.N.A. method of securing redressal of its grievances not by directing them to the local authorities but by appealing directly to the British. Such tactics, the officials lamented, encouraged unwarranted Parliamentary interference in Indian affairs. Moreover, they bemoaned that the civil service in India was being attacked from all sides, including by such respectable organs as *'The Time'*.

Official antagonism towards the M.N.A. increased after Seymour's visit to South India. Seymour's inquiries into revenue collection, especially his efforts to gather evidence of torture, annoyed local officials. Also irritating was the two leaders of M.N.A. who accompanied Seymour to enquire in the mofussil areas.

Local leaders in Cuddalore, Tiruchirappalli, Salem and Tirunelveli were persuaded to start branches as the means of helping the M.N.A. with funds and information.²¹ In South Arcot, the Collector intervened to put an end to what was called "This Extortion". In 1854, a more effective way was found to undermine political activity in the mofussil. Following the discovery in the Guntur District of a case where certain agents, claiming to represent the M.N.A., had raised subscriptions on the promise of securing tax remission, the Madras Government issued a proclamation throughout the Districts, warning agents and subscribers that such actions were liable to criminal prosecution. The M.N.A. protested its innocence and the Torture Commission absolved it of any connection with the Guntur

agents. But the Madras authorities steadfastly refused to withdraw the proclamation and the effect of which was to frighten the branch association into abandoning their ties with the parent body in the Metropolis.

Despite this clash with the local authorities, the M.N.A. showed no perceptible signs of abdicating its role as the watchdog of Hindu interests in South India. Petitions were regularly sent to the British Parliament. Public meetings were held from time to time to discuss local grievances. Memoranda were presented to important dignitaries, enumerating the demands of the association for acknowledging their services to the Country. One such address was presented to Lord Canning in February 1856 on his assumption of Governor - Generalship.²²

A continuous watch was maintained on the activities of local officials and their misdemeanors and their highhanded behavior was promptly exposed. One such incident involved a Tahsildar who was accused of torturing some weavers in Chingleput District to realize arrears of Loom Tax. The M.N.A. claimed, in a petition to Parliament in January 1856, that the Tahsildar had acted on the strength of an order issued by the Collector. The incident was discussed in the House of Lords while the Madras Board of Revenue initiated its own inquiry which ultimately led to the dismissal of the Tahsildar and the censure of the Collector. This, however, was not the kind of justice which the M.N.A. was seeking. The M.N.A. only wanted to demonstrate that contrary to what the Torture Commission reported, Indian officials resorted to practices of this nature only under instructions or covert encouragement of their European superiors.

One subject, which continued to generate controversy throughout the fifties in the Nineteenth Century, was the question of Christian proselytization. Hindu suspicions about official collusion with the missionaries were never completely allayed and from time to time, Hindu leaders alleged a pro-missionary bias in the actions of local authorities.²³

This underlying mistrust of the executive was best illustrated during the riots in Tirunelveli in December 1853. Against the background of rising religious tension in South India as a result of renewed missionary

campaign against the policy of religious neutrality, the decision of a European Magistrate in Tirunelveli to allow a Christian burial party to use a street occupied by higher castes, led to a violent clash in which ten Hindus were killed and nineteen wounded. The Madras Government approved the action of district officials and ordered the rigorous prosecution of those suspected of rioting.

The M.N.A. was unhappy with this order and convened a public meeting in April 1859 to discuss this and other related issues. The meeting attracted many Muslims from the Metropolis and some Hindu leaders from the mofussil. The meeting approved a Memorandum to the Secretary of State for India, which attributed the Tirunelveli disturbance to the machinations of missionaries. It was claimed that the magistrate's decision to reverse the old ruling which disallowed Christians the use of the street occupied by higher castes, was the result of the missionary pressure. The M.N.A. was equally critical of the way in which the Tirunelveli investigations had been handled. It complained that instead of appointing an imperial commission, the Madras Government had entrusted the task to persons "implicated in the unhappy affair".

Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had just assumed the Governorship of the Presidency, accepted the Memorandum as "a genuine expression of the native mind" and regarded it as creditable that "the faithful people of the South have had recourse to the legal and constitutional mode of petition" in airing their grievances. Though not always agreeing with the sentiments expressed in the Memorandum, he nevertheless felt that missionary campaign in England, had created widespread fear among the inhabitants of South India that the existing policy might be changed and of the "tremendous machine of the government being brought into the field against them". Trevelyan believed that a firm and authoritative declaration upholding the policy of religious neutrality would put an end to these fears.

The Tirunelveli Riots of 1858 provided the last occasion when the M.N.A. held a mass meeting in Madras. During the next three years, the M.N.A. functioned in a very sporadic fashion. In April 1860, it appealed to the British

Parliament, calling for the restoration of the Tanjore Raj and in the same month, petitioned the Indian Legislative Council protesting against the proposed license duty and income tax. In March 1862, a deputation from the Association called on the Governor of Madras to plead the case of the Mirasidars in respect of the right over wasteland. Four months later, the M.N.A. was said to be "practically defunct" and moves were afoot for the formation of a new "Native Association". Thus, after a decade of active life, the M.N.A. had faded into oblivion.²⁴

Whatever the reasons for its demise and these are by no means clear from the available evidence, the M.N.A. was the first real attempt at organizing a political association along Western lines in South India. Although founded by the Hindu commercial elite in Madras, which felt that its established traditions were threatened by the actions of the Christian missions, this Association did not act as the mere mouthpiece of the narrow interests of this group nor was it the platform for the ventilation of specifically religious grievances. In fact, its signal contribution lay in its elaborate criticisms of the excessive public taxation in South India and its graphic portrayal of the corrupt machinery through which revenue was being collected. The Madras Government took heed of these criticisms and it was reflected, for instance, in its decision to reduce the Land Tax in 1855. This is a testimony to the adroitness of the leaders of the M.N.A. in harnessing the instruments of modern political protest to secure redressal of their grievances.²⁵

The dissolution of the M.N.A. symbolized the decline of the importance of the Hindu commercial elite in the civic life of Madras. Propelled into prominence in the 1840s on the crest of the anti-missionary sentiment then prevailing in South India, this elite had given institutional expression to its power by organizing the M.N.A. However, as anti-missionary feelings slowly subsided during the 1860s, the influence of the elite also waned and a rival group emerged to provide an alternative focus of leadership in the Madras Presidency. Members of the later group were products of the Madras High Schools who had achieved distinction in the services of the British Indian Administration.

Madras Hindu Debating Society and Hindu Improvement Progressive Society

At the same time, difference of opinion arose within the Madras Native Association. As a result of this, two groups emerged such as 'Pro-social reform group' and 'Pro-political reform group'. Challenging of the Madras Native Association, two social associations were formed, The Madras Hindu Debating Society was founded in 1852 by M. Venkatarayalu Naidu, a Non-Brahmin Merchant and another association was the 'Hindu Improvement Progressive Society' which was founded in 1852 by Srinivasa Pillai, one of the founders of the Madras Native Association.²⁶ These two societies wanted to support the British government for the social reform. Following their death, these societies had also become defunct in the mid 1860s.²⁷

Triplicane Literary Society

The Triplicane Literary Society was established in 1868 by a Muslim named Ibrahim Ali and it was later developed by some Hindu graduates around Triplicane.²⁸ The office was situated in No.8, Tulasinga Perumal Kovil Street, Triplicane. Diwan Bhadur R. Ragunath Rao was its president and P. Rangahia.Naidu, D. Rama Rao, V. Krishnamachari, G. Subramania Iyer, Sadhasiva Iyer were the Vice-Presidents of the Society.²⁹ It expressed the native opinion and discussed important questions of the day. But the public opinion in the Madras Presidency was not effectively mobilised because there was no recognized forum to voice the feelings and grievances of the people. The members of the Triplicane Literary Society realized the need for the native newspapers when the Anglo-Indian newspapers in Madras criticized the appointment of T. Muthuswami Iyer, a Brahmin Lawyer as the first South Indian Judge of the Madras High Court.³⁰ In order to represent the opinion of the people, the Members of Triplicane Literary Society started "The Hindu", an English newspaper in Madras on 20th September 1878, with the help of six most ardent and enterprising but inexperienced youth such as G. Subramaniya Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, T.T. Rangachariar, P.V. Ranagachariar, D. Kesava Rao Pantulu and N. Subba Rao Pantulu.³¹ G. Subramaniya Iyer, one of its founders, also founded the Swadesamitran, a Tamil newspaper in 1882.

With the circulation of these newspapers, political activities in the Madras Presidency picked up momentum.

Madras Mahajana Sabha

The need for a voluntary association had been felt in South India ever since the M.N.A. became defunct during the early 1860s. The absence of a recognized vehicle of political expression in South India and the disadvantages that stemmed from its absence, were sharply emphasized during 1870s when the Indian Association in Calcutta was beginning to make an impact on the Indian political scene by its determined opposition to unpopular policies associated with Lord Lytton's regime.³² The Poona Sarvajnik Sabha was rendering good service during the famine in Deccan. When there was a famine in the South in 1876-1878, the need for such a provincial association for the Madras Presidency was very much felt. The need for an active and respectable association, which would agitate incessantly against official iniquities and seek redress from the highest British authorities, including Parliament, was progressively felt in Madras.

Attempts were made to revive the M.N.A. These attempts started in 1877 and succeeded only in 1881. C.V. Renganata Sastri was elected as the President of the revived M.N.A but he died in July 1881. Then, V. Bhashyam Iyengar assumed the presidentship. The M.N.A. functioned upto 1883.³³ Attempts to revive M.N.A. failed because of the failure to keep pace with the changing political situation in South India. The Triplicane Literary Society and the revived Madras Hindu Debating Society also failed.

The leaders, who were behind the formation of the Madras Mahajana Sabha (M.M.S.), had revealed nothing to the public until they published a prospectus of the proposed body in March 1884. G.Subramanya Iyer, Anandhacharlu, Rangiah Naidu, Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, Balaji Rao and Veeraraghavachari were the source of inspiration for the formation of M.M.S. The M.M.S. was inaugurated on May 16, 1884.³⁴ It was stated that unlike the Madras Native Association, M.M.S. would only have non - official members who would "represent

fearlessly the wishes of the people". It was also stated that the dual function of M.M.S. was to correctly represent to the government the needs of the people and to suggest remedies and to improve the condition of the people.³⁵ Rengiah Naidu established connections with institutions of a similar nature in sister Presidencies. The M.M.S. membership was open to graduates, pleaders, dubashes and landholders. A new constitution was drafted and Rengiah Naidu was elected as the first President of M.M.S. and Balaji Rao was elected as the Vice-President of M.M.S.³⁶

As might be expected, education played an important part in the selection of leaders of the M.M.S. No less than nineteen of the thirty six members of the Committee of the Sabha had a university degree or its equivalent. A breakup of the communal groups represented in the Committee of the M.M.S. shows that twenty were non-Brahmins, thirteen Brahmins, two Indian Christians and one Muslim. A fair number of the leaders of M.M.S. had served in statutory bodies, charitable organizations or literary societies and clubs. It was obvious that the Sabha was to be essentially elitist in character, drawing its membership from the ranks of professional elite and wealthier classes in the region. In 1885, it had 205 members and in 1886, 796 members.³⁷

It would be wrong to measure the influence of M.M.S. purely in terms of the number of members on its rolls. A truer index of its influence would be to assess the strength of its affiliated associations spread over various parts of the Presidency. The constitution of the M.M.S. had empowered its leaders to affiliate with any other association with the same objective. Almost every town in the Madras Presidency could now boast of its own local association and MMS provided the common thread linking them together.

A significant innovation in the evolution of agitational technique in South India was the decision of M.M.S. to convene a conference of gentlemen, representing various parts of the Presidency, in order to bring about a periodical exchange of thoughts between Madras and mofussil. Unlike earlier associations in South India, the M.M.S. took a new leaf out of the book of constitutional agitations in the past by convening periodic conferences attended by

delegates from affiliated associations in the Presidency, to formulate an agreed program for political action.

The first provincial conference of M.M.S. was held on December 29, 1884 with seventy delegates.³⁸ The great majority of them were from the mofussil. Reform of Indian legislative bodies, separation of revenue from judicial functions, the condition of agricultural masses in South India and changes desired in the structure of the Indian Government, formed their agenda. The main criticism that could be levelled against this conference was the large number of papers on fairly general themes rather than formulating clear resolutions on more specific issues. It was argued in some circles that the conference, instead of devoting its energies to all India issues, should have discussed subjects of immediate concern to the Presidency like the question of local self-government and the operation of salt and forest laws. However, with the passage of time, the M.M.S. began to pay more attention to these immediate issues. The Second Provincial Conference of M.M.S. took place in Madras on December 23-25, 1885. The mofussil was adequately represented with twenty-one centers sending a total of forty-four delegates. As the curtain came down on the second provincial conference, an important era in the political evolution of South India also drew to a close. This era had begun with the search by politicians in Madras for a new and cohesive presidency-wide organization.³⁹ Following the successful inauguration of M.M.S. in 1884, the metropolitan leaders moved quickly to forge ties with a plethora of local associations and literary associations which had already come into existence in the mofussil. This trend towards co-ordination was possible because their leaders shared a certain identity of interest with their counterparts in Madras in view of their shared educational and professional background. When the Indian National Congress (I.N.C.) became the important factor, the M.M.S. gave way to national agenda and the presidency-specific agenda lost its significance.

Madras Congress Sessions

Madras occupied a significant place where the final decision was taken up for the formation of the Indian National Congress. When the first session of the I.N.C. met in

Bombay on December 27, 1885, Madras nationalists like S. Subramaniaiyer, G. Subramania Iyer, M. Vijayaraghavachariar, P. Anandacharlu and P. Rangaiah Naidu participated in it and the M.M.S. affiliated itself to the Madras Provincial Congress Committee. These nationalists provided an opportunity to Madras to act as the venue for the third session of the Congress which met on December 27, 1887. All the prominent Madras leaders participated in the proceedings of the session. Almost all the communities, religious sections and professional groups were actively participated the session. Many ordinary people involved themselves in the session's activities, which contributed to the growth of political consciousness among the people.⁴⁰

When the session was over, the Tamil leaders sent numerous memoranda and petitions to the government seeking redressal of their grievances. The nationalist newspapers like *The Hindu* and *Swadesamitran* strongly criticized the British administrative arrangement. The propaganda of the Congress leaders and the press sharply inspired the Tamils who became more politically conscious. They slowly came to know about the step-motherly motherly attitude of the British. The nationalists held the tenth session of the I.N.C. in Madras in 1894, the second of its kind to analyse political problems. Among the Madras leaders who took

part were N. Subba Rao and C. Sankaran Nair. In this session, criticism was leveled against the British officials who obstructed social and political reforms. N. Subba Rao moved a resolution complaining of loopholes in the judicial set up of the British. Thereupon the fourteenth session of I.N.C., the third of its kind in Madras, was held on December 29, 1898. In this session, N. Subba Rao emphasized the need for securing socio-economic equality and concessions to the oppressed and placed a proposal before the government.⁴¹ G. Subramania Iyer passed a resolution demanding the British government to spend Indian money on Indian needs. On the appeal made by the leaders in the session, district conferences were organized since 1899, which ultimately aroused the national awakening among the masses. In Tamil Districts like Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Tirunelveli, such organisations inculcated national spirit. Five years later in 1903, I.N.C. again convened its nineteenth session, the fourth of its kind in Madras.⁴² In this session, the issue of exclusion of Indians from higher public services was debated. In 1904, the Congress leader, Annie Besant, established the Madras Hindu Association to create cultural unity in the State.⁴³ These political associations nurtured general awakening and subsequently consolidated the political ideas of the people of Tamil Districts.

End Notes

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4. Jim Masselos, *Indian Nationalism - An History*, New Delhi, 1985, p.70.
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6. Anil Seal, *op.cit*, p.197.
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“POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF WRITINGS OF Dr A.M. RAJASEKHARIAH”

Tajunnisa M Sayed & Dr. S.Y. Mugali

INTRODUCTION

Dr A.M Rajasekhariah, who has the unique distinction of being the first scholar in India to be designated as Babasaheb Ambedkar Professor of Political Science, was a scholar of rare eminence and an excellent Political Scientist. He was a versatile genius whose contribution to the arena of Political Science is invaluable and his service to the cause of downtrodden was noteworthy. He was an eminent scholar, researcher and loved teaching which always got first place in his life. As a teacher, he wielded a tremendous influence on his students in India and elsewhere. To him education of Scheduled Caste and backward classes in India was of prominent importance. He possessed a commitment to uplift the weak and meritorious students and was delighted whenever the oppressed got their post-graduate and doctoral degrees. Himself being a recognized scholar in multiple branches of political science, He has produced a number of doctoral and other scholastic works. He was the founder professor of study Chair of Dr B.R Ambedkar in the whole country, and even was the first scholar to pursue Ph.D on Dr Ambedkar and later pursued Diploma in Ambedkar's Studies, started in Karnatak University Dharwad. He got translated the works of Dr B.R Ambedkar into kannada language. As a great scholar, he has contributed books and articles that have enriched the literature on Political Science. He has made

unique contribution to Political Science with special reference to the studies on Dr Ambedka, Dalit and Subaltern Literature. Dr A.M Rajasekhariah believes that politics concerns the whole of man, and all of society. He holds that it is possible for a man to grasp the totality of existing reality and therefore he is keen on the socio-political question of healthy democracy in India.

II. Early Life and Career of Dr A.M. Rajasekhariah

Professor A.M. Rajsekhariah was born on 8th June 1929 in a middle class family of teachers at Davangere district. His father Avaregere Math Channabasaviah was a teacher in the school started by himself at Davangere, Kotturesh temple in Halepet and mother Smt. Neelamma was a simple and devoted house wife. He completed his primary education at Haunsbhavi in Dharwad district and completed his high school from Marimallappa's High School. After completing SSLC in 1947, he joined Yuvaraja's college, Mysore for intermediate course in Arts and completed it in 1949. He then joined Maharaj's College for BA(Hons) Degree - Political science (1952) and MA (Political Science) in 1953. Further in the year 1967 he was awarded Ph.D (Political Science), from Karnatak University for his Thesis " *Dr B.R Ambedkar: A Study of his Contribution to the Political and Constitutional Evolution Of India*". On 25th December 1953

he married Kamala Yogimath and was blessed with five children. In 1954, He joined Veerasaiva College Bellary as Lecturer in Political Science, conducted classes for the first batch of B.A students. In 1960 He was selected as Lecturer in Karnatak College Dharwad and on 15th June 1960 he joined Karnatak Arts College, a constituent college of the university. He conducted class on International Relations for postgraduate students. In 1961 he moved to P.G Department of Political Science, Karnatak University as lecturer. In 1969 he worked as Reader in the Department of Political Science, Karnatak University Dharwad and in 1974 he was promoted as Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Karnatak University Dharwad.

In 1977, the syndicate of the Karnataka University designated him as Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar Professor in recognition of his work on Ambedkar. This is the first Ambedkar Chair ever established in the whole country.

III. WRITINGS OF Dr A.M RAJASEKHARIAH

Dr A.M Rajasekhariah has contributed several books and articles that have enriched the literature on Subaltern, Dalit studies, Polity and Social issues. He has made unique contribution to Political Science with special reference to the studies on Dr Ambedkar and Dalit Literature. Among his works "B R Ambedkar The Politics of Emancipation", won universal recognition as rare work on Ambedkar. His other prominent books are "First General Elections in Goa", "Understanding Political Science", "Select Problems in Political Theory", "International Relations", "The Quest for Justice", etc. He has published several research papers both in English and kannada language, focusing on Political Philosophy, International Relations, Problems of Minorities, Problems of Federalism, Party Politics, Indian Nationalism, Politics of Untouchability (Gandhi and Ambedkar Perspective), Indian Elections etc. This article is an attempt to study two writings of Dr. A.M Rajasekhariah with reference to the political ideas.

IV. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR (1991)

In this article Dr A M Rajasekhariah opines that among the galaxy of the great thinkers and philosophers of India, Bharat

Ratna Dr B R. Ambedkar occupies a prominent position in the history. His personal experiences which were bitter in nature, progressive and liberal Western education, extensive reading and research, wide contacts provided him the required perspective and dimension for understanding and analysing any problem, it may be social, political or economic. His incisive mind and diagnostic skill always stood as good-stead in his relentless search for truth. Dr. Ambedkar was a rare and curious combination of a scholar, thinker, writer, leader, legal luminary, constitutional expert and a champion of the downtrodden masses. He was all these clubbed into one single personality, whose memory never fades in the minds of the suffering asses and toiling millions for many years to come. Dr. Ambedkar's was a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional personality who has made a significant contribution to humanity and his concern for men all along led him build up a body of philosophical thoughts. Dr Ambedkar analysed very well that no philosophy will be worth its name if it does not have its roots in Humanism.

Ambedkar's social and political philosophy is very much influenced by the philosophy of his inspiring teacher John Dewey of Columbia University, "*there are many old friends who have gathered around me and [are] helping me in all sorts of ways. I was looking forward to meet[ing] Prof Dewey. But he died on the 2nd when our plane was in Rome*"¹ He further says "I am so sorry. I owe all my intellectual life to him. He was a wonderful man."² Further his Political philosophy is influenced by the American constitution especially the Fourteenth Amendment, the English Economist like J.M.Keynes, R.A. Selghman, the great English Parliamentarian Edmund Burke and the great indian Social-reformer Mahatama Jotiba Phule. Buddha had an enduring influence on him. Dr Ambedkar got the Idea of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity more from Buddhism than from French Revolution. The influence of Western Liberalism has been evident in his thinking too. These influences helped him to develop a philosophy based on a synthesis of rationalism and empiricism, idealism and realism etc. Ambedkar was one of our most prominent political and social thinkers, whose ideas on various social and political problems such as caste system, the pernicious

practice of untouchability, the emancipation of the downtrodden through political action etc., open up new vistas and horizons. His findings on all these and similar other problems that plague the contemporary Indian society and polity are original and characteristically his own. They speak volumes for his profound scholarship and intellectual capacities. He investigated deep into the Indian social and political history and contributed a good deal to the understanding of Indian society and polity through his writings. Dr. Ambedkar's main concern all along his life was to fight against this injustice, by all possible and necessary means and to establish a just and egalitarian society. His politics never aimed at gaining personal power or for climbing the ladder to high position but was for emancipation of the down-trodden million of Indians.

V. "B R AMBEDKAR THE POLITICS OF EMANCIPATION"(1971).

In this book Dr A. M. Rajasekhariah describes the nature of politics of emancipation of depressed classes under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. He explained the model of political mobilisation that Ambedkar developed and practiced for the progress of depressed classes. He endeavors to determine the role of Ambedkar as an emancipator and a champion of the downtrodden people of India. He attempts to explain and evaluate the prominent aspects of the thinking and approach of Ambedkar with regard to the political and constitutional issues. Ambedkar as an architect of the Indian constitution and as one who had deep concern for the sufferings of the Dalits in general and for social justice in Particular have also been discussed. His political and social ideals are also presented and examined.

Besides reflecting and representing the theoretical issues that are implicated in the writings of Ambedkar - attempts is made to capture the attention of the readers to the views of Ambedkar on such issues whose relevance is intensely felt even today. In this study, Ambedkar's thoughts on untouchability, caste discrimination, socialism, democracy, freedom, justice other issues related to nationalism, representation and formation of states, fundamental rights, political decentralization, impact of western culture and partition of India have been deeply analyzed. Dr AM.

Rajasekhariah's Political thoughts are based on the political ideas of Dr B R Ambedkar.

Democracy; DrA. M. Rajasekhariah opined that Dr Ambedkar was an ardent believer in Democracy and was, by philosophical persuasion, a liberal democrat. To Ambedkar "*democracy is more than a form of government - it is a form of organization of society. Further it is an associated way of life, where revolutionary socio-economic transformation could be brought without bloodshed peacefully*"³. He stress that there cannot be democratic government unless the society for which it functions is democratic in its form and structure. To him "*democracy*" meant *much more than a democratic government. Dr. Ambedkar said, "Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organisation"* ⁴

Another crucial feature of Dr. Ambedkar's conception of democracy is that it was associated towards the social transformation and human progress. Conservative notions of democracy, such as the idea that it is mainly a device to prevent bad people from seizing power, did not satisfy him. Dr. Ambedkar always had the egalitarian and socialistic approach. He believed that, Democracy is essential in imparting social justice and actual roots of democracy do not lie in the form of Government. A democracy is more than this. It is actually a mode of associated living, where people form relationship with other people. The roots of Democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society. Society does not consist of only a few individuals but strong bondage of fraternity. He believed democracy means no slavery, no caste, and no pressure. Dr Ambedkar focused on three categories of democracy in India they are (1) Political Democracy (2) Social Democracy and (3) Economic Democracy. According to him Social and Economic democracy are most essential requirements and very basis. They are like the tissues and fiber of a political democracy;

The Forms of Government; The constitution of India provides for a Parliamentary system of government based on the British model with quite few modification to suit the needs of our people , in preference to the Presidential forms of the American model.

There was a considerable degree of opposition in the Constituent Assembly for adopting the parliamentary system. According to Ambedkar “A democratic executive must satisfy two conditions 1) It must be stable executive and 2) It must be responsive executive and a non-Parliamentary Executive being independent of Parliament tends to be less responsible to the Legislature, while a Parliamentary Executive being more dependent upon a majority in Parliament becomes more responsible”.⁵ It was also felt that the British system of Executive, which would provide a strong democratic executive would suit the conditions of our country. Ambedkar was a great admirer of Parliamentary system of Government. According to him, “there are three inherent characteristics of the system. Firstly, free and fair elections from time to time. Secondly, in the form of government no single individual can presume the authority that he knows everything and that he can make the laws and carry the government. The laws are to be made by the representatives of the people. Finally, the elected representatives, the legislatures and ministers must have the confidence of the people renewed in themselves at given periodicity”.⁶

Justice; According to A.M Rajashekhariah, Ambedkar in his final speech, posed the question whether the Indian citizen would be having democracy in real sense, in its economic and social aspects. Further he questions about the lofty idea of Justice - social, economic and political.

VI. CONCLUSION

Dr A.M. Rajasekhariah a man of versatile personality was an eminent scholar and researcher, has made unique contribution to Political Science with special reference to the

studies on Dr Ambedka, Dalit and Subaltern Literature. Dr A.M. Rajasekhariah’s Political ideas are based on the political thoughts of Dr B R Ambedkar. Dr. Rajasekhariah pointed out that Ambedkar’s model was that of democratic mobilisation through non-violent methods. This guided the depressed classes towards the path of progress unlike that of the revolutionaries which took recourse to violence with adverse and at a times disastrous consequences. Dr. Rajasekhariah discussed political methods followed by Dr. Ambedkar and gave new insights in his analysis. Dr A. M. Rajsekhariah opined that Dr Ambedkar was an ardent believer in Democracy and was , by philosophical persuasion, a liberal democrat. Ambedkar had no other alternative but to give legal shape to the parliamentary system with a removable executive by writing it into the constitution and justifying its adoption by the Assembly. Dr Ambedkar’s interpretation of Democracy is mainly emphasized on strong bond of fraternity, equality and social justice. Ambedkar’s social and political philosophy is very much influenced by the philosophy of his inspiring teacher John Dewey of Columbia University, the American constitution especially the Fourteenth Amendment, the English Economist like J.M.Keynes, R.A. Selghman, the great English Parliamentarian Edmund Burke and the great indian Social-reformer Mahatama Jotiba Phule. Dr Ambedkar got the Idea of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity more from Buddhism than from French Revolution. These influences helped him to develop a philosophy based on a synthesis of rationalism and empiricism, idealism and realism etc. Dr. Ambedkar’s main concern all along his life was to fight against this injustice, by all possible and necessary means and to establish a just and egalitarian society.

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B.S. VENKAT RAO- THE HYDERABADI AMBEDKAR: HIS ROLE IN TELANGANA DALIT MOVEMENT

Talari Srinivas Rao

B.S. Venkat Rao was known as one of the *Trimurthis* of Telangana dalit movement in the erstwhile Hyderabad State. Along with Bhagya Reddy Varma and Arige Ramaswamy he played a significant role in the awakening of the downtrodden communities and worked for their socio-economic upliftment. Although he played an important role in the upliftment of Dalits, minorities and other oppressed people in the Hyderabad State, the main stream historical have ignored him. Hence in my paper I highlight the biography of Venkat Rao and contribute new facts to our understanding of the social history of Hyderabad State. My paper also attempts to remember, recognize and appreciate the achievements of a member of the great trinity of the Dalit movement in Hyderabad State.¹

An important aspect of biographical account of B.S Vankat Rao, who was conferred with the title Veera Ratna which suggests his boldness and courage in facing the problems and dealing with the social issues. He was born on 11th December, 1898 in a poor untouchable family in Secunderabad and he was the second child to his parents. His father was in the domestic service of Europeans and could provide his children with modern education. After studying in the S.P.G High school VenkatRao gained proficiency in Hindi and English. During the First World War he was posted as an artist in Pune and during the stay he married a Maharashtrian woman, his first wife. In 1919 he returned to Hyderabad and joined the civil engineering department of the Nizam state and subsequently posted as the overseas in the public works department. After working for few years he resigned to his position in 1922 and afterwards he became a civil contractor and carried out his social and political activities.²

As a social reformer he founded a number of organizations for the upliftment of the Dalits. In 1922 he founded Adi-Dravida Sangham with the help of M. Govida Raju and P.RVenkata Swamy for the educational development of Dalit communities he also carried out a number of educational programmes by establishing

schools in Secunderabad. For his educational contribution he got inspiration from Jyothiba Pule. In 1927 he founded Adi Hindu Mahasabha with Arigya Ramaswamy, M. Venkataswamy and others. Through these organizations he attempted to bring about a new awakening and consciousness among the Dalit communities. During the social reform activities Venkat Rao participated in various conferences and attended several meeting. He also constructed houses, schools, libraries, and temples for the untouchables and other backward/weaker sections. He constructed model colonies at Bansilalpet, new Bhoiguda, and Ghassmondy. Venkat Rao presided over the first Bombay Presidency Mahar conference held on 30th May, 1936 in Bombay. It was from this conference onwards he began to be addressed as Hyderabad Ambedkar. In the same year (1936) he was also conferred with Kuru-E-Deccan- a medal by the H.E.H Nizam of Hyderabad.³

Venkat Rao was critical of the caste system and Hinduism. The scholar has also briefly mentioned about various dalitbahujan movements in different parts of India. The Social reform movements in the 19 century brought about a new awakening and consciousness among the lower castes and communities. These movements aspired egalitarianism and were against the tyranny of ascriptive hierarchy, social slavery and caste feudal exploitation. They also rejected the upper caste culture and its traditions/customs, and strove to create socio- religious practices embedded in India's non- Brahmanic culture. Dalit movements focus mainly on liberation from caste oppression but not on the reform of Hinduism. It has been pointed out "Dalit politics emerged out of serious criticism of the oppressive nature of Hinduism. Dalit politics build its cultural criticism in response to what were identified as the inadequacies, faults and even structural defects of Hinduism as a religion, which they found the fundamental cause of their social discrimination and low socio- economic status. Many factors contributed for bringing about a new

consciousness among the Dalitbahujans in the 19-20th centuries".⁴ In particular the role of Christian missionaries which established educational institutions and undertook welfare measures among the lower castes had raised their awareness of oppression by upper caste Hindus and Brahmanical religion. In the early 20th century the social reformers in the Hyderabad State like Bhagya Reddy Varma, Venkat Rao, Shyam Sunder, Arigay Ramaswamy etc., have played a significant role in Dalit assertion which provided tremendous rational and radical insights.

B.S Venkat Rao was the most prominent among those who dominated the socio-political and religious fields in the Nizams States for about two decades. He was instrumental in the formation Youth League of Ambedkarites and he became its president. Its aim is also to carry out a vigorous campaign to ameliorate the social and economic disabilities of the downtrodden communities. He also campaigned against the religious conversion activities of the Christian missionaries. Venkat Rao propagated the ideals and mission of DR. Ambedkar and organized programmes to better the conditions of the depressed classes. He appealed to them "to get rid of the demoralizing influence of the monstrous Hindu religion and support DR. Ambedkar in his fight for the emancipation of the depressed classes." The league aimed to organize the youth of the depressed classes and to enlighten them about the evils of Hinduism. He also worked hard to remove the cost differences among Dalit communities like the Malas and Madigas. The activities of the Youth League were also focused on political issues. Venkat Rao was in constant touch with Ambedkar and informed about the leagues activities and he personally discussed about the constitutional reforms in Hyderabad State and sought his help in representing the untouchable communities in the Government of Hyderabad in order to safeguard their political interests. In view of constitutional reforms in Hyderabad State, the scope of the league and its activities were broadened.⁴

Venkat Rao founded The Hyderabad State Depressed Classes Association and it sought to organize the depressed classes into one united body.⁵ It also sought political rights by adequate representation of dalits in various organs of the Government. The Nizams Government

proclaimed a constitutional reform through Farman-E-Mubarak and provided scope for the nomination of dalit communities in the decision making and constitutional bodies. Subsequently, in the elections to the legislative assembly many candidates belonging to the depressed classes emerged on opposed from several constituencies. Thus Venkat Rao became a popular politician in the Nizam's dominion. Venkat Rao also supported the Nizams constitutional reforms declared on 11th June, 1947, by declaring the independence of the Hyderabad State. He announced the celebration of Hyderabad independent and welcomed the declaration. He said that the Hyderabad State Congress represents only a small fraction of the caste Hindus and vested interest and the position taken by it the with respect to the political future of the State was unsound and untenable. He believed that the caste Hindus were plunging the people into chaos by their negative and destructive attitude. He declared that the 40 lakhs depressed classes and 5 lakhs of Christians did not belong to the congress. The Depressed Classes Association celebrated the Hyderabad Independence Day and a public meeting was convened on 29th June, 1947. He hoisted the Asaf Jahi flag and garlanded the portrait of the Nizam. A resolution was passed expressing the loyalty of the association to the Nizam. The speakers of the meeting included Shyam Sunder and Kasim Razvi. In this meeting the speakers criticized the caste Hindus and expressed their support for the Muslims. Shyam sunder said about the Majlis, "We have shaken hands with those who freely come to our house and sit with us and who have pledged their support for us." Venkat Rao did not accept the leadership of the caste Hindu dominated Hyderabad State Congress and also did not believe that it represented the people of Hyderabad.⁶

Venkat Rao played an important role in the Nizam's Government. He became the Minister of Education and created one crore trust fund for the education of the depressed classes. He had undertaken a number of welfare measures for the upliftment of the Dalit communities. On his recommendations the Nizam Government distributed government lands and west lands across the state. Through his effective lobbying he managed to get Dalit

representation in the Nizams Government and he visualized a Hyderabad State based on an alliance between Dalits and Muslims. He was critical of the congress leadership and also Nehru for the military action against the Nizam in 1948.

Venkat Rao's contribution towards the social reform among the Dalits in Hyderabad State was quite laudable as he was inspired by Dr. B. R Ambedkar. He was instrumental in evolving programmes for caste annihilation by organizing a number of social and economic programmes in the interests of Dalits and other weaker sections. He launched vigor's struggles against Jogini system, child marriages, animal sacrifices, bonded labour etc., and launched prohibition campaign among downtrodden communities. As a social reformer he was associated with a number of associations like Adi-Hindu Social Service League, Manya Sangam, Swasthi Dal, Yuva Jana Sangam, Hyderabad Dalita Jatiya Sangam etc. He was also instrumental in establishing Keys Cooperative Housing Society and as its president he donated his own land to poor people and established a new colony. He was also responsible for constructing modal colonies for the weaker sections.⁷

B.S. Venkat Rao's contribution towards the educational progress of the Dalits was significant as he was responsible for the allotment for land at Aurangabad as well as sanction of funds by the Government of Hyderabad for construction of college buildings by Dr. B. R Ambedkar. As the Education Minister he obtained funds for education and established schools, hostels and sanctioning of scholarships for scheduled castes and other weaker section students. He organized night schools in slums and Dalitwad as with an object to educate the illiterates. He also was instrumental for the development of Barton School at Secunderabad and he upgraded it into High School. Presently it is known as

Audiah Memorial High School as a member of the School Committee for a long time. As Minister in Nizma's Government, he granted huge funds to meet three-fourth of the cost of annual maintenance of the school. He was responsible for admitting compartmental passed students in various educational institutions, particularly in Nizam College.

Venkat Rao was the most prominent dalit politician in the erstwhile Nizam State and he held several positions. In 1937 the Nizam Government nominated him to the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. He had been a Municipal Counselor of Hyderabad for ten consequent years from 1937 to 1947. He was also a member of the statutory advisory of bodies of Finance, Education, Labour, Food and Defense during 1941-46. He got elected unanimously to the Nizams legislative assembly in 1946. He became the education Minister of the Nizam State in 1947. After the Police action in 1948 he was put under house arrest and was released later. He contested in the General Elections in 1952 as an Independent candidate, but was defeated by the congress candidate. Later he was nominated to Rajyasabha in 1951. He died on November, 4, 1953 due to prolonged illness at the age of 57.⁸

Venkat Rao by his hard work and commitment enjoyed considerable recognition as the first depressed class minister in the Nizam state. His contribution to the cause of emancipation of the down trodden communities was cherished by all. He sacrificed his life and wealth in the cause of the welfare of the dalit communities and died as a pauper. He was a generous person without calculation and selfish motives. Thus a scholar concluded "He came into the political arena with a bang. He was undisputed leader for two decades and strode like a colossus. He ruled the Depresses Classes Association of which he was the Chief Architect, with an iron hand."⁹

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ROLE OF ERODE DISTRICT IN SOUTH INDIAN REBELLION

J. Vasudevan

The Kongu country formed the Erode, Coimbatore, Salem, Dharmapuri, Nilgiris, Namakkal, Karur, Kulithalai of Tiruchirapalli and Palani of Dindugal districts of Modern Tamilnadu. The present Erode district the core of kongu nadu in early time was under the sway of succession of rulers through their deputies as buffer region. The loss of independence by intrusion of alien rule in local autonomy, introduction of administrative innovations caused disturbance in local nature resulted in a popular rebellion called South Indian Rebellion. This paper is the modest attempt to trace the significance of Erode district in the South Indian Rebellion.

Geographical Location of Erode District

Erode district lies on extreme north of Tamilnadu situated between 10 36° and 11 58° North Latitude 76 46° and 77 58° East longitude¹. It is bounded by Karnataka state in the North, Dindugal district in the South, Namakkal and Karur districts in the east and Coimbatore, Nilgiris districts on the west respectively. Erode is the headquarter of the Erode district.

Topic and Scope

Political history has been the most favourite one for many historians. It is because politics is responsible in bringing many far - reaching changes in the society. It is quite nature that every historians has the desire to probe the history of his region. The ascendancy of British power in Indian soil caused serious of rebellion in all parts of the country. This inspired the researcher to probe that rebellion in his district.

South Indian Rebellion: (1799-1801)

The British ascendancy in the southern region of India as a result of the Carnatic Wars and Mysore Wars made excited reactions to struggle against the alien forces, which sought the destruction of India's cultural heritage and imposition of a strange order. Subordinate chieftains, the poligars and the zamindars raised isolated disturbances but these were neither widely organized nor properly coordinated. As the eighteenth century drew towards its end, the

cloud of horrors wrought by an alien sway, thickened and the masses moved swiftly in a climate of despair, bewilderment and revenge. British imperialism with all its abhorrent ramifications drifted inescapably into a violent collision against a concerted challenge organized by the peasants.

“No where in India at any time did the common people organize and fight for a nationalist cause so extensive so violent, a rebellion against British imperialism as the patriots of the South did in the memorable years 1800-1801”, says Dr. Rajayyan who has done extensive research using the original archival sources (1760-1801).² The steep upward revision of taxes levied by the British constituted the direct method of oppression. This was widely applied to the territories acquired from Mysore in 1792-1799 and from the Palayakars at different times made people resent against alien sway over their territories.

During Mysore Wars, the marches and counter marches of the troops and plundering expeditions in the district especially places like Sathyamangalam, Bhavani, Gobichettipalayam, Dharapuram, Kangeyam, Erode etc., the gate way to and from Mysore country, suffered wholesale destruction of crops and plunder of the riches. This melancholy situation did not however deter Hurdis and Macleod, the first collectors, from enhancing the land tax to a fantastic proportion of 118 percent over Tipu's assessment of 1792.³ Greatly agitated at the political melody and economic tragedy and languishing under the western heel of oppression and princely hand of collusion, the inhabitants rallied to the standard of resistance. This was South Indian Rebellion the first wide spread uprising in the annals of British India.

Formation of Regional Rebel Leagues

K. Appadurai in his book Thennatu Porkallangal opines that the National movement in the south was started by the great hero Haider Ali.⁴ His son Tipu Sultan opposed the colonial rule of British tooth and nail till his last day. The year 1799 was the most sadful year in the history of South India in which the two brave men Kattabomman of

Panchalakurichi and Tipu Sultan of Mysore laid their soul on the altar of martyrdom. After the death of Tipu and victory of British over Mysore, many of the patriots fled to remote region. They reorganized themselves and started resistance against the alien in co-operation with the inhabitants. Among them the most formidable rebel chief was Dhoondaji Waugh of Mysore who formed a rebel league to oppose the British.

In the south Sevethiah and Umaidurai the brothers of Kattabomman, Marudu brothers, Kizhavan Sethupathi, Gopal Nayak, and Kerala Varman formed different regional leagues to oppose British. The Marudu brothers headed the Sivagangai league, Umaithurai and Sevathaih headed the Tirunelveli league. Gopal Nayak of Virupakshi headed the Dindugal league and Keralavarman headed the Coimbatore league. In Erode, the rebels were led by Chinnamalai.

First Tamil Mission to Kannada Rebels (1799)

The rebels who formed different regional leagues wanted to get acquainted among themselves. So they employed hircarras (intelligence messengers) to transmit intelligence about the movement of the hostile forces and the struggles of the insurgent powers. Through these means the braveness and exploits of the leaders of the rebellion especially about Dhoondaji Waugh the rebel chief of Kannada nadu came to be known in the district and were discussed in the villages.⁵

The peasants of Coimbatore, Salem and Erode who were burdened with heavy taxation by British, took interests and espoused in undertaking hazardous mission to the northern region of peninsula for seeking the support of the Kannada rebels for three times. These were called as Tamil mission to Kannada rebels.

Chinnan Gounder popularly known as Chinna Malai, the headman of Perundurai (20 km west of Erode) and a native of Kangeyam, wanted to gain the support of Dhoondaji Waugh and decided to lead a mission of rebels to the leaders of the North. He was accompanied by his lieutenants Futteh Mohammed, Mohammed Hashan and Ramanulla Khan in the mission. The exact date of the mission could not be ascertained. The

four patriots led by Chinna malai visited Dhoondaji Waugh at Soonda.⁶

Chinna Malai explained that the inhabitants of the south were ready to raise rebellion and then he would furnish his services for promoting co-ordination of the rebel effort. He requested Dhoondaji Waugh to send his agents to Erode to motivate the people for revolt, but Dhoondaji Waugh was slow in understanding the vista of great possibility offered by mission from Erode.⁷ Yet with a lingering hope, the mission stayed on and moved with the camp of Dhoondaji Waugh. So he sent three of his confidential agents with Chinna Malai to the south and directed them to take guidance from Chinna Malai in the organization of revolt in Coimbatore, Erode and Madurai areas. The mission returned to Dindugul through different routes to co-ordinate with Gopal Nayak of Virupakshi.⁸ The rebel mission led by Chinna Malai to get support of Dhoondaji Waugh was called as First Tamil Mission to Kannada rebels. Thus he believed strongly that unity among the neighbours is necessary to succeed enemies and he was one of the first man took initiative to form alliances.

Second Tamil Mission to Kannada Rebels (October 1799)

Dhoondaji Waugh revolted openly against the British in 1799. The peasants of Erode and Coimbatore decided to help Dhoondaji and sent a second rebel mission to the north. So three powerful and influential leaders of Kongu region namely Appaji Gounder, Venkataramiah and Kasturi Ranga consulted with each other and agreed upon establishing a union with the rebel leagues of other areas of Kongu to help Dhoondaji Waugh. They deputed Venkataramaiah and his brother Narahari with a message to Dhoondaji Waugh for a joint venture against their common enemy-the British.

Venkataramaiah and Narahari, after a long and tedious journey, reached Shikarpur and met Dhoondaji Waugh. The records of the meeting were not available as it was held in secretly. It was possible that they sought his aid in organizing the rebellion in Erode & Coimbatore region. Dhoondaji Waugh wrote six letters and handed them over to Ellei Nayak and Rama Nayak of Ramagiri, Vella Gounder and

Varnawarshi Gounder of Erode, Peria tambi of Aravakurichi and Kumara Vellu of Perundurai and appealed them to join the rebellion. After the meeting Narahari stayed in the camp of Dhoondaji Waugh and Venkataramaiah returned to Coimbatore and distributed the letters to all the leaders. In the course of his travel through the district of Coimbatore, Erode and Salem for the organization of the rebellion, Venkataramaiah met Appaji Gounder the powerful leader implicated in conspiracy with Gopal Nayak of Virupakshi and disclosed the details of his daring mission from the Camp of Dhoondaji Waugh.

In the meantime the letter addressed to Peria Thambi of Aravakuruchi together with a few others was intercepted subsequently by the English at a place called Taramella. It was of importance as it held out a hope of assistance for Dhoondaji Waugh promised Peria thambi that he would march to the south in support of the oppressed inhabitants. The letter proceeds "Be it known to you - that Venkataramaiah having delivered to me your address, I shall more with my journey towards you for which reason you may be confident that you can have nothing to apprehend".⁹ Mutual co-operation extending between Dhoondaji Waugh and Kongu leaders was called as Second Tamil Mission.

Third Tamil Mission to Kannada Leaders: (June 1800)

Appaji Gounder, Venkataramaiah and Gopal Nayak held a meeting at Dindugul. As per the decision in the meeting, Appaji Gounder took the initiative in organizing the third mission to the north Gopal Nayak deputed Tamachi Mudali, his trusted man, to join the mission. Khan-i-Jha khan a strongestmen of Mudoor, as well as cavalry Chieftain under Tipu also assured to help and deputed his nephew Riza Sahib to this cause.

The four members of rebel mission, Appaji Gounder, Venkataramaiah, Tomachi Mudali and Riza Sahib started from Didigul. They took different routes as it was customary with the conspirators and decided to meet at a place called Muddoor. On the way Appaji Gour called on Konindra velli a determined rebel to strengthen the rebellious activities in the villages of Anthiyur, Perundurai and Dotagavely.

Konindra velli deputed Rangaiah as his representative to the mission. The patriotic mission reached Girikottai where Dhoondaji Waugh had camped and initiated the discussion, but before the meeting Chinna malai had already met Dhoondaji Waugh and taken over the command of the rebel parties of Erode and Coimbatore region. The panel suggested that the organization of the rebellion must be entrusted with a person acceptable to all leaders and indicated that Khan-i-Jahan would be the most acceptable and capable of doing the job. Accordingly the rebel council appointed him as its administrator for the Tamil region north of river Cauvery while Marathu pandayas led the uprising south of the river.

Dhoondaji Waugh requested three of the members of the mission to stay in his camp for the purpose of coordinating the work of the rebellion in the southern and the northern regions. Appaji Gounder and Venkataramaiah returned to the south with twenty letters addressed by Dhoondaji Waugh to the leaders of Sivagangai, Manamadurai, Madurai, Cheyyar, Erode, Kumarapalayam, Annamalai, Aravakuruchi, Karur, Kangeyam, Perundurai and Sathyamangalam all rebel centres in Tamil Nadu. They reached Mudoor, met Khan-i-Jahan and greeted him as the leader and with his representative they also met Gopal Nayak of Virupakshi. He sent his men along with them to deliver the letters secretly to other rebel chiefs without being caught by the British. The agents of the British, however, seized a rebel messenger and the letters sent to rebel chief of Talamalai; but others were securely handed over.¹⁰ The message was written in Kannada languages, these messages in the opinion of British indicated the advanced stage of the function of a peninsular confederacy. The leaders were directed to collect contributions for the support of the insurrection assemble armed men everywhere and co-ordinate their activities in their districts.¹¹

The interconnecting alliances made by the patriots of an extensive regions reflects the intense diplomatic activity that proceeded their function. It is certain that the patriots devoted to the nationalistic cause as they were, would have led missions to Malabar and Kanara region also. But, so great it is the paucity of historical sources that is impossible to gain a complete

and comprehensive account of this formative phase of the movement.¹² The rebels of Coimbatore and Erode region played dominant role in bringing the diverse alliances closer. These are led to the formation of good alliance system. They brought unity among organizations of north and south under a common banner of Peninsular confederacy.

Dindigul Conspiracy and Outbreak of the Rebellion

As the preparation for the struggle had been carried into effect, the patriots had to decide the venue and date for its commencement. The month of this conspiracy was of April 1800. The secret meeting of the leaders of the confederacy was held at Dindigul. The rebel diplomat Gopal Nayak presided over the meeting.¹³ The Dindigul conspiracy constituted a landmark in the movement. The rebel council decided to launch a general offensive against British with the storming of Coimbatore. The leaders of the command in their respective regions were Khan-i-Jahan led the rebellion in Coimbatore, Gopal Nayak commanded the attack in Dindigul, Appaji Gounder and Venkataramaiah to collect bands of armed man in Sathyamangalam and to begin depredations taking advantage of the mountains to shelter them.

The rebel council decided to attack Coimbatore on 3rd June 1800. Dhoondaji Waugh started his attack in the north in April 1800, Mohammed Hashan threatened Dharapuram. Besides Hashan Karuka Gounder of Aravakuruchi and Futeh Mohammed of Hosur led the first party towards Dharapuram and Ullah Khan led the second towards Kangeyam.¹⁴ Appaji Gounder and Shaniah advanced to Coimbatore from Sathyamangala, Chinna malai undertook the overall operations in all directions.¹⁵ The patriotic rebels were armed with pikes and match-locks. They were irregular and mingled with common people. In the meantime they got the support of villagers and the rebels of about 500 to 600 men were prepared to attack Coimbatore.

The plan of attacking Coimbatore became unfruitful, when the British came to know about the movement of rebels to attack Coimbatore. So the rebels turned their attentions towards Dharapuram, Talaimalai and Sathyamangalam

and threatened the British posts; but the British who expected the possibility of the rebellion spreading to these areas sent troops to all main disturbance centres. Though carefully planned and elaborately organized the plot proved abortive, Lieutenant colonel McAlister placed the entire garrison and equipped them with fire arms at right places. The confederates no doubt suffered a starting reverses in an unexpected manner and suffered defeats and many rebel leaders were captured.¹⁶ In an important battle of Talaimalai the rebels were not only defeated but many rebel chief were also captured. Among the captives, Mohammed Hasham was very important. He carried some letters from his leader, but before that he fell into the hands of British he destroyed them all and committed suicide by cutting his throat on 8th June 1800 before he was interrogated.¹⁷

The prisoners who had been captured during rebellion were put to trial by court martial. Among the victims, forty two in number, were Appaji Gounder and other five of the representative sent by Dhoondaji Waugh to Dindigul were included.¹⁸ In an attempt to terrorize the inhabitants, they were executed publicly, eight of them at Dharapuram, seven at Sathyamangalam, six at Coimbatore and the rest in different centres of disturbance.¹⁹

Conclusion

The Erode district has made an everlasting impact on the social and political spheres of the history of Tamilnadu. Though the district formed the core of kongu region having all resources, no dynasty set up their imperialistic rule - when it came under Mysore rule it became the cockpit of battles is Mysore wars between Hyden Ali and English East India Company. After the Treaty of Srirangapatnam, the present district was ceded to British by Tipu in 1792 and in 1799, the year of the death of Tipu, the alien rule was firmly established in the country. Thus, we can say that present district was one of the first regions in Tamilnadu to be occupied by the British. As their land came under alien rule, the common people resented it and organized an extensive rebellion against the new rule which was known as the south Indian rebellion. When different regional leagues were formed, the present district was led by Chinnamalai, the gallant hero of Kangeyam.

After that the rebels of Mysore rose up openly against British under the leadership of Dhoondaji Waugh. The peasants of Erode and Coimbatore helped them by interconnecting the alliances by intensified diplomatic activity and vigorously participated in it. The district served as the tunnel between Mysore and other

rebellious leagues and became the arena of the rebellion. In the course of the rebellion a significant point which deserves to mention, while the movement was headed by Palayakars and Chieftains of south. Erode it was wholly organized by the peasants.

End Notes

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SALT SATYAGRAHA IN COASTAL ANDHRA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PRAKASAM DISTRICT

Dr. D.Venkateswara Reddy

After the denial of Nehru Report by the British, the Congress met at Lahore in 1929 under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. The session was momentous as the Congress Party had declared that *Poorna Swarajya* or complete independence was to be the sole aim of the freedom struggle. It was also decided to observe 26 January as the *Poorna Swarajya* Day every year and to launch civil disobedience if necessary the no-tax campaign against the British government as the means employed to achieve complete independence.

As decided in the Lahore session of Congress, January 26, 1930 was observed as Poorna Swaraj Day all over India. The ripples could be seen even in small towns and villages. The present day Prakasam district was not an exception as per the available information in the Telugu press. At Karamchedu village Poorna Swaraj Day was observed on January 26th

under the leadership of Yarlagadda Anjayya Choudary. Amidst slogans the national flag was hoisted to pole of sixty feet at the local Siva temple. Poona Swaraj resolution was unanimously passed in the meeting that was held after the flag hoisting ceremony. It was resolved that the people should be ready to give up even their lives in the ensuing fight for the mother country.¹ On the same day the independence flag ceremony at 8.30 am from Gandhi Chowk or Mahalakshamma Chettu in Chirala with sacred music and drum-beat. In the Pokur village near Kandukur a public meeting was held under the leadership of Achanta Lakshmi Narasimham for which nearly a 1000 people were attended. The complete independence resolution was unanimously passed by the members attended the meeting. Later the villagers took the photo of Mahatma Gandhi in a procession around the village

amidst the raising of slogans, singing patriotic songs with the holy music and bhajans.² Similarly a meeting was held at Guravareddy Palem under the leadership of Vaka Subba Reddy and the complete independence resolution was passed unanimously.³ On 30th January 1930 Mahatma Gandhi published in the 'Young India' his eleven points which included among others introduction of total prohibition, reduction of land revenue by 50%, abolition of salt tax and declared, "Let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital things of India".

Gandhi decided to defy the obnoxious salt tax imposed by the British. It should be recalled that an Act passed in 1882 granted British the monopoly to collect and produce salt from the seas. The people were subjected to a salt tax. Despite the commodity being freely available to be produced from the sea, Indians had to buy it from the government. Salt was chosen as the symbol of protest because it was a basic commodity of the rich and poor and everybody needed it irrespective of religion, caste, economic status, etc. In Gandhi's own words, "Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life. It is the only condiment of the poor. There is no article like salt outside water by taxing which the state can reach even the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpless. The tax constitutes, therefore, the most inhuman poll tax that the ingenuity of man can devise."⁴

On 12 March 1930, Gandhi started the famous Dandi March, often compared with long march of Mao Tsetung, from his ashram at Sabarmati in Ahmadabad. The march reached Dandi on 5th April where about 50000 people were waiting for them. On 6 April, Gandhi broke the salt law by raising salt from the sea. He then declared, that "with this, I am shaking the foundations of the British Empire." Initially, the British took the entire incident lightly similarly the people.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee met at Guntur on 29th March 1930. As per the suggestion of Gandhiji it was decided to offer *satyagraha* simultaneously at different centres of each district. Before the actual course of action was initiated, training was given to *satyagrahis* in the Congress *sibirams* (centres) to break the salt laws non-

violently at places like Pallipadu Ashram of Nellore District, Guntur, Bezawada, Machilipatnam, Eluru in West Godavari, Sitanagaram Ashram in East Godavari district and Vizianagaram in Visakhapatnam district.⁵

The following patriots were elected by the respective District Congress Committees as the District Dictators to carry on the movement under the Provincial Dictator, Konda Venkatappayya.⁶ Tanguturi Prakasam (Madras), Oruganti Venkatasubbayya (Nellore), Unnava Lakshminarayana (Guntur), Lakshmayya Choudary (West Krishna), Chinna Venkata Dasayya (East Godawari), Dandu Narayana Raju (West Godawari), Bulusu Sambamurthy (East Godawari) and Tenneti Viswanadham (Visakhapatnam).

Salt Satyagraha in Prakasam District

It is well known that most of the coastal regions of the present Prakasam District were under the Guntur and Nellore Districts. The Working Committee of the Guntur District Congress, met on March 29 under the Presidentship of Unnava Lakshminarayana. The committee entrusted the *satyagraha* movement to a War Council (*Satyagraha Samara Sangham*) consisting of N. V. L. Narasimharao, Anche Sivayya and Seeram Subbarao Naidu. They were empowered to nominate their successors as occasion arose. The committee made plans to enlist three thousand volunteers. The volunteers made extensive propaganda in the towns and the country-side of the district before they reached Guntur where a vast 'Sibiram' was established in Yedavallivari Choultry.⁷ Besides the Guntur Municipality, the Taluk Board of Ongole and the Municipality of Chirala passed resolutions sympathising with civil disobedience movement in spite of the government warning earlier that it would not hesitate "to resort to the powers of supersession and dissolution."⁸ The volunteers from the different taluqs, after touring villages and towns, converged at Guntur on April 6, 1930 where they were received by the local volunteers. Konda Venkatappayya sprinkled incensed water on every one of the volunteers. From there, the volunteers marched in a procession to the Central Camp (*Pradhana Sibiram*) in Yedavallivari Choultry. Gandhi's portrait was carried on a double horsed coach all through the procession in the town. Konda

Venkatappayya asked the volunteers and the *satyagrahis* not to be puffed up with the rumours. He said that Gandhi's breaking of the Salt Law was not the culmination of the *satyagraha* but only its beginning.'

Konda Venkatappayya's residence at Guntur was selected for breaking the salt laws. On 9th April 1930 Congress leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastry, Lakshmi Bayamma, Sreeram Subba Rao Naidu and others proceeded to Vadarevu near Chirala in Prakasam district and brought salt brine in pots to Konda's house. The brine was boiled to manufacture contraband salt. The volunteers after hawking the contraband salt assembled at the tank near the Shiva temple where they were received by Unnava Lakshmi Bayamma, singing "Veera gandhamu techchi naramu, veerulevado telpudi", (Tell u who the heroes are, we have come to anoint them". The salt prepared thus was packed in small packets to sell to people. In the Prakasam district salt packets were sold in places like Chirala, Ongole, Swarna etc. As per Andhra Patrika the volunteers came to Ongole on 11th April and sold nearly hundred contraband salt packets to people who included lawyers and merchants. The entire proceedings were closely watched by the police.⁹ By 13th April, the proceeds realised through the sale of contraband salt reached to Rs. 1000/-.

After technically breaking of the law, the volunteers encouraged the villagers to make or collect contraband salt on a commercial scale. Three places near the sea were selected. They were Vadarevu near Chirala and Kanuparthi salt factory near Ongole and Ganapavaram in Bapatla taluk of the then Guntur district. The first two lie in the Prakasam district and the later continues to the part of the Guntur district. The Ongole taluk, then a part of Guntur district, had sea coastline of 20 miles and the Hobson's choice of the Guntur district Congress leaders to organise the salt *satyagraha* was the coastline of the present Prakasam district.

Incidents at Vadarevu

Andhra Patrika in its issue of 17th April, 1930 reported the events taking place at Vadarevu as follows. "The volunteers (*Santhi Sainikulu*) who reached Vadarevu are divided into four groups and the work is going on

smoothly. Propagation is going on in the neighbouring villages. When some groups are manufacturing salt, the other groups are selling it in the nearby villages in organised meetings. Though, the government do not affecting any arrests, it is trying its best for obstructing supplies (of necessities) to the volunteers apart from secret propaganda against the movement. The people of Chirala are generously helping by supplying the needed food material to the volunteers. Gunturu Narasimha Rao's efforts in this regard are noteworthy. As Vadarevu is a small village, the government is scaring the people by all means. Each time when the employees came there, they are threatening the villagers. It needs to be stated that the villagers are very courageous. They are attending the meetings organised by the volunteers and comprehending the essence of *satyagraha*. Today when the volunteers went to sell *swarajya* salt, though the village headman propagated not to purchase it and the police are closely watching, thirty three persons purchased them after declaring their names."¹⁰

Summons was served as per section 112 of Criminal Procedure Code to Nethi Venkatachalapathi, the leader of the volunteers to appear before the district magistrate stationed at Chirala and to pay a security for his good behaviour for one year. As he decided not to offer surety, he was arrested and sent to Rajahmundry jail on 22nd April.¹¹ At the same place, where he was awarded punishment, a public meeting was held. Narasimha Rao, Ramulu Gupta, Rangayya, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastry and Ghouse Beg Saheb spoke on the occasion.¹² Thereafter regular public meetings were held in Chirala, Perala, Vadarevu and other surrounding villages. Leaders like Narasimha Rao, Pattabhiramulu Gupta, Kasi Viswanadham, Rangayya, Ghouse Beg, Janardhana Gupta etc. were the main speakers in those meetings. As a result many were inspired and enrolled themselves as volunteers. It was decided to observe mass civil disobedience in Chirala, Perala and surrounding villages and a complete *hartal* in Vadarevu on 28th April. In connection with the incidents of Vadarevu, leaders like Gollapudi Sitarama Sastry was arrested and was awarded one year imprisonment. Similarly Bhattiprolu Suryaprakasa Rao, Srikakulapu Pattabhiramulu Gupta, Chirala Rangayya and Ghouse Beg were

arrested and they were awarded varying terms of imprisonments. As a result there was a great commotion in Chirala and Perala. The Chirala Municipal Council held a meeting and congratulated Ghouse Beg for his arrest and resolved that all the municipal employees should only wear Khaddar.¹³ On 30th a great public meeting was organised in Chirala town to condemn the arrest of Desabhaktuni Seetarama Sastry in which Malladi Yagna Narayana an advocate and Ismail Saheb spoke. As a public demonstration of the Congress ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity both of them hug each other. The slogans of 'Gandhi ki Jai, Allah ho Akbar and Hindu-Muslims ki Jai' rocked the air.¹⁴

Incidents of Devarampadu

The incidents that took place near Kanuparthi, Devarampadu and Ammanabrolu in 1930 and the arrests thereupon were momentous in the freedom movement of Prakasam district. Near Kanuparthi the volunteers occupied the house of Tanguturu Prakasam Panthulu at Devarampadu.¹⁵ Even before the establishment of Devarampadu camp one Sagi Vijayarama Raju, a local young man strove hard to revive the glory of Congress in the region by constantly touring the nearby villages and persuading the people to fight for the freedom of the country.

On 26th April, the volunteers, thus staying in Prakasam's house, woke up in the early morning and proceeded to Kanuparthi under the leadership of Kurra Gopalakrishnayya. They crossed the Gundlakamma River by ferries and travelled through villages like Dasarivaripalem, Kanuparthi and Chinakanuparthi and reached Kanuparthi salt depot on the seashore on foot. On the way, they enthusiastically recited the nationalistic songs and created awareness by preaching the ideals and the need for the salt *satyagraha* among the people. As a result nearly a thousand villagers joined them enroute in that march.

There were two natural salt deposits at Kanuparthi. Anticipating the trouble one of it was destroyed by the salt factory establishment. The other was a deep depression filled by waves of the sea at high tide once or twice a month. It was roughly in the shape of a triangle with a base of some 250 yards and a height of

some 100 yards.¹⁶ Nearly seventy volunteers crossed the waste deep waters of Bakingham canal and reached the area of natural deposit and began to collect the salt. The salt inspector was seized as he resisted. The villagers of the neighbouring places actively took interest in the event 'as the salt was very good'. As per the report of Andhra Patrika nearly fifteen hundred villages from the nearby places collected the salt in baskets and sacks. As per their statement they were collecting the salt from 7 am onwards. The women folk actively participated in the event. Despite of the obstacles, the batches of volunteers did the assigned job with a great enthusiasm.

The Deputy Superintendent of Police Sourirajulu Naidu and three constables and thirty Reserve Police constables camped in the factory from April 26th and Venkatraman, the Sub-Collector of Ongole and the Guntur district Collector camped at Ammanabrolu, five miles on the railway line. Their plan was to arrest the leaders and fill up the depression. The salt department closed the gates of the depot and not even allowed the four hundred coolies who regularly collect the salt for the depot due to the fear that they will join with the *satyagrahis*. The authorities stationed at Ammanabrolu employed some coolies. There were some Christian coolies living at Ammanabrolu and these were persuaded to fill up the depression on payment of nearly double wages and provision of motor bus accommodation to and from the work spot for their women. Two buses had been commandeered by the police from Ongole and brought across country for the operations. The volunteers at first expected scenes of violence and were accompanied by two doctors and a press photographer. They were disappointed and there was the amusing spectacle of the coolies filling the depression and the volunteers collecting the salt at the same time.¹⁷ In this scuffle that followed the police fell on a batch of volunteers lathi charged, dragged and threw them in waters. Many leaders were wounded in the incident and were taken to Ongole hospital.¹⁸

On 3rd May, 1930 at about 10-30 A.M. the salt and the Police department jointly raided the Devarampadu camp set up in the house of Tanguturu Prakasam Pantulu along with a sizable number of staff with fire arms. At that

time only six volunteers were present and the camp office was locked. When the Circle Inspector and others were approaching the office room, Nagalla Krishnayya Choudary, the in-charge of the camp obstructed them and asked why they came. The Circle Inspector asked him to open the lock of the office for which Krishnayya rejected. The Circle Inspector harshly stated "open the door otherwise it would be broke opened". When Krishnayya asked the reason for breaking open the door, the police angrily stated "contraband salt was inside. It needs to be taken away". Krishnayya replied that the salt would not be taken away and added that 'as you are doing your duty', they were also doing it for their Mahatma. When Circle Inspector asked his name Krishnayya replied that he need not tell his name and if at all they had any order and they can summon him to their office for enquiry. When the Circle Inspector showed the order, Krishnayya answered that he did not know English knowledge and asked him to read the same and explain its meaning. He stated that the camp would be searched as per the order of the Collector. The police entered into the camp and seized the salt piled up on the top of the house and removed all the flags both hoisted and kept inside.¹⁹

By that time the volunteers who went to collect salt at Kanuparthi under the leadership of Turaga Venkateswarlu came back and the police attacked them which were responded by the slogans of 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai'. Then the Salt Inspector tried to seize the flag from the hands of one Katta Ramakotayya. Then Devabhakthuni Venkatasubbayya Choudary took the flag in his hand and performed *satyagraha*. The Circle Inspector bet him on his hand and forcibly seized it. After harassing the volunteers with quarries for a while, the police left the place. Again, the police came in the evening and surrounded and searched the camp.²⁰

Thereafter there was a cat and mouse game at Devarampadu. When one batch of volunteers was observing *satyagraha* at Kanuparthi and Devarampadu, the police arrested them. Soon another batch of volunteers was sent to the camp. The native Newspapers repeatedly informed the details of the new batch of volunteers and the police arrests and

punishments. The police frequently captured the Devarampadu camp soon to lose to the *satyagrahis* in no time. For example Andhra Patrika reported that the police raided the Deverampadu camp and arrested and jailed 51 *satyagrahis*. On 18th May 28 volunteers were sent to recapture the camp and they were also arrested. The fourth batch of volunteers was sent from Guntur to bring back the camp under the Congress control. As per the available report the fourth batch of volunteers captured the camp on 24th May 1930. It was stated there were one batch at Devarampadu and another at Ulichu village, perhaps to substitute Devarampadu batch if at all they were arrested by the police. At another batch of volunteers was propagating in Ongole taluk.²¹

The government was very harsh towards the people who aided or helped the *satyagrahis*. One of the best examples was the case of Dr. Kanuparti Narayana Rao of Ammanabrolu village, which was close to Devarampadu. As per the available evidence Narayana Rao sheltered and fed the volunteers Salt Satyagraha, under the Vavilala Gopala Krishnayya who were passing through the village despite the tom tom of village munsif that even feeding of the volunteer was treated as crime. In the same manner he hosted the successive batches of volunteers under Unnava Lakshmbayamma and Yamini Purna Tilakam. As result Narayana Rao was arrested and punished for three consecutive six months imprisonment treating the three hostings as three crimes. Narayana Rao completed the imprisonment at Rajahmundry and Vellore prisons.²² Similarly some persons of Inamanamelluru village were arrested and awarded imprisonment for feeding *satyagrahis*.

Another interesting case was the punishment of six months imprisonment awarded to one Chivukula Sriramulu, a native of Nandipadu, which was unknown to jurisprudence. The crime committed by him was treating a *satyagrahi* for a scorpion bite.²³

Later the camp of Devarampadu, which was established in the building of Tanguturi Prakasam became a historic place. The patriots erected 'Congress victory pillar' at the place. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the then President of Indian National Congress came to Devarampadu to inaugurate the victory pillar on

21st November 1935. At that time the villagers presented a felicitation address which runs as follows. "This place is on the sea coast Salt pans and salt deposits are more. It is a salt mine. The best natural salt is available plenty everywhere. The facilities to produce salt are more. A certain amount of enthusiasm developed when the Congress started non-cooperation in 1921. When Salt Satyagraha was started in 1930 the war council of Guntur district started a camp at that place. It continued for five months. The government arrested 450 satyagrahis. Among them 25 belong to our area. The government resorted to lathi charge in and around the camp. The government confiscated the camp several times and place a board stating that it was a police station. The volunteers repeatedly reoccupied it.

The 30th November 1935 edition of Subhodini paper published the following. "After the felicitation Gollapudi Seetarama Sastry read out a document which states that Tanguturi Prakasam donated the building and the 2500 square feet of land to a trust. The trustees were Konda Venkatappayya, Sagi Vijaya Rama Raju, K. Chandamouli, Uppuluri Venkata Krishnayya and Prakasam. Babu Rajendra Prasad and Tanguturi Prakasam signed as witnesses of the document in the same meeting. Later Babu Rajendra Prasad spoke and inaugurated the victory pillar. It was made of Ferro concrete and its height is 30 feet".²⁴

Kothapatnam near Allur, which was part of Nellore district, was another camp where salt was manufactured by *satyagrahis*.

Other Activities in the District

The Salt Satyagraha in Prakasam district was confined to the Coastal areas more importantly to a few places like Vadarevu, Kanuparthi, Kothapatnam etc. As hinterland areas were lacking the sea coast they brought salt brine and manufactured salt so sell in the nearby localities. In other areas the Congress destructive and constructive activities like boycott of foreign goods especially foreign cloth, picketing of the shops selling foreign goods, manufacturing and wearing of khaddar cloth, temperance programme which included the picketing of toddy shops, chapping of the spathes and felling of the Palmyra trees were undertaken.

Temperance Programme

The Guntur district Congress War Council passed instructions to the *satyagrahis* to take care of the pernicious evil drink and see to it that Palmyra trees were chopped off. A few days before his arrest Gandhi asked the people to cut off the palm trees from which toddy was draw and he himself inaugurating the ceremony of destruction.²⁵ It influenced the *satyagrahis* of the Andhra region also. At first the cutting of spathes of toddy palms began in Guntur district later extended to the other areas. The most effective leader of the spathe cutting movement in Guntur district was Gollapudi Seetharama Sadtry.²⁶ By the month of May the spathe cutting took a drastic turn. The district administration was much agitated and the Collector reported to his superiors of the Fort St. George: "At one of my subsequent meetings with the ryots, one defended spathe-cutting because he had known so many well-to-do-ryots, who had lost their fortunes by drink. There is a general realisation in the taluks that leisure and money bring such temptation as drink and dancing girls and I have no doubt that the cutting of spathes was regarded as a measure of social reform --- Spathe-cutting was the most dangerous phase of the movement, as it brought the ordinary ryot into active opposition to government".²⁷

The *satyagrahis* were cutting down the palm trees in an attempt to effect a complete prohibition. They obtained a prior permission from the owners of the trees. As per Andhra Patrika seven members were arrested in this respect and brought to Ammanabrolu village for their trial.²⁸ Even minors actively participated in the temperance programme in Prakasam district. For example a 14 year boy by name Pakala Subba Rao was arrested at Ongole for cutting the spathes of palm trees and produced before Venkatrajam, the Sub Collector of Ongole. He was tried under IPC Sections 148 and 426. As the boy was a minor he was awarded the punishment of public flogging.²⁹

In Prakasam district the propagation for the temperance programme was going on well. As a result the sales of toddy and arrack drastically came down.³⁰ Andhra Patrika reported "One Surattu Narasimha Rao was propagating in the villages of Ongole about the evil consequences of liquor drinking. Either due

to his propaganda or the agitations going on in the country, the toddy shops of Ongole taluk was auctioned at lower rates than last year".³¹ There was a drastic decrease in the sales of liquor.

Boycott of Foreign cloth and propagation for Khaddar

The boycott of foreign cloth proved to be widespread and effective. At several places foreign cloth shops were vigorously picketed and even training was given as to how picketing was to be done in non-violent methods.³² The merchants in several business centres cancelled their orders already placed for imported cloth. They also took a vow not to import foreign cloth and goods for some time. Simultaneously, efforts were made to popularise khaddar and taught the villagers the art of spinning the cotton by using charkha. One B. Narasimha Rao of Swarna village went round the houses and sold the khaddar cloth.³³ Narasimha Rao and Patabhi Ramulu Gupta spoke on the boycott of foreign cloth in a public meeting at Vadarevu camp.³⁴ There was a public bonfire of foreign cloth at Chirala.³⁵

In May, at Chirala, foreign cloth merchants were "taunted and abused". On 23rd May there was a picketing of the shops selling foreign cloth at Chirala. The shop keepers promised to give in writing that they would not order for foreign cloth for a period of six months.³⁶ On 26th May a public meeting was held at Chirala under the leadership of Ivatturi Kameswara Rao. One Tanneru Krishna Murthy amused the public about the ideals, nature, political and economic philosophies of khaddar.³⁷ As some of the cloth merchants of Chirala had not signed the covenants to the effect that they will not sell foreign goods, some women volunteers picketed before their shops.³⁸

Udayagiri Ananthacharyulu, a popular leader of salt satyagraha of Nellore town, visited Singarayakonda as part of his Kandukur taluk tour on June 4th. He spoke in a public meeting at Singarayakonda attended by the Hindus, Muslims and women in large numbers.³⁹ At Nadanavanam village a public bonfire of foreign cloth was organised. The women of the village took a vow that they will spin the entire cotton produced in the village which amounted to 400 *putties*. In the month of June nearly 700

charkhas were in use.⁴⁰ Similarly, nearly 400 charakas were working in Karamchedu village as per the available newspaper reports.⁴¹

Incidents at Karavadi village

Karavadi a village near Ongole became popular during this period. The villagers were hosting the people of Ongole who were on the way to participate in the Salt Satyagraha. There were public meetings on daily basis. Bonfire of foreign cloth, selling the contraband salt and raising the patriotic slogans and songs were a regular phenomenon. The nationalistic flag was hoisted frequently and on one occasion twelve villagers were arrested for such an act.⁴² On 11th June 1930, Andhra Patrika newspaper reported the following news item. "Recently the villages took the national flag in procession and tied it to a neem tree of the village. On 5th June 1930, the Deputy Superintendent of Police along with thirty Reserve police came to the village to remove it. Soon the women, children and others obstructed them by standing round the tree to which the flag was tied (*Janda Chettu*). Unable to do anything the police departed after arresting eight villagers. Today i.e. on 7th June 1930 the District Collector, Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent came to the village with eighty Reserve police and made rounds in the village. Even one of the house locks was broken. One of the police personal asked Polavarapu Rangamma, a Kamma lady the whereabouts of her husband, when she replied that she did not know, the lady was slapped by the police. The Collector regretted when the matter was reported to him. Nine of the villagers were arrested and were taken to Ongole".⁴³ One Gudimella Truvengalacharyulu, a lad of 14 years from Throvagunta was arrested near Ongole court by Khasim Khan, a head constable for distributing pamphlets. Gudimella was forced to run by cane beating, while the police was on his bicycle up to taluka office, nearly a mile away where he was left out.⁴⁴

In the meantime, in India, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin who had adopted a policy of repression in order to maintain law and order, also seemed to have realised that the sheer force would not cow down the patriotic impulse of the Indian people, and that no useful purposes would be served by measures of repression.

This change in the attitude of the Government resulted in the release of Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee on January 26, 1931.⁴⁵ Negotiations started between Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the Viceroy. They led to the conclusion of Gandhi-Irwin Pact on March 5, 1931. Under this agreement, the Congress decided to discontinue Civil Disobedience Movement and to participate in the Round Table Conference on Indian Constitutional Reform. The Government in turn agreed to withdraw the ordinances and notifications issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, to release all political prisoners undergoing imprisonment for participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement if their offences did not involve violence, and to withdraw all pending prosecutions. It further agreed to permit peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops.

Though the Government was unwilling to repeal the Salt Act, it agreed to permit local residents in villages immediately adjoining areas where salt could be collected to collect it or make it purely consumption, as distinguished for trading. The Government also agreed to reinstate Government servants and village officers and restore properties confiscated during the movement.⁴⁶ Gandhi returned from London with empty hands and the Congress resumed the Civil Disobedience Movement. The government also took repressive measures and arrested all the leaders including Gandhi. Finally Gandhi was released on 8th May, 1933 and ultimately Congress suspended civil disobedience in 1934. Thus the struggle that was started in the first week of January 1930 was terminated on 20th May 1934. The Congressmen of Prakasam district obeyed the directive along with those of the whole country.

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THE LIFE AND POLITICAL CAREER OF M.C. RAJAH

E. Vignesh

Introduction

In a move to serve and protect the rights of people and individual, some movements as well as political parties have to function as the voice of people, seeking all kinds of rights irrespective of race, class, creed, religion and caste in the democratic setup and for the flourishing of democracy the great ideals of democracy must be held high and protected political parties are to be given significant place and moments chance with a view to protect and glorify the great ideals of democracy. History tells us that a few dedicated political personalities, in spite of facing heavy odds and obstacles, have tried to transform the world. Some of them have championed the cause of the downtrodden and have fought to get back their rights and privileges against severe disapproval from all quarters. Mankind is eternally indebted to these leaders, who have tirelessly endeavored to change the world better for the voiceless.

Early life of M.C. Rajah

For creating awakening among the depressed class and making them responsible citizens many leaders have worked with untiring efforts. Among them M.C. Rajah was one of the most popular leaders. Rajah was born at Parangimalai (St. Thomas Mount) on 17th June 1883. His father was Mylai Chinnathambi Pillai, who was an important leader for the growth of Adi Dravida Saba. Chinnathambi Pillai served as cashier and Assistant Director of Government press then called as Lawrence Asylum press.¹ He brought up M.C. Rajah in western style, ever found in western suit and shoes. Rajah graduated from Madras Christian College and joined the Teachers' College, Saidapet. Then became a School teacher in 1906.² M.C. Rajah tried to educate the Scheduled Caste people by his writings. Rajah wrote several books. He started a school at Nungambakkam and many night schools at various places in the Madras City.³ M.C. Rajah evinced a keen and practical interest in the spread of education which would make them raise their heads and be counted as men. He once stated that education was the panacea for

all the problems of the community and the nation as well. He felt that elementary education ought to be made compulsory in schools. He stressed compulsory education was not only for boys but also for girls. He was also responsible for helping many depressed class students to get admission in Pachaiyappa's College, Madras in 1927.⁴ He also favoured providing Harijan children with a level meal at lunch hour and reducing the troubles of the parents who lose the services of their wage-earning children. He believed the depressed classes must have the benefit of education at any cost. He wanted a scheme for those schools. As a teacher, he took keen interest in the spread of education, and Scout movement. He also wrote text books for schools. Two of his works were, *The Oppressed Hindus* and *King George*. As a member of numerous academic bodies, he endeavored to extend educational opportunities to the depressed classes who were generally poor.⁵

Political Career of M.C. Rajah

M.C. Rajah was elected president of the chingleput district board. He was responsible for the organization of the Adi- Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 1916 and became the secretary of the Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha. He mobilized people and agitated for adequate representative for the Depressed Classes in the Legislative council and local bodies. He was one of the members of the South Indian Liberal Federation. He strongly believed, in the matter of political power, the position of the Depressed Classes has to be safeguard in Legislatures and public services. M.C. Rajah has nominated as the first Adi-Dravida member in 1919. He became the dalith leader to be nominated as the member of the Legislative council. He used this opportunity for articulating the problems faced by Depressed Classes in Madras presidency and secured their various social and educational rights.⁶

As Justice Party Member in Legislative Council

M.C. Rajah was one of the members of Justice Party Government since its inception and he was considered as one of its leaders. The Manifesto issued in 1916, resolved to set up a political association to safeguard and

protect the interests of the non-Brahmin community, the basis on which the South Indian Liberal Federation was founded. Its go-founder was T.M. Nair and Sir P.Thyagaraya Chettiar.⁷

Rajah was elected to the Madras Legislative Council as a Justice Party candidate during the first general elections held in November 1920. He was elected as Deputy Leader of the Justice Party in the council. Rajah was the first member of the scheduled caste community to be elected to the Madras Legislative Council.⁸

Education Committee Work

M.C. Rajah was nominated to the Elementary Education Committee in the year 1917. He moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council demanding an increase in the number of scholarships for the children of the depressed classes, so that more number of children of those classes could have the benefit of education.⁹ M.C. Rajah recommended a number of measures to the Government in order to induce more and more students from the depressed class to attend the schools. He declared that an adequate number of scholarships and liberal fee remission should be instituted for these children take part in recognized schools and colleges.

In 1919, M.C. Rajah was nominated to represent the Adi-Dravidas in a Select Committee. Instituted to study the Elementary Education Bill.¹⁰ In 1924, he was nominated to the Senate of the Madras University by the Governor of Madras, Lord Willington. In the same year, he was appointed a Member of the Chengleput District Elementary Education Committee by the Department of Education.¹¹

M.C. Rajah distinguished himself as the representative of the depressed classes in particular and of other castes as well that he was nominated repeatedly in 1921, 1925 and 1926. In the Council, he was elected to various important committees in recognition of his wisdom and experience. In 1920, the Labour Advisory Board was constituted with one European, one Brahmin and one Adi Dravida. They were Gilbert Slater, K. Ramanuja Chettiar and M.C. Rajah respectively.¹²

Changing the Name of the Community: The Resolution and Order

The Madras Legislative council members belonging to the Harijans, especially M.C. Rajah and others both inside the council and outside of it, vociferously raised the issue of changing their community's name from pariah and panchama to Adi-Dravida. In various districts of Tamil Nadu, meetings to this effect were held and resolutions were passed. Representations were made to Government and C. Natesan moved a resolution in the Legislative council in 1920 to designate "Panchamas" as "Adi-Dravidas". At last, in 1922, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending a change in name. This was followed by a government order in 1922.¹³ The order directed that the name Adi-Dravida in the Tamil districts should be adopted in official documents in place of the words Panchama or Pariah. The Depressed Class representatives felt that the disregard attached to the name was thus done away with. M.C. Rajah, R. Veerian and Swami Sahajanandha argued that change in the nomenclature was not just to appease the community.

In 1921, the Justice party government of the Raja of Panagal introduced reservations for the backward classes in government jobs. However, this act did not allocate reservations for Dalits. Disenchanted M.C. Rajah led a delegation of Dalits to safeguard the act and press their demand for inclusion. But the Justice Party did not respond instead when riots broke out in the same year. Hence M.C. Rajah quit the party in 1923.¹⁴

Champion of the Depressed Classes

In 1926, M.C.R was elected President of the All India Depressed Classes Association. As the accredited leader of the depressed communities, he addressed numerous meetings, demanded adequate representation in Provincial Legislatures, Local Bodies and Public Services and led agitations and deputations. He toured across India in that connection and finally, he visited England. Rajah was welcomed everywhere and he was acclaimed as the "Champion of the Depressed Classes".¹⁵

Round Table Conferences

In 1928 M.C. Rajah was appointed to the Indian Central Committee and in that connection toured throughout India and lastly went to England. In 1929 M.C. Rajah was elected the Deputy leader of the South Indian Liberal Federation. In spite of his difference of opinion with regard to political matters, with other parties, he was always cordial with them. During the Round Table Conferences, B.R. Ambedkar demanded dual representation for Dalits in the form of separate electorate whereas M.C. Rajah supported joint electorate system because his view that joint electorate alone would strengthen the position of the untouchables and he subsequently joined with Gandhiji. Later M.C. Rajah was nominated as a member of the executive council in Harijan Sevak Sangh.¹⁶

Central Legislative Bills

The Untouchability Abolition Bill of 1933 was presented in the Central Legislative Assembly of Delhi. The Bill, formulated by M.C. Rajah, stated that no criminal or civil court and no officer acting under the Government Authority should base any judgments or order on a recognition of the custom by which some human beings are by reason of their birth in particular castes, deemed as polluting what they touch or what is near to them. It had been found out that untouchables, though in law had equal rights with other castes and communities, were yet unable to exercise their rights in actual practice.

Rajah introduced another Bill in 1935 in the Assembly for the removal of social disabilities among certain classes on 31st May 1935. According to the provisions of the Bill, untouchability should be removed. They should have access to any stream, well, tank, pathway, convenience or transport or any other service which the general public belonging to all the classes of Hindus have a right to enjoy, or access to which is dedicated or nominated or licensed for the use of the general public, or which is maintained or paid for, out of the funds of the State or Local State or Local Statutory Authority. Both the Government and the opposition welcomed the measure as a great piece of Social Reform long overdue.¹⁷

Madras Provincial Legislative Bills

The Central Legislative Assembly elections were held under the Indian Council Act of 1935, Congress leaders were in a jubilant mood. They wanted to throw open temples to the depressed people as in the case of Travancore. Drafting the Madras Hindu Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Bill with the assistance of Rajaji in January 1937, M.C. Rajah sought the help of the former to introduce it in the Madras Legislature. To fulfill the demand of M.C. Rajah, Rajaji urged the Madras Government for the careful consideration and introduction of M.C. Rajah's Bill in the Legislature on 18th March 1937. As a further step in this direction, Rajaji made a statement at the meeting of Tanjore Circle Temple Committee, on 5th May 1937, that he could not rest for a minute longer without securing temple entry for Harijans and invited M.C. Rajah to introduce a bill in the Madras Legislature. On 19th October 1937, M.C. Rajah and Rajaji expressed their intention to introduce the bill in the Assembly. After receiving the favorable reply from Rajaji, M.C. Rajah introduced his bill on 30th March 1938. It provided for the political expression of the people's desire when they wished to allow Harijans to join them in worship in their temples. It provided for the political expression of the people's desire when they wished to allow Harijans to join them in worship in their temples.¹⁸

Conclusions

M.C. Rajah was a good writer and through his writings he has created social consciousness among Dalits. His book *Oppressed Hindus* happened to be a turning point in the lives of them. He went to the Round Table Conference in 1930 along with Dr. Ambedkar and explained to all officials the plight of the voiceless. He explained the plight of Dalits to Sir Stafford Cripps. M.C. Rajah died on 20 August, 1943. He has a record of distinguished service behind him as an educationist, legislator and statesman. He was acclaimed openly everywhere, as the champion of the Depressed Classes. He served till the end of his life for the welfare of the oppressed people. In his name a big Adi Dravida hostel was constructed by Tamil Nadu Government in Saidapet.

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THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN VIJAYANAGAR AND BAHMANI SULTANS

Dr. Aravind M. Managuli

The fourteenth century witnessed the emergence of powers in South India against the North, which is hugely responsible for protecting the distinct cultural identity of the region. The disintegration of the Tughlaq Dynasty in South India and in the Deccan region led to the birth of the Vijayanagar Kingdom in South India and the Bahmani Sultanate in Central India, both of which dominated the south of the Vindhya for a period of more than 200 years before they were subdued by the Mughal Empire. It is relevant in this light to understand the nature of Vijayanagar-Bahmani relations, which comprises the area of concern for this paper. Such understanding shall aid to comprehend the effects of these relations on the political scenario in the region, following long even after the weathering of the two kingdoms.

The Vijayanagar Kingdom (later, Vijayanagar Empire) was established in the year 1346 A.D, around the same time as Bahman Shah founded the Sultanate. The Vijayanagar Empire had considerable hold in South India in areas including the Tamil country and that of the Cheras (Kerala). However, it continued to

face a constant threat in areas north of the Tungabhadra River in the shape of the Bahmani Sultanate. Unfortunately, this period in history is remembered more for the wars that marked the nature of the relations between the Vijayanagar Empire and the Bahmani Sultanate rather than for the developments they brought about for the region in which they were present. The researcher will commence by giving a very brief introduction of the establishment of the two kingdoms to set the ground for exploring the nature of the relationship. The researcher will then identify the bone of contention between the Vijayanagar Empire and the Bahmani Sultanate, which played an important role in assessing the reasons for the strained relationship between the two kingdoms. The researcher also seeks to comprehend the internal relationship between the ruler and the local overlords in the kingdoms to understand the ways in which it affected the conflict. Finally, the researcher will look into the effect of the conflict on the two kingdoms, culminating with the Battle of Rakshasa-Tangadi (also known as Battle of Talikota) in 1565 and leading to the decisive defeat of the Vijayanagar Empire.

FARMATION OF LINGUISTIC STATE - ANDHRA PRADESH: A REVIEW

V.Prabhavath

Andhra Pradesh was the first linguistic State to be carved on such a basis in the post-Independence phase. It was carved in two phases- one in 1953, with the Coastal districts and Rayalaseema called the province of Andhra. Later in the first major phase of re-organisation that India witnessed in 1956 the Telugu-speaking part of Hyderabad was clubbed to it leading to the formation of Andhra Pradesh. This paper is subdivided into two phases; the first phase relates to an historical overview of the Visalandhra movement from 1900 till India's Independence in 1947. It was almost a decade of Independence before Andhra Pradesh could be formed. So in the second phase from 1947-56, the events leading

to its reorganisation are discussed. This paper thus consists of main theme is the Visalandhra Movement. The question of linguistic provinces has not been a new development but has been rather predominant since colonial times. It has, however, been noticed that the linguistic question received scant attention during the colonial period as it obviously suited the British rulers to split people speaking one and the same language into more than one province and to include within the boundaries of one province people speaking different languages, on the principle of what they conveniently called "administrative convenience", as this helped the British imperialist rulers to keep the Indian people divided"

GANDHIAN DREAM OF GRAM SWARAJ: A MIRACLE or A MIRAGE - A STUDY

C. Priyalakshmi

India lives in its villages and development of villages will be critical if we want to disclose the gap between "haves and have nots" for a better human development. There is a substantial inequity in terms of health and development progress among the rural population. In India paying for health care has become a major source of impoverishment for the poor and even the middle class. It has remained a challenge to evolve a strategy and

process, addressing the various social determinants affecting the human development of the rural population, to make a paradigm shift by doing work for betterment of the Indian rural population and by realizing the Gandhian dream of an ideal village or Gram Swaraj as a miracle. Otherwise, the dream will remain as a mirage. The work is based on government policy papers and other secondary sources such as books, journals and articles etc.

HISTORY OF LOK ADALAT THEIR ORIGIN AND ROLE IN INDIA

M.Sailoo

The term LokAdalat' as the word itself suggests is a Court as per requirements and convenience to the People, for the People and of the People. Contrary to the traditional approach of forms, precedents, arguments and protracted procedure, which is the outcome of adversary system, Lok Adalath as its basis in consent. Its success lies in educating the people not only about rights of their s and duties/obligations of others, but rights of others as well. The present day lok Adalats have their origin in People's Court of Ancient times and concomitant peoples participation in India is as old as the advent of village. The foundation and respect for such Lok Adalats is to encourage people to participate in the process of justice seems to have been imbibed in Indian Culture and Civilisation. In ancient times forums known as Kula, Sreni and Puga were arbitration tribunals like modern lok Adalats. Under the Hindu system of jurisprudence the King used to see the functioning of administration of justice but people also used to contribute in the process of administration of justice. All the governments in Ancient India followed the policy of encouraging the people's courts and enforce their decisions. The Courts though were not strictly official in nature but had the authority of State behind them. The idea was that such Courts should widen the scope of their activity and command more and more respect from people.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT ADDRESS - SOCIAL HISTORY SECTION
RISE OF DALIT CONSCIOUSNESS IN ERSTWHILE HYDERABAD
STATE IN 19TH & 20TH CENTURIES

Prof. G. Bhadru Naik

Respected President, esteemed Chief Guest, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen Good Morning.

I am grateful to the Members of the Executive Committee South Indian History Congress for choosing me to preside over the Social History Session of the 39th Annual session of South Indian History Congress which is being held this year at Hyderabad.

Social movements are an essential part of societies. While in some societies they are more pronounced and apparent. In others they are latent. The study of social movements is primarily a study of the social or cultural change of a social order as well as of values and norms. In this regard Herbert Blumer refers to social movements as "Collective Enterprises to Establish a new social order of life. In brief a social movement may be considered to be an organised attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilisation based on an ideology".

In my address, I wish to focus on **The Rise of Dalit Consciousness in Erstwhile Hyderabad State in 19th & 20th century.**

The term Dalit means broken / oppressed. It has been widely used by militant Dalit activist groups in Maharashtra a few decades ago. It refers to those belonging to the bottom / lowest segment of Indian society. But in recent years, particularly since 1980's the term Dalit is becoming popular among the activist groups and intellectuals. The mark of self-respect, self-identify and self-assertion by the ex-untouchable communities and their fighting slogan against dehumanizing caste oppression". The first half of the 20th century in Hyderabad State during the regime of Mir Osman Ali Khan, the last Nizam (1911-1948) was very crucial in the history of Hyderabad State. During this period many leaders emerged against the Nizam's autocratic rule.

The Hyderabad State, like many princely states in India was feudal in its origin and it was also the biggest princely State in India with 16 districts. By 1911, the area of the state comprised of 82,698 sq miles. The Hyderabad State was divided into 4 broad Subhas, Warangal, Medak, Aurangabad and Gulbarga Subhas. Linguistically the State has been divided into three divisions Telangana, Marthwada, and Karnataka. The two Subhas of Warangal and Medak consisting of eight districts constituted Telangana with an area of nearly 50 percent of the State. The 1921 census of the Nizam State government gives interesting statistics about the Adi-Hindu (Scheduled Castes) in the Dominion of Hyderabad state was about 19 lakhs, which was nearly 20 percent of the Hindu population and 18 percent of the total population of the State. There were 34 Sub-Castes which were known as Mala and Madiga in Telangana and Chmber, Mang and Mahar in Maratwada. The total percentage of literacy in the "Dominion was only 2.5 percent and among the untouchables it was insignificant.

Status of Dalits in Telangana:

The bottom of the class / caste hierarchy was the category of untouchables caste who came to be designated as the Depressed class during British rule. It included such caste as the Chamars and Bhangis in North India, the Izhavars, Parayas, Pulayas, Holeyas and Malas and Madigas. In the context of Telangana region these communities are referred to as Malas, Madigas depressed classes, out caste, Untouchables. Panchamas, Adi-Andhras, Adi-Hindus, Harijana and Scheduled Caste, Harijan nomenclature was coined by Narsi Mehta, a Medieval Gujarati Saint poet. Initially the term was used only to refer to the children of Devadasis, the female temple dancers. Symbolically speaking they were children of God / Goddesses. But Gandhi widely used the term Harijan and popularized it. Many of Dalits intelligentsia wondered why Dalit had been singled out as children of God? Where others

also not children of God. In this they perceived another attempt at subtle segregation of Dalits from the rest of the society.

The term Dalit which means squeezed crushed or broken and reduced pieces, Dalit originally denoted as class rather than a caste. The concept seems to have emerged from the people's usage in Maharashtra. It was Dr. Ambedkar who initially used the word Dalit. The term Dalit gained popularity and currently a popular academic terminology. Again the term surfaced in 1970s to the Dalit Panthers movement, In Maharashtra, For them the term Dalit conveys a symbol of change and revolution, a Dalit is one who believes in humanism, rejects the existence of God, rebirth, sacred books that teachers discrimination fate and became these of have made him a slave and Dalit represents the exploited man of this country.

The economic conditions of the untouchables was miserable. They were made to do the unclean jobs like scavenging. Sweeping the streets and removing the carcasses of animals. The Madigas took shoe making and on certain occasions like marriages, funerals and festivals they are called upon to play ceremonial music and pipes. The untouchables were not allowed to enter any place of public worship to use the water of any stream, tank well and to have access to hotels, restaurants and educational institutions at the time. All these social restrictions on the untouchables throughout the country since ages whether they were the subject of the Hindu Kingdom, Muslim-Sultanates or the Western Masters in British Raj.

Malas and Madigas had to keep vigil day and night at the house of the *Dora*. They had to cut the firewood and collect leaves to prepare patrol (leaf-plates used for dining). Whenever the *Dora* went to another place, they had to havalid his bullock-cart, running; carrying of necessary goods of the *Dora* was their responsibility.

It was customary to send a man from each Mala/Madiga family to do *Vetti* at the house of deshmukh the Patel, Patwari and Malipatel and keep watch on village *Chavadi* and the poundage (*bandara Doddi*). They had to do extra work whenever an official came to the

village *Chavadi*. Further they were forced to undertake other works like training of leather, stitching of shoes and preparing leather accessories to the landlords on free of cost, while the rest of the peasants had to pay *Vatan* or annuities in the form of grain for such services.

The Dalits were the regular and unequalled *Vetti* labourers in Nizam's state, who were considered as untouchables. According to Sundaraiah *Vetti* was continued in tribal areas or some of the most backward social communities in other areas. But in Telangana *Vetti* system was an all pervasive social phenomenon affecting all classes of people in varying degrees.

Their houses were located far from the villages at the edges of the periphery of the village. In some villages the untouchables were not permitted to move in the village freely except on certain occasions. In some villages the Madigas were not allowed to have the foot are also. There was an edge in Telangana that "the weaver lacks the cloth and the Madiga, the Chappal", depicting their poverty.

They were not willing to accept inter-marriages even between Madiga and Mala communities though both the communities were facing the same problems of social, political and economic oppressions. Even inter-dining was a taboo for the Madigas and Malas at the time and this was supported by the leaders of the untouchables on some occasions, including M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma.

As the untouchables were socially looked down for not having any professional occupation they were mostly used as the forced labour, which later became as their professional work. P.R. Venkatswamy writes about his own community people in the erstwhile State of Hyderabad said that: "The occupation of our people in the village was field labourers and free labour (forced labour) and in the city of Hyderabad and town of Secunderabad it was domestic service in European and Muslim Households. There were also leather workers, scavengers and masons among them. Many were employed in Railway and Government Departments and in private workshops. There was a few well-to-do contractors and artisans too. They adopted all Hindu customs in their

auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies and consequently all the evils of Hindu society were coupled and they even observed untouchability among the sub-castes. The greatest evil which shapped the vary vitals of their economic structure was the evils of drink which was extensively practised on all occasions of religious and social ceremonies.

Economic conditions :

At the village level large number of them worked as agricultural labourers for land owners or tenants belonging to different castes. The ownership of the land in general, was confined to a few upper caste only. In those days, the drinking habit was very much a common thing that even the adolescent boys and girls of the untouchables were habituated to it for every silly serious occasion. Many of these community people were toddy tappers, also and due to their economic position 'drink' was the most available and 'useful' item for them because these helpless people feel that a drinking was the only panacea for them to get rid of the sufferings or postpone the problem, atleast for another day. Their were landless agricultural labourers living at the mercy of the landlords (*Jagirdars, Mukhedars, Patels, Patwaries, etc.*)

Thus untouchables also suffered from so many economic inabilities due to the strict observance of the caste principles by the caste Hindus, administrators and the Nizam himself. Besides, the Shudras, among whom the professional caste people such as Potters, Barbers, Weavers, Washermen etc. (were included) also did not show any sympathy towards the untouchables. These professional caste people did not co-operate with the untouchables with their social stigmas. They also like the upper caste Hindus, observed the untouchability by not entering the localities of the 'Malapalle' or the 'madigagudem' which were outside the villages.

The situations and conditions of these untouchables in the Nizams's State of Hyderabad, could see nothing because the other professional occupational castes, when it became necessary left the rural setting and migrated to the city of Hyderabad or other urban areas in search of living or subsidiary income. But the section of untouchables could

not move out from their shackles of social, political and economic boundaries since they had to face or encounter the same problems throughout the State of Hyderabad.

The Trinity of Adi-Hindu Awakening:

In those dark days, there rose among dumb masses three stalwarts celebrities – M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma, B.S. Venkatrao and Arige Rama Swamy, who went about awakening them, educating them and fighting for their rights. These leaders go down in the history of the Scheduled Castes (Dalits) of Hyderabad, as the "Great Trinity" of the movement. It was through their untiring services, they uplifted the downtrodden out of the rut of caste untouchability and social bondage.

A small but vigorous Dalit movement developed after 1910 based among 'Hyderabad Malas. This particular movement has the advantage of having its organizational history thoroughly documented by a later activist. P.R. Venkatswamy. Bhagya Reddy Bhagya Reddy Varma (1888-1939) was originally Madari Bhagaiah, a stewed for a Catholic family who educated him, who became involved with, and later employed by, the Brahma Samaj and took the name 'Bhagya Reddy Varma' to emphasize the rights of Dalits to claim a high status, 'Varma' being Brahmanic and 'Reddy' indicating high status non-Brahman. "M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma was the first among the galaxy of social reformers of Depressed classes (Dalits) of Hyderabad. He did Yeoman Services to the community.

Bhagya Reddy Varma threw himself heart and soul in the work of reclaiming the Dalit from degradation and despair. Bhagya Reddy Varma launched his reform movement, who sacrificed his all and utilised his talents for the promotion of the interests of the down-trodden community.

The Dalit communities soon recognised in him a unselfish and staunch leader and Bhagya Reddy Varma sustained their confidence by consistency and honesty. He made it known to his followers that their degradation was due to their own apathy and ignorance. He instilled into them this fact that God created all men equal and therefore no one was inferior or superior to another.

Bhagya Reddy Varma sacrificed his life in the service of the social, political and economic upliftment of the Dalits or the *Panchamas* who were termed as Adi-Hindus by him. Not only that he associated himself with a number of association, movements and meetings.

Jagan Mitra Mandali (1906)

In the year 1906, M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma was still working in a Goanese Master's House not as a slave but as a little Manager of his master's house managing six servants under his command, and under the command of his tutor arranged by his master. He was not illiterate but lacked formal schooling. He used to read '*Andhra Patrica*' published from Bombay along with the '*Desabhimani*' and '*Manoranjani*' in Telugu language. He also used to read the books in English which helped him to understand the cruelty of Hinduism towards his community through the translated articles by eminent scholars of the time. Later, he himself, made research for finding the origin of his community, came to a conclusion that the regeneration of the untouchables was not so easy a thing to do. For accepting the Herculean task of reformation of the social evil of untouchability, he might have thought of the consolidated support and friendliness and regeneration of his community in advanced line.

"The first of social activity among untouchables is to be traced back to 1906. Bhagya Reddy Varma, the first pioneer worker in the State started the Jagan Mitra Mandali in 1906 which did yeoman service to enlighten masses by means of Public Lectures, *Harikatha* performance with reference to 'Pre-Arya culture, with reference to *Bhajans*, etc.

This was the first organization with which M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma started his life's mission of social reformation in the Hyderabad State for the untouchables only.

Jagan Mitra Mandali, by its name and activity, was truly a friend to the poor and illiterate and tried to educate the untouchables of their social maladies. As a rule the Mandali imposed some restrictions on its members for enrolment that they should be teetotalter and abstain from the beverages, through the *Harikatha* and *Burka Kathas* it spread the misery of the untouchables and the Hinduism's

treachery as the culprit for their social disabilities.

Subsequently in 1912 Jagan Mitra was renamed and was known as 'Manya Sangham' for which Bhagya Reddy Varma was the President, "the Manya Sangham through which he worked for the removal of certain social evils like intemperance, dedication of girls to deities as Devadasis, sacrificing fowls or animals at the altar (for appeasement of Gods) of temples, child marriages, etc. This spirit of social service, and his convincing eloquence attracted the caste-Hindus of the state who extended their helping hand in his work.

The primary aim and objectives of **Manya Sangham** were:

1. To import education to Untouchables Children.
2. To discourage Child Marriages.
3. To disallow non-vegetarian food and intoxicants in marriages and other auspicious functions.
4. To abolish the Devadasi known as Jogini or Murali of Basavi custom prevalent in the community.

The other important object of the Manya Sangham" was prevention of cruelty to animals". By this object, M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma introduced his new aim into his social showing sympathy (Karuna) and love of animals (Bhutadaya) was one of the prime of the Gouthama Buddha's teachings.

M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma believed that Buddha should be venerated and his birthday should be celebrated as a festival since he was the one who led the movement against the *Vedic Dharmas*, *Varna Vyavastha*, offering animals to appease the Gods in Yagas and Temples, preached Vegetarianism, etc., which were already put forward to the members of the Jagan Mitra Mandali as the compulsory rules and to be observed strictly.

When all the members were of the same discipline their attitudes and opinions would also become disciplined. With that discipline they began to celebrate *Buddha Jayanti* on *Vaishaka Pournami* day every year starting from 1913 till his last days, i.e., 1937, except in 1938 due to communal disturbances in the city.

With the encouragement, support, guidance and his exemplary preachings influenced so many young and dynamic people of the untouchable community in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. This led to the establishment of a number of *Bhajan Mandalis* in many localities. "About twenty five *Bhajan Mandalis* of 'Kabir Panth', 'Tulasi Pant', 'Nanak Panth', 'Lingayat Panth' and other *Panths*. By this M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma left the two jobs. He was relieved from the house of his master to join the Electricity Department as a Wireman. Soon he left his job also and secured a post as a Preacher in the "*Jeevanaraksha Mandali*" of Lalji Meghji on a monthly salary of Rs. 60/- with a Motor Cycle for his conveyance. The above post was very suitable for a man like Bhagya Reddy who had the ability to do this job most sincerely and efficiently". With this facility M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma was able to develop contracts and mingle with people as often as he could with the sprouting '*Bhajan Mandalis*' in Hyderabad and Secunderabad as well. "Bhagya Reddy Varma's job as a preacher in the Humanitarian League afforded him many facilities to organise skilfully a number of associations of young men in various localities of the city of Hyderabad. A part from the work of social reform their activities included the creation of friendly relations between 'untouchables' and people of higher castes".

There was no inter-dinning and inter-marriage among these castes. Bhagya Reddy Varma introduced *Preeti Bhojanam* among the untouchables and also between the untouchables and caste Hindus. At these communal gatherings, as a measure of social reforms, only vegetarian food was served. So the caste-Hindus would participate in this *Preeti Bhojanams*. Serving of the food was entrusted to the lower castes because in those days accepting or taking even water, from an untouchables would mean '*Varnasakara*'; By this *Varnasankara* method the upper and lower castes would come and settle at the mixed state in the society thus breaking their original caste position.

Swasti Dal (1912)

With the help of band of about 35 volunteers belonging to the Mala community and as a part of Mission Bhagya Reddy Varma organised "Swasti Dal" under his own

standardship in the year 1912. Sir Ali Imam, the President of the Executive Council, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government awarded a Certificate in appreciation of its activities. Maharaja Sir Kihan Pershad also awarded a Silver Medal to the **Swastik Dal** for its excellent work done during the days of Industrial Exhibition held at Alwal. The Deccan Humanitarian League awarded a Gold Medal to Bhagya Reddy and the Silver Medals to volunteers for their meritorious services in the field of prevention of cruelty to animals.

While the number of *Bhajan Mandalis* were growing erroneously, the activities of Bhagya Reddy Varma were also becoming multifold. Between 1906 and 1916 i.e., in a span of ten years he gave a number of speeches at these *Bhajan Mandals* or on the occasions of *Buddha Jayanti* and *Nandanar Jayanthi* and the *JayantisofChowkamela Narsi Mehta* and such other saints. As Bhagya Reddy Varma was the president of the Deccan Humanitarian League he had the opportunity of touring all the Telangana and other places of erstwhile Hyderabad State where he used to criticise the Hinduism and lighting a sense of revolt in the minds of the untouchables. This made him a popular figure in entire Deccan (Hyderabad State) and outside as well.

With these relentless programmes of the *Bhajan Mandalis*, as well as the activities of Adi-Hindu Volunteer Corps (Swasti Dal) and with close collaboration of Philanthropic Caste Hindu people, Bhagya Reddy Varma was succeeded in controlling the prevalent social evils like *Joginees Parvatis* or *Devadasies*, intemperance, etc. He also succeeded in the abolition of use of meat and drink on all auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies alike. He was honoured by the untouchables, his brethren and by Caste-Hindus who convinced that he was their real and sincere leader with the titles of "Sangha Manya".

Devadasis :

Devadasis in this system, a virgin would be offered to the local deity and then onwards the girl and to live throughout her life at that temple serving the God or Goddess of the temple. The village heads, priests, king's men and the rich devotees might use her for their sexual gratification and in response offer her

food and clothing. If not she had to live on the offerings made to the temple for livelihood. She had to dance in the temple for festivals and ceremonies when performed. Though this might be a social custom of the day, past or present, this was practised in the State of Hyderabad.

Bhagya Reddy Varma worked to remove the evil customs like dedications of girls to deities known as "Devadasis". This Murali or Jogin systems as it was known was abolished by law by Sri Varm's efforts in the H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominion and also such other customs as dancing of women before funerals, use of liquor and meat in auspicious functions.

Bhagya Reddy Varma also founded an organization known as the *Murali Nivarana Mandali* to curb the custom of dedicating girls. Similarly, several other social reform organizations sprang up in different parts of Telangana region. For instance, the *Matangi Mahasabha* at Nampally and the *Suneetha Bala Samajam* founded by Arigay Ramaswamy at Secunderabad worked towards the abolition of the Jogini or Murali system in its larger concern for temperance. So also the *Adi-Dravida Sangham* founded by Venkat Rao in 1922 at Ghasmundry was concerned primarily with the removal of the Devadasi system. The Adi-Andhra reformers condemned the practice and felt that the "custom of dedication of girls was immoral".

The Adi-Hindu Social Service League undertook measures to mobilize public opinion by holding meeting in villages and tried to create public awareness of the evils of the custom. Weekly meetings along with street meetings, public lecturers also were means adopted towards generation of consciousness about the evil effects of the custom. Journals and booklets were reportedly published in Telugu. One of the books in Telugu was *Murali Streela Kathalu* published by Adi-Hindu Grandha Mala during the 1930s. The Dalit panchayats played a significant role in the movement thus existing as an alternative to the general reformist activities in the neighbouring regions of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies. The movement was strengthened by the legislative action of the government, which passed an order declaring it as illegal in 1930. Despite intensive campaigns of the custom continued to persist due to lack of

effective rehabilitative measures. Just like the "Vetti" this social evil also continued after independence, and after the inclusion of the Hyderabad State into Indian Union, even till recently.

All these social restrictions on the untouchables further deteriorated their economic plight. This was the social, economic and political scene of the untouchables throughout the India since ages whether they were the subjects of the Hindu Kingdoms, Muslim-Sultanats or the Western Masters in British Raj.

Bhagya Reddy Varma also edited, printed and published *Bhagya Nagaram Patrika* fortnight basis on 1930 out it was renamed as *Adi-Hindu* converted to Monthly in year 1937. Nizam praised Bhagya Reddy Varma for his social work and recognised it with an award. Later the Nizam appointed him as Chief advisor to his government. The Adi-Hindu Bhavan at Chadarghat in Hyderabad has been platform for the many revolutionary meetings. His dream was to bring progress in Dalit families for which he struggled, taught and served till his last breath.

Bhagya Reddy Varma who felt that education was essential for an all round development of untouchables. His basic programme was to open primary schools for their education as in those days admission of children of untouchables in schools was unknown in Hyderabad. To began felt in 1910 a lower primary school was established at Esamia Bazar, Hyderabad afterwards at Lingampally and Bugal Kumta, Later on few more schools sprang up at Chechalgada, Sultan Bazar, Dhoolpeta, and Gunfoundry. The number of these Adi-Hindu Schools soon grew up to 26 with about 2500 Dalit, students.

In 1912 Arigay Ramaswamy, who had been an office boy, carpenter and ticket collector on the railroads, began a social reform group in Secunderabad; and Madari Audia, the son of a butler had started another *Manya Sangam* at Ghasmandy. All these organizations stressed internal social reform: attempting to ban drinking of alcohol and meat-eating at social functions, abolition of the devadasi custom.

As this emerging, partly-educated Dalit middle class began to enter social life, the radicalization among Dalits through South India brought with it an identification with the 'Adi' ideology. It was Bhagya Reddy Varma himself who presided over the momentous conference at Vijayawada in 1917 when the 'Panchama' identity was rejected, and over a number of conferences after that. Nevertheless, in Hyderabad itself organizing took up an '*Adi-Hindu*' theme: four *Adi-Hindu* conferences were organized between 1912 and 1924, and gradually the main organizers began to use this terminology. In 1924 Arigay Ramaswamy formed the *Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha*, not to be outdone, Bhagya Reddy Varma transformed his *Manya Sangam* into the *Adi-Hindu Social Service League* in 1922. This became the main organization of the Dalits of Hyderabad a feat attributed to his energetic organizing and ability to gain support from liberal Hindu sympathizers. Along with the traditional aims of internal reform (removing social evils, establishing schools, societies, reading rooms, Bhajan mandalis), the aims of the organization included 'removing ignoble appellations and spreading the identity of 'Adi-Hindu'.

What exactly did the 'Adi-Hindu' identified connote? This term was spreading among sections of north Indian Chamars at this time claiming them to be exploited and conquered original inhabitants, and Bhagya Reddy himself travelled to North India for some of the conferences, notably two in 1927 and 1930, which described the depressed classes and *Adi-Hindus* as descendents of the original inhabitants of this country who were rulers and owners of this land of their birth before the advent of the Aryan to the country'.

Bhagya Reddy's rejection of tradition was more radical. In treating untouchables as the original 'sons of the soil', in seeing Brahmans as outsiders pushing all the original Indians down to south India, he was to have used the term '*Adi-Hindu*' in a way in which 'Hindu' did not refer to religion but was given by foreigners to those living in India.

Hyderabad Dalit politics was marked by intensive competitive struggles. During the 1920s these were primarily between Arigay Ramaswamy and Bhagya Reddy Varma, founding rival '*Adi-Hindu*' organisations. During the 1930s similar battles took place between B.S. Venkatrao and Arigay Ramaswamy and later between Venkatrao and Subbaiah. While there were ideological-political differences embodied in these disputes; the personal competition for leadership is striking.

Dalit activities in Hyderabad began to gain in momentum, if not depth, than before the radical 1930s. A host of young educated Malas, a few Madigas and some Marathi-speaking Mahar and Chambhar youth in Marathwada stood behind new leaders.

B.S. Venkat Rao originally known as Bathula Ashaiah, was born on 11th December, 1898 in a poor family of untouchables in Secunderabad. His father was in the domestic service of Europeans and could provide his children with modern education. B.S. Venkat Rao was proficient in Hindi and English. B. S. Venkat Rao, had started many social reform activities among the Dalit communities at Ghasmandy in Secunderabad. Venkat Rao was critical of the caste system and Hinduism. He said..

"So long as we live in the Hindu fold there is no salvation for our community as a whole. We are not given even the minimum rights and even dogs are treated better than ourselves. There are 24 lakh of Harijans in the State and almost all of them, particularly literates are ready to leave Hinduism".

After working for some time in Pune, he returned to Hyderabad in 1919 and joined the civil engineering department of the Nizam state and subsequently posted as the overseas in the public works department. After working for few years as a government servant, he resigned to his position in 1922 and carried out his social and political activities as a civil contractor. As a social reformer he founded a number of organizations for the uplift of the Dalits. In

1922, he founded *Adi-Dravida Sangham* with the help of M. Govinda Raju and P.R.Venkata Swamy for the educational development of Dalit communities and he also carried out a number of educational programmes by establishing several schools in Secunderabad. For his educational contribution he has drawn inspiration from Jotiba Pule. In 1927 he founded **Adi-Hindu Mahasabha** with Arigya Ramaswamy, M. Swamy and others. Through these organizations he attempted to bring about a new awakening and consciousness among the Dalits in Hyderabad. During the social reform activities Venkat Rao participated in various conferences and attended several meetings. He also constructed houses, schools, libraries, and temples for the untouchables and poor backward caste people. He constructed model colonies at Bansilalpet, new Bhoiguda, and Ghasmandy.

Venkat Rao presided over the first *Bombay Presidency Mahar conference* held on 30th May, 1936 in Bombay. Ambedkar himself invited Venkat Rao to preside over the conference which was considered as a great honour. It was from this conference onwards he was called as Hyderabad Ambedkar. In the same year (1936) he was coffered with *Kusru-E-Deccan* a medal by the H.E.H Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1937 the Nizam Government nominated Venkat Rao to the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. He had been Municipal Counsellor of Hyderabad for ten consequent years from 1937 to 47. He was also a member of the statutory advisory of bodies of the Nizam's governments like Finance, Education, Labour, Food and Defence, during 1941-46. He got elected unanimously to the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly in 1946. He became the Education Minister of the Nizam State in 1947. After the Police action in 1948 he was put under the house arrest and was released later. He contested in the General Elections in 1952 as an Independent candidate, but was defeated by the Congress candidate. Later he was nominated to Rajya sabha in 1951.

Venkat Rao was the most prominent among those who dominated the socio-political and religious fields in the Nizams States for two decades. He was instrumental in the formation **Youth League of Ambedkarites** and he became the president. He propagated the ideals and mission of DR. Ambedkar and organized programmes to better the conditions of the depressed classes. He also worked hard to remove the caste differences among Dalits. Its aim is also to carry out a vigorous campaign to ameliorate the social and economic disabilities. He also campaigned against the religious conversion activities of the Christian Missionaries. He appealed "I wish to sound a warning to Harijans of Hyderabad State the implication of the divine message of Dr. Ambedkar to live the Hindu fold is not to effect an immediate change of religion. His move is to create a spirit of revolt against the Tyranny of caste Hinduism and the grave disabilities under which the depressed classes have laboured and continue to labour on Hinduism". He also said that..

"We are not seeking spiritual salvation through change of religion. What we demand is a complete change in the present economic and social structure of society and the removal of the gross injustices". The activities of the League were also focused on political issues. Venkat Rao was in constant touch with Ambedkar and informed about the leagues activity he personally discussed about the constitutional reforms in Hyderabad State and sought his help in representing the case of the untouchable to the Government of Hyderabad to safeguard the political interest of the depressed community in the constitutional reforms.

Venkat Rao played an important role in the Nizams Government. He became the minister of Education and created **ONE CRORE TRUST FUND** for the education of the depression classes. He had undertaken a number of welfare measures for the uplift of the Dalit communities. On his recommendations the Nizams Government distributed government

lands and west lands across the state. He also worked for bringing about communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims. He worked hard to reduce communal tensions and polarization and defused the communal clashes by mediating between the Hindus and Muslims. Through his effective lobbying he managed to get Dalit representation in the Nizams Government and he also visualized an alliance between Dalits and Muslims. Venkat Rao founded the **Hyderabad State Depressed Classes Association** and sought to organize the depressed classes into one united body. The all India depressed classes conference was held at Nagpur on 18-20th July, 1942, under the presidentship of N. Shivaraj. It was attended by a group of delegates from Hyderabad State. Venkat Rao maintained close relations with Dr. B.R Ambedkar and the Marathwada Dalit Leadership. Along with the Adi- Hindu movement the *Arundatiya Mathunga Sabha* and the *Arunditya Mahasabha* became the organizations of the Madigas who put forth their demands independently of the other communities. In Hyderabad State, all the above organizations stressed internal social reform: attempting to ban drinking of alcohol and meat-eating at social functions, abolition of the devadasi custom.

Sri. B. Shyam Sunder another important Dalit reformer in Hyderabad State was born in an untouchable's family of Aurangabad on December 21st 1908. He graduated from Osmania University, Hyderabad. He later represented Hyderabad as an M.L.A. After reorganisation of states, he became M.L.A. from Bhalki reserved constituency of Bidar. He later founded "*Bharatiya Bheem Sena*" for the upliftment of *Mool Bharatis*. By sheer dint of his leadership qualities he attained the position of undisputed leader of Bahujans, and voice of oppressed suppressed and depressed citizens of India.

He entered public life not by chance, but by choice in order to uphold the human dignity and protect the human rights. He possessed all prerequisite qualities to lead the masses. He

was a legendary hero in his lifetime, an erudite scholar, fire emitting orator, independent thinker, political visionary, poet, excellent writer and an eminent parliamentarian - a rare combination in one person.

We are Mool Bharatis:

From day one of his political career, he declared that we are not Hindus and we have nothing to do with the Hindu caste system. We are aboriginal, indigenous and original inhabitants of *Bharat Varsh* and we are builders of Harappa and Mohenjodaro civilization and we are *Mool Bharatis*. In this regard he submitted a memorandum to Sir Mirza Ismail and demanded that we should be treated as separate entity. To educate his brethren he toured the length and breadth of state and held public meetings brought small pamphlets and his 78 pages Presidential Address at Parable is a landmark wherein he has elucidated that we are *Mool Bharatis*. He says that caste system is to given them, by them, and for them, and we have been forcefully and wrongfully included amongst Hindus.

Contribution to Education:

Shyam Sunder had firm conviction that education alone was the golden key to liberate untouchables from the clutches of ignorance, superstition, conception of *Karma*, and theory of *punarjanma* (rebirth). Shyam Sunder realized that education is very vital instrument for the smooth and non-violent transition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the category of depressed class into the category of the prosperous and empowered ones. He was the brain behind setting up of an educational trust by the Nizam government known as "ONE CORE RUPEE EDUCATIONAL TRUST FUND" in 1932 and he was designated as the Chairman of this fund. The trust's main aim and objective was to take all-round care of educational needs of untouchable students. The trust established "Madarasa-e-Pust Quam" that is separate schools for untouchables in order to avoid caste-based ill-feelings among school children

and simultaneously it opened separate residential hostels. To combat school dropout menace, monthly scholarship scheme was introduced. And above all, a separate Directorate was established to monitor the scheme and whole educational system. The whole concept of the educational system was unique in several ways and it was first of its kind in the entire pre-independent India.

Champion of Land Reforms:

Knowing fully well that land was indeed an important and basic components for self-help and self-reliance in an agrarian based economy. He organised a huge and mammoth

Now disputes focused on pro-Muslim versus 'Ambedkarite' responses to the declaration of leaving Hinduism. Quite expectedly Muslims used Ambedkar's announcement to step up pressure for conversion to Islam. Several Dalits became active, including Kusuma Dharmanna in the coastal regions and peesari Veerana, a Hyderabad Mala who had confronted Gandhi himself in a 1935 visit and now became a propagandist for Islam under the name of P.V.Sardar Ali. After the intensified Hindu-Muslim conflicts of the 1938-39 Satyagraha, Venkatrao himself began to lean in a pro-Muslim direction. In 1938 he took the initiative of forming a **'Hyderabad State Depressed Classes Association (DCA)**. In contrast to the Youth League this was politically oriented to the Nizam's regime, and in May 1939 sent a memorandum to the Nizam's Executive Council demanding separate electorates.

In May 1940 J.H. Subbaiah was Secretary of the Association. After taking in that capacity for about a year he began to covet fame as the biggest Depressed Classes Leader of Hyderabad. As he could not gain his object by remaining the Secretary of the Depressed Classes Association under B.S. Venkatrao he began to work, in April 1941, for the formation of a Central Organisation of the Adi-Hindus to be known as **'Hyderabad State Adi Hindu Maha Sabha'**. Differences and rivalry arose between he and B.S. Venkat rao and eventually,

rally of landless untouchables and peasants at Hyderabad. He demanded land reforms and he gave a clarion call to his people to encroach the government held "Gairan" land. He later impressed on the Nizam government that land reforms alone could bring a qualitative improvement in the life style of untouchables. Later the Government regularized the encroached land by untouchables. It is due to Shyam Sunders efforts alone that many landless poor people in the then Nizams dominion do own some land holdings – even though their counterparts do not own any such land in any part of India.

Subbaiah was considered to be disloyal to the **'Depressed Classes Association'**, was removed from the post of Secretary and also was expelled from the **'Hyderabad Depressed Classes Association'**, After his expulsion from that Association Subbaiah worked with increased keenness for the formation of the **'Adi-Hindu Maha Sabha'** and Succeeded informing the body on 26-7-1941 with himself as President.

In July 1942, J.H. Subbaiah attended the 'All India Depressed Classes Conference' in Nagpur and got in touch with Dr. Ambedkar. Subbaiah appears to have impressed Dr. Ambedkar by promising to call his organisation as the **'Hyderabad State Scheduled Caste Federation'**, in the line with the name of the above All-India Body. Soon after his return from Nagpur, Subbaiah held a meeting on 26th July 1942 at Secunderabad at which it was decided that the *'Adi Hindu Maha Sabha'* should be called **"The Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes Federation"**.

Regarding the work of HSSCF, it passed the following resolutions on the day of its formation itself.

1. Requesting Government to give 1/3 representation to the Depressed Classes in the proposed expansion of the Executive Council.

2. Demanding equal representation with Hindus in the Advisory Committee formed under the constitution reforms in the districts.
3. Demanding that effective steps should be taken immediately to put an end to 'Begar' (Vetti).
4. Urging Government to make adequate provision in the budget for the political social and educational uplift of the Dalits.

Subbaiah also demanded that Government should earmark a special sum for the education of Dalits, give them adequate representation in Government Service and in the Executive Council, and give financial and other necessary help to Dalits to establish their colonies on waste lands.

The visits of Dr. Ambedkar to Hyderabad gave a decided fillip to the activities of the HSSCF. Dr. Ambedkar on his arrival at Hyderabad on 20-9-1944 patronised the **'Hyderabad State Scheduled Caste Federation'** at a meeting in Secunderabad. In 1946 also Ambedkar visited Hyderabad to participate in his Birthday Celebrations organised by HSSCF.

Sukam Achalu in Nalgonda and Butti Rajaram in Karimnagar apparently did some rural organizing for the SCF, to the point that when Achalu was denied as SCF ticket for the 1952 elected with the highest majority in India. Butti Rajaram was said to be a cousin of a member of the Hyderabad group, Prem Kumar, who became a fruit contractor and built a good base for the SCF in Karimnagar District.

The leaders in Hyderabad were Mala, but it is striking that Venkatrao's DCA, rather than the pro-Ambedkarite SCF, seemed to be more influential in the Marathwada region. Most educated, young Marathi-speaking Dalits were with the DCA, including Sponara Dhawe (of Latur), Ganpatro Waghmare (a Chamber of Parbhani) Govindrao Gaikwad (of Aurangabad), Hammanthrao were using Ambedkar's name in the Marathwada region, but the DCA's pro-Muslim orientation and propaganda gained

sustenance from the fact that the Nizam was actually implementing some reforms, including granting wastelands to Dalits, while the communists were absent from the area and the Congress sites (organized in the Maharashtra Parishad) were doing nothing to take up the economic or social issues of rural Dalits but were instead emerging as a 'Hinduistic' organization based almost exclusively among the middle-caste peasantry and upper castes. The land given to Dalits by the Nizam, in fact, became a major source of conflict in Marthwada after the Congress takeover, when caste Hindu 'Congress leaders' sought to snatch it back and Dalits who resisted were made objects of attack.

While the communists were attempting to survive repression in Telangana and Dalits in Marathwada were confronting reprisals from caste Hindu Congress men, the factionalised Dalit leadership of Hyderabad city went through a period of intense reorganization. Following the 'Police Action', in fact, many ran for shelter to the Congress or its association organizations.

Venkatrao was arrested, shyam Sunder, the most militant and pro-Nizam spokesmen, was out of the scene for some years, sent on a mission to Europe to represent Hyderabad's right to independence before the U.N. When he returned, at the time of the 1952 elections, with his usual verve he put up the board of the old **Depressed Classes Association** and announced his candidacy. But by that time the DCA had gone out of existence. A large section of its membership simply fled into the Congress fold, joining a newly formed *Dalit Jatiya Sangh*, allied with one Dharam Prakash who was the leader of a group that had split from Jagivan Ram **Depressed Class League (Dalit Jatiya Sangh)** was the normal Hindi translation for the league) and was under the patronage of the Hyderabad Congress. M.B. Gautam was its general secretary and Mudiguna Laxmaiah, a rich Madiga shoe factory owner who had previously led the *Arundatiya Matunga Mahasabha*, was its president. Some of their political opponents later protested against the 'ex-Razakars' in this group.

The SCF did not fare too well. There was a split in protest against Subbiah's dictatorial methods', with young activists such as P.V. Manohar and Vemula Yadagiri Rao leaving to form a **'United Scheduled Caste Federation (USCF)**.

During the 1952 elections the USCF allied with the socialists, apparently without much success, and the SCF established an alliance with the front organization of the banned communists, the Progressive Democratic Front (PDF). This was in spite of the Ambedkar's expressed policy at that time of not allying with communists, it proved to be beneficial. In fact the election results clearly showed that, whatever their mistakes and vacillations, their militant struggles had won the communists a popular base. They contested a total of 108 seats in the assembly elections; winning 36 of 51 in coastal Andhra, 36 of 45 in Telangana (all of these in the central districts of the revolt and 5 of 12 in Rayalaseema. At least two of the winners were second-rank Dalit activists who had formerly been with the SCF. In addition 10 socialists allied with the PDF won seats, while the SCF itself won five assembly seats (two in Marathwada and three in Telangana) and one Lok Sabha seat with the help of the PDF.

Though the SCF was organizationally weak in Hyderabad, there was tremendous pressure to take some kind of action after 1948-50. After the police Action, a severe repression had been unleashed on Dalits and Muslims by the victorious 'Congressites' Caste Hindus, Venkatswamy reports.

"The political bungling of the power-intoxicated Razakar leaders resulted in the massacre of hundreds of Muslims and Dalits. The districts of Parbhani, Nanded, Aurangabad and Bidar were the most worst affected where much innocent blood was shed".

Janata, which up to the point of the Police Action and been describing 'Razakar atrocities',

now began to focus on the retribution by the 'state Congress goondas', the pulling down of Dalit houses, violence against men, women and children. A report by B.S. More claimed that only the rich had fled, and on returning looked for scapegoats, picking on the poor Mahars, Mangs and Chambhars rather than the well-off who had actually given money to the Razakars. In this sensitive situation, with the majority of people in Marathwada 'uneducated and under the tyranny of tradition', Congress 'Harijan' propagandists were urging Dalits to engage in temple entry programmes with the result that they were only getting beaten up by caste Hindus' and then State Congress says this is only because of their previous Razakar connection. Tarring all with the Razakar brush was a useful tactic in low-key rural classes-caste warfare.

A key element in this was land-land promised to the Dalits by the Nizam government apparently seized by them in many cases in the chaos of the period taken back by the victorious returning Congress Caste Hindus. And in this context the new Congress government made its politics clear when it started snatching back some of the common lands given to Dalits on the excuse that they were cultivating it instead of planting trees on it as they were supposed to.

Following the 1952 elections, the SCF, led by the two MLAs from Marathwada, Shamro Jadhav and Madhavrao Nirlekar, organized resistance to these evictions. While directed against the Congress-ruled Hyderabad state, this was also an assertion of organizational strength vis-a-vis the Caste Hindus. Nearly 1,500 satyagrahis were arrested in the struggle, 'the first of its kind in Hyderabad state', according to Venkatswamy. With the leadership of P.N. Rajbhoj and the local Marathwada activists, it was carried on until 16 November 1953 when the Hyderabad government agreed to restore the lands.

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MUSLIM WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN TAMIL NADU – A STUDY

R. Abida Begum

The aim of this paper is to explore the participation of Muslim women in politics of Tamil Nadu, which was seemed to be nightmare even by the women of some other communities in the recent past. Muslim women on the other hand tried their level best even in the political space. Islam was the first religion which talked about rights of women. For the first time, a human treatment and legal status was given to women. Muhammad Asad writes that Quran, Sunnah, and Islamic history provide ample evidence of women undertaking various forms of political involvement from fighting in battles to influencing political decisions.¹ Political participation is a major component of empowerment.

Role of Muslim women in Indian Independence Movement

Before we consider the present involvement of Muslim women in politics, it is relevant to look at their contribution to the

Indian independence movement. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, a number of women joined the freedom struggle and most of them were from the upper and middle-class Hindu families.² While Muslim women too joined the independence struggle against the British, played no less a role, but their numbers were less compared to Hindu women.³ Muslim women stayed within the four walls, behind the veils, observe strict purdah, so powerful and energetically helped to liberate the country. The list of Muslim women who participated in the freedom struggle is impressive and not restricted to one type of activity. They encouraged their husbands, fathers and sons at home to participate in freedom struggle and themselves took all the household responsibilities on their shoulders in the absence of their men folk. They came out of their four walls and travelled from place to place to encourage people to strive for independence. They joined non-violent as well as violent

movement against the foreign rule. These women were not only from educated and enlightened families but also from illiterate and rural areas. Some of them were imprisoned, fined and suffered for freedom movement and their contribution cannot be denied. It is estimated that about 225 Muslim women committed their lives to the revolt but their role in the freedom movement has not been properly acknowledged by the historians.⁴

Muslim Women in Political Arena

Participation in the political process provides an opportunity to the women to make the political system to reflect their aspirations and ambitions and at the same time lends legitimacy to the system which is the hallmark of democracy.⁵ The two important political rights sanctioned to women by the Indian Constitution were female enfranchisement and eligibility for the Legislature.⁶ It is a fact that representation of Muslims in Indian politics, has been disproportionately low, ranging between 6-8%, as compared to their share in the Indian population. However, following independence, when Muslims in India became a minority community suddenly withdrew into a shell to retain their religious identity. As a part of the process Muslim women were confined to the home. Muslim women, who tried to enter the parliament or legislatures as independents have had little luck. Muslim women have been faring very badly whenever they contested elections. Barring a few women from political families or from the royalty, most Muslim women have been losing their deposits irrespective of whether they contested under a party banner or as independents. The class from which most of the women MPs come is perhaps the most important factor in their successful inclusion into the political system.⁷ However, Muslim women are unable to claim their due in Indian politics, in spite of their ambitions.

Accordingly, no Muslim woman was elected in the first Lok Sabha, consequently there were only two Muslim women were elected in the second Lok Sabha election and only one Muslim woman was elected in the third Lok Sabha elections. Subsequently no Muslim woman was elected in the 4th and 5th Lok Sabha elections and in the 6th Lok Sabha election only two Muslim women were elected.

It is to be noted that, those who entered the Parliament belonged to the elite political families or were nominated. Till 1996, no Muslim woman from Tamil Nadu was contested in the Lok Sabha election and surprisingly no Muslim woman was elected to the Lok Sabha from Tamil Nadu.⁸

It was an established fact that national parties did not entertain Muslim women, unless they were already holding a track record or belonged to a dynasty and hence had a hold at the grassroots level and also had the means to fight the elections. The majority of women in the Indian Parliament are elite women. While their public role challenges some stereotypes, their class position often allows them far greater range of options than are available to poorer women. This left the Muslim women to try their luck to fight the elections under the banner of some existing party; even if it is obscure and has no history of electoral success. Muslim women continuously tried to enter the Parliament, most of them as independents. By participating in the elections and contesting as independent candidates, Muslim women have shown that given a chance and support, they do not shy away from the public sphere; and the men (fathers and husbands) who gave the necessary support did so with confidence in them.

Viewed from the angle, the level of participation among women is generally low except in voting and perhaps attending meetings.⁹ The political parties have generally been in different towards women, treating more as appendages to men. For example, working women and women professionals do generally tend to have high level of awareness but this is not reflected in the level of their participation in the political process. The AIADMK supported Bader Sayeed, Advocate and Social Activist from Chennai. With a little more support from the community made, she won the seat.

Due to such attitudes prevailing in political grounds, Muslim women had suffered historical seclusion from the political scene and political participation has consistently been considered as a male preserve. This has precipitated as one of the major demands of women and has constantly been sought as one of the main goals in all women's movements and activities.

Indian women have been demanding their rightful place in politics and in spite of a proposal to reserve 33% of the seats in the Parliament and legislative assemblies in the states, the proposal has been facing hurdles since 1996.¹⁰ When Islamic countries (with the exception of Saudi Arabia) are allowing women's political participation and providing quotas for them, why does not the Muslim community in a secular democracy like India promote their political participation? If so, is there any guarantee that the Muslim women will get their due if the Women's Reservation Bill becomes an Act?

Reasons for Political Backwardness of Muslim Women

Considering a total disempowerment and underdevelopment of Indian Muslims in nearly all walks of life, as pointed out by the Sachar Committee Report, it becomes imperative to think of enhancing the share of representation of Muslims in the political machinery.

Socio-Economic Backwardness

Foremost reasons for the poor performance of Muslim women at the election are socio-economic backwardness, lack of education, lack of support from the community, religious restrictions and the perception that women are not cut out for the job. Apart from the curtailment of most of their rights they are told that the primary duty of a conservative Muslim woman is to look after her husband and children. On the other hand Islamic laws do not make it mandatory for women to remain confined to household duties.

Lack of Political Awareness

It is an established fact that women in India suffer discrimination more compared to their sisters belonging to Hindu and Christian religions. Asghar Ali Engineer writes: "India being a secular democratic country there is much more political and social space available to Muslim women in India compared to their sisters in many other Muslim countries. To avail this social and political space increased awareness among women is needed. The greatest stumbling block is poverty.

Religious identity

Yet another reason for low representation of Muslim women is that many of the Indian

political parties, believes that the non-Muslim electorate, won't vote for Muslims because of their religious identity. On the other hand, there are a large number of constituencies where a majority or a significant fraction of the electorate is from the Muslim community and a small population of the SCs but the seats have been reserved for SCs. This seems to be a deliberate attempt to deprive the Muslim community of its leadership. Such moves, whether involuntary or deliberate, have further reduced the chances of Muslim leadership to grow.

Diverse Nature of Muslim Community

As far as the development of Muslim leadership is concerned, there have been many attempts to form Muslim political parties. Although some of the Muslim political parties gathered some strength at state level, however, none of them has been successful at the national level. The main cause of their failure is diverse nature of Indian Muslim community which is subdivided into many other religious, linguistic, and regional groups.

Conclusion

Women's representation in politics is important on the grounds of social justice and legitimacy of the political system. The issue of reservation needs to be addressed seriously. Indian Muslims deserve more affirmative action's as recommended by the Ranganath Mishra Committee to improve the socio-economic condition of Indian Muslims in general and their share in the political leadership in particular. To develop the Muslim leadership it is necessary to form pro-Muslim political parties or provide an equitable share to the Muslim leaders in mainstream political parties. Since in majority of the constituencies in India non-Muslims dominate the electorate, it will be difficult for Muslim candidates to win the election. Even if the Muslim candidates win a few seats, the Muslim-affiliated parties will seldom have a majority to form the Government so they will be left in the opposition. If the Muslim representatives perpetually sit in the opposition, the Muslim community ultimately suffers because of the partisan politics; consequence is that such partisan politics of Muslims supporting a pro-Muslim party will give the right wing parties a sound pretext to garner support on religious lines.

In an Indian Muslim society very few women are socially active and highly competent in different walks of life and felt that unless Muslim women demand their legitimate

rights they will continue to suffer. The presence of such women in the State Legislatures and Parliament will immensely benefit the community, its women and children particularly.

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SHADES OF RESPONSES: TRAJECTORIES OF ELECTRIFICATION AND THE MIDDLE-CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN COLONIAL SOUTH INDIA

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The history of electrification in colonial south India can be constructed in many ways. This paper tries to understand the dichotomy between 'modern' science and technology in colonized territories and indigenously ruled pockets in south India which was deliberately created by the policies of the British Government. The British transferred the technologies, like electricity, evolved in the West, without seeking its adaptability to a new context. The indigenous had no choice over the selection of technology during the colonial period. How the traditional society in south India responded to the 'modern' technology introduced by the British in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Modern science and its applied technologies were the evident consequences of 'modern' European civilization in colonial India. The Industrial Revolution was at the core of the 'modern' Western civilization which had overtaken the slower-paced Indian Sub-continent. The British never made any delay for introducing the products of modern technological inventions into India during the colonial period. As they were invented in the West, the colonized subjects never saw the evolution of many modern technologies implanted into their territory. Being a modern

technology and a new source of energy, electricity also went through the same saga.

The history of electrification in colonial south India can be constructed in many ways. The British transferred the technologies, like electricity, without seeking its adaptability to a new context. The introduction of electricity from a peculiar Western context may or may not suit to 'other' contexts. Since the context is an important deciding factor for the transfer, design and development of any technology, it is important to study how the colonized context of south India welcomed electricity.¹ The indigenous had no choice over the selection of technology during the colonial period. The traditional society in south India responded to the 'modern' technology in different ways in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The remarkable response came from the newly emerged educated middle classes in south India.

Electricity was introduced into Indian cities soon after it was used in London and New York during the 1880s. The demonstration of electric light was conducted by European electric companies in presidential cities in India. Electricity, as a technology, was implanted into colonial India suspending the scientific

knowledge behind its evolution, generation and distribution. The Western technological innovations, especially electricity, within the colonies, created many-layered fields of its application.

In south India, electricity arrived in the form of public utility services like telegraph and tramway. As the utility services of electricity were limited to the presidential cities, Madras was connected by telegraph.² It took almost one year to open the telegraph offices for the public in Madras Presidency. On the inaugural day, on 1st March 1854, the public was invited to send message, not exceeding six words, free of cost as a promotional feature.³ The indigenous middle classes started protest when the commercial service came into effect with the charges from 2nd March. Although they had desire, the exorbitant rates of telegraphic stamps discouraged them from using the 'modern' system of transmitting messages. The access to telegraph was limited to the British and the rich indigenous elite.

In the form of electric trams in Madras, the use of electricity for public transport was enabled in south India.⁴ The Madras Electric Tramway Company commenced its first commercial ride on 7th May, 1895.⁵ Before that, the Tramway Company offered its free ride to the public to encourage the people to try it out and to attract them to use it. Though there were horse-driven trams since 1877, the electric trams were new to the people of Madras. The operations behind the electric tram cars remained a mystery to the indigenous people. For them, the tram cars were nothing but a new way of transport, ran up and down the whole day, introduced by the British. Though the indigenous elite experienced the electric-driven trams, the knowledge about the use of electricity was unknown to the people of Madras. The indigenous intellectuals in south India wanted to acquaint the science behind the utility services of electricity.

The colonial government intensely redirected the education to a small section of people in colonized territory and gave top priority to create a new class as Macaulay's Minute on Education states, "Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect". It was difficult to get

operators for telegraph in Madras because the people who know English in south India was very few at that time. The government wanted the indigenous to master English language in order to get interpreters and mediators between the British and indigenous people; operators for public utility services; clerks to ease administrative works. Along with the establishment of different societies, the indigenous intellectuals invested in presses for publishing newspapers, articles, debates and controversial period opinions in vernacular languages to create public sphere. The development of a print culture helped the intellectuals to spread their ideas, and their deliberate cultivation of bilingualism, with English and their regional languages as double-barreled their medium of expression, ensured a certain amount of homogeneity in the spread of such ideas across various regions.

The colonial governmental policies were indifferent towards the dissemination of scientific knowledge in India. The science was deliberately excluded in curriculum in colleges and universities in colonized territories. It was only by suspending the scientific know-how; the government of British India could sell the products of technological innovations in colonies. The logic of colonialism worked as technological developments were sold to the colonies but was very unwilling to allow the colonized to become self-sufficient in the field of science and technology. The new professional middle classes wanted to acquire the modern Western sciences in order to understand the knowledge behind the applied technologies and to initiate their own contribution to technology. They did not want to buy the technology and its applications as a commodity from West. The Indian intellectuals criticized the attitude of the colonial government and made attempts to spread interests and promote scientific studies in the later stages of their political growth as critical subjects under colonial rule.

The electric tram cars started running in Madras before it starts running elsewhere in India and other cities in England.⁶ The government of British India with colonial strategies did not hesitate to introduce the products of Western European technology into colonized territories. Though the colonial government supported the implantation of all

the amenities of modernity into India, the basic needs of indigenous people remained unfulfilled. Thus there was a growth without development in colonized territories in south India.

The public utility services of electricity were remained as mere a demonstration of use of electricity in front of the indigenous people. Being operated by European private companies, the services were purely commercial and became an elitist affair. The wealthy classes, who were the tax-payers, could access the services. The colonial policies of Government of India supported the private ventures as they took care of colonial interests. The welfare of indigenous people in colonized territory was not there in their colonial agenda. The educated upper and middle classes tried to reveal the true nature of colonial government and respond to it.

The European electric companies generated and sold electricity to British-owned factories in south India. The generation and distribution of electricity in Madras Presidency as well as in princely states was a private endeavour by European entrepreneurs. The European electric companies invested in electricity to get alternative and cheap source of energy to run their factories of plantation and gold mine enterprises in south India. They convinced the government of princely states to start hydro-electric schemes.

The governments of princely states recognized that the bed rock of all industrial development was cheap and accessible power. This necessitated the governments to conduct surveys in this field and develop schemes to generate power. The educated middle classes put pressure on princely governments to launch hydro-electric schemes. Hydro-electric installations were started for the purpose of providing power for the European entrepreneurs in south India in the early decade of twentieth century. The investment in the field of electricity was made possible by the 'state-capitalist' model of development under the Dewans in princely states in south India.⁷ The Dewans, who were the advocates of capitalism, launched the policy of active economic development and invited and encouraged foreign capital investment in the field of electricity. They tracked steps for the electrification of urban spaces in princely states.

Desire to acquire training in modern science was a slightly a later development in south India. The princely governments were ready to buy technologies from European private companies. The middle classes also wanted to buy technology like electricity, but with their own pooled resources. The newly emerged class of educated intelligentsia started to discuss investment capitalism and distinguished between private and public sectors. This middle classes identified clearly the motives behind the foreign and indigenous capital investment endeavours. They wanted the Government to encourage indigenous or *swadeshi* capitalism and demanded public endeavours in industry and technology.

In Kochi, the middle classes created a public sphere which generated the space within it to contest the decisions of the Dewan. In the case of princely state of Kochi, as it was not under the direct control of British supremacy, the subjects had the freedom to organize and discuss the issues of public interests. The middle classes were therefore involved in public debates to indigenize elements of modernity and progress – like production and distribution of electricity. Electricity agitation was radically a different one, which fought directly against the decisions of princely government to privatize the electric sector in one hand, and indirectly against the colonial agenda of detaching science and technology by withholding the know-how behind introduced technology.

The colonial endeavours towards the generation of electricity had nothing to do with the indigenous needs. The indigenous governments had to compete to develop the source of generation and supply of power themselves, to use for basic requirements like street lighting. The urge for industrial development and technological advancement forced the indigenous governments in south India to focus on power generation and supply.

The princely states were ahead of Madras Presidency in the development of electricity in south India. Hyderabad was the first among the Princely States to be electrified.⁸ Mysore State government was the first administration in India to start the major hydro-electric project at Cauvery Falls.⁹ Mysore Government catered more and more for the needs and wants of the

countryside by extending the network of electric stations and lines throughout the state.¹⁰ The Mysore Government facilitated the steady growth of the Cauvery power installation in all directions involving the extension of the transmission and distribution systems for utilizing the services of electricity for the common good of the largest number possible of the subjects of the state.

The electricity development in the princely states was well-coordinated and the same in Madras Presidency was uncoordinated by means of scattered licensed areas. The lack of a planned system of electrical management was reflected in the industrial backwardness of Madras compared to Mysore state. It was very difficult to take up an electric project, whether original or extension, colonized territory like presidency as the process was long such as to get sanction of the government; to get the approval of funds; and to secure the service of suitable technical officers on the standard scales of pay etc. The prominent educated public men characterized the existing undertaking in Madras Presidency as parochial. For them, the electrical development was unsatisfactory due to the profit-making policies of the private companies on the one hand; and the municipal licensees with lack of experience and inadequate finance on the other.

The reception and rejection of any technology not only depended on its physical suitability but also the mindset of people where it was demonstrated. The indigenous responded in different ways in different stages of development of electricity in south India. The first wave of response was emerged when the local authorities considered the matter of using electricity for lighting. The middle classes came to know about the use of electricity for lighting, they put pressure on the representatives of government to consider the matter. The question of electric lighting was diverted to the debate over the choice between gas and electricity. The main determinants of the choice of lighting were the resources and the economic condition of the territory. The ignorance of techno-scientific and technological progress and desire for modern Western amenities were reflected in the responses towards electric lighting.

The majority of members of local authorities showed their dissent against electrification as they felt that electricity was an 'unnecessary luxury'. There emerged the dichotomy between necessity and luxury. The matter of electrification was debated in many platforms in south India. Many leaders opposed electric lighting as they felt electricity was not an immediate necessity. They pictured electricity as an unwanted thing.

There were different opinions mounted around the criticism of existing electrical system in south India. In the initial years, the government never treated the electric undertakings as a public utility service but treated as a business enterprise. The lack of supervision; up-to-date commercial methods; and costly management were the main defects of existing electrical system in Madras Presidency. The capital was insufficient to provide for the legitimate electrical requirements of south India. The professional classes who holding offices in Madras Presidency, the government, as constituted, was not a suitable agency for generation and supply of electricity to the public or for carrying on any commercial undertaking.

There existed a desirability of a public body to manage electrical undertakings among the newly emerged professional middle classes. There emerged an opinion that a public corporation of full-time experts run on business lines would have more flexibility in the matter of staff and keeping accounts. Another argument in favour of a change to a public corporation was that the finance and revenue of the electricity industry should be separated from the general budget. Considering electricity concerns as public utility service, it was suggested that the Government should not depend on profits acquiring from their electrical concerns for supplementing their general revenues and that the profits from electrical concerns should be devoted to improvements and extensions.

The policies of colonial government deliberately created a dichotomy between 'modern' science and technology in colonized territories and indigenously ruled pockets in south India. The 'Western scientific discourse' had claimed the European techno-scientific advances as universal. Science and technology

were to be assigned an important role in the spread of European imperial expansion, and once it was implanted to non-European countries during the period of colonialism, other non-Western cultures were to be judged against this 'universal' standard.¹¹ Thus science and technology became firmly entrenched as the effective instruments for achieving control of and power over non-Western/indigenous knowledge system. Science and technology furnished the knowledge base for the process of empire-building. The techno-scientific inventions and discoveries established its 'superior' science-oriented socio-cultural base, which quickly established hegemonic control over the indigenous intellectuals.

Under colonial subjection, Indians were shaped by multiple ideologies, both inherited and imposed. Among the Indians, the middle

classes were subjugated by the colonial British values and ideologies, at least in the material domain. The project of electrification of the urban spaces was an integral part of this new material demand. Among the middle classes there were different layers such as the intelligentsia, the intellectuals and many others. While the intelligentsia was subject of the ideological influence and material interests, the intellectuals constantly tried to overcome them. As the intellectuals understood that the ideological and material superiority of the West was a colonial construction.¹² A new stage of middle class awareness: the necessity of not just 'consuming' a new modern convenience, the production of which is based on scientific principles, but actually to generate both the resources and the scientific and technological training which would make the production and distribution possible.

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4. The construction of tramway was started in 1893 and the conduit system was chosen for electric traction.
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6. H.H. Chapman, 'A Short account of Development of Road, Transport and Communications in Madras from 1639-1939', in *The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume*, p.221.
7. K. Sheshdri Iyer in Mysore, C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer in Thiruvithamkur, and R.K. Shanmukham Chetty in Kochi were the Dewans of princely states in south India who took necessary steps to make electric power available at a favourable rate for industrial purposes.
8. 'Electricity in Hyderabad: A Satisfactory Year', *The Times of India*, 22nd October 1931. Electric lights were installed in Hyderabad in 1901.
9. General Electric (GE), widely known for work at Niagara Falls, had installed hydro-electric power equipment for gold mines in America and South America, and the company was intent upon expanding its sales throughout the world. GE was commissioned by Mysore State to build the hydro-electric installation at Cauvery Falls. The power station was named after the island of Sivasamudram, nearby the Cauvery Falls. It was commissioned in 1902.
10. The total capital invested in rural electrification schemes up to the end of June-1933 came to a little over 19 Lakhs and 2 thousands of rupees. The total number of power and of lighting installations, excluding those of the Gold Mining Companies, was 2200 and 19312 as against 1763 and 16761 respectively for the previous year i. e., to the end of June 1932, vide Engineering Supplement, *Times of India*, October 14, 1933. Likewise the number of street lights rose from 10149 to 10776. These figures bear eloquent testimony to the progressive policy of the State.
11. George Basalla gives an appropriate model for the diffusion of Western science into the non-western areas in his essay 'The Spread of Western Science', *Science*, 156, 5 May 1967, pp. 611-22. He points out three overlapping phases or stages. During phase-1 the non-scientific society or nation provides a source for European science. The word non-scientific refers to the absence of modern Western science and not to a lack of ancient, indigenous scientific thought of the sort to be found in China or India; European, as used hereafter in this article, means "Western European". Phase-2 is marked by a period of colonial science, and phase-3 completes the process of transplantation with a struggle to achieve an independent scientific tradition or culture. See Deepak Kumar, *Science and the Raj 1857-1905*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. 3.
12. See K.N. Panikkar, 'From Revolt to Agitation: Beginning of the National Movement', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 25, No. 9/10, September- October 1997, pp. 28-42.

FOOD CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA DESA

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Food has constituted an important part of all the civilizations, since ancient times to contemporary times. Region, groups of people, climatic conditions, availability of local products, political changes etc, influenced the food habits of the people. There are references in contemporary medieval Telugu literary works such as '*Kreedabhiramam*' of Vinukondavallabha Raya, '*Panditharadhya Charitam*' of Palkuruki Somanatha, '*Pratapacharitam*' of Ekamranath, '*Haravilasam*' of Sreenatha, '*Amukthamalyada*' of Srikrishnadevaraya, '*Hamsavimsathi*' and '*Sukasaphathi*' of Qutb Shahi period are containing references about the food habits and food items of people of Medieval Andhradesa. In this paper an attempt is made to highlight the different Food items of local Telugu people before and after the advent of Muslim rule over Andhradesa between 13th and 16th centuries. The entry of new food habits, their impact due to Muslim rule and migrations from Central Asia to Andhradesa is also discussed.

The Warangal Fort inscription of Ganapatideva¹ gives the list of food articles such as vegetables, wheat, paddy, gram, jowar, oilseeds, oil, salt, ginger, pickles, fruits etc. Purchased by consumers in the local pemta or angadi or adda. The Velpuru inscription² dated 1247 CE. of Dochana peggada Ganapayya (Ganapati Deva's period) the purchase of Goats, Sheeps, by different groups of people on the eve of special occasions such as festivals and marriages, millets, mustard, castor, sesame are also consumed by people during the period under study.

After the fall of Kakatiyas in the year 1323 CE. political uncertainty prevailed in Anhradesa. The oppressive rule of Delhi Sultan Viceroys of gave an opportunity to ex-Kakatiya officials to start anti-Delhi Sultanate movement. The heroic efforts of Musunuri Prolayanayaka, Prolayavema Reddi liberated the Andhradesa from foreign yoke. As the result Musunuri kingdom (at Warangal) and Reddy kingdom (at Kondavidu) were founded. Even we are getting glimpses of the crops, pulses, fruits, vegetables

and other food items of Reddi age poet Sreenatha in his work Haravilasam,³ and Bhimeshwarapuram⁴ different varieties of Paddy like kalama, vali, remukha, sastrika, patanga and hayana. It seems prasunga and rajamana are common variety of paddy grown extensively in Reddy kingdom and consumed by common people and rich. 'Kapparabhogam' was another superior quality of rice consumed by rich and Royal Classes.⁵ 'Ragi' and 'Cholam' constituted important food item of low class people.

During the age of Reddis coastal districts specially Godavari, Krishna region was known for fertile land and best water resources. The Vilasa copper plate grant⁶ clearly mentioned that alongwith rice/paddy, garden crops such as sugarcane, betel vine, plantain, Arecanut, coconut palms, mango jack fruits etc are grown.

Friar Jordanus (1323-1330) in his work '*The Wonders of the East*', also described the different crops, pulses etc. Grown and consumed by the people of Telugu country. He also stated the among the people vegetarians and non-vegetarians were there.⁷ '*Bhojarajiyam*' of Anantamatya is describing the '*podu-chenu*' and podu cultivation forest groups. They consumed pulses like Pttu Kandulu anumulu (beans).⁸

We are getting useful information about the food habits and drinks of people of Vijayanagara times⁹ from the literary works, foreign travel accounts and few epigraphs.¹⁰

According to the details given by Krishnadevaraya in his work Amuktamalyada,¹¹ the Reddis and probably the other cultivating classes of the inland districts of Andhra subsisted upon Cholam, ariga, ragi etc. Several types of vegetables and herbs were also cooked by the vegetarian and non-vegetarian families.¹² Pulses of all kinds were used by all the sections on larger scale in daily food. According to Domingo Paes¹³ rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn and certain amount of barely and beans, moong, pulses, horse-gram, and many seeds were the food of Vijayanagara people. Another

foreign traveller Durte Barbosa¹⁴ records that the staple food-stuff of the people of Vijayanagara was rice. It was cultivated on large scale in different parts of the empire. He further states that in 'Tulunadu' region four varieties of rice i.e., garacal, acal, quavagas, pachary are grown by cultivators. Royal family members, elites consumed the best quality rice known as 'Rajana'. The common people depended upon cheap and low quality black-rice (nallavadlu) as their purchasing capacity was low. The Muhammadans settled in the Andhradesa etc wheat according to Domingo Paes.¹⁵ The meat eaters enriched their diet by the addition of many meat dishes and mango pieces. According to Fernao Nuniz,¹⁶ the Rayas and the meat-eating sections of their subjects, etc. Mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds. Krishnaraya also mentioned about the tasty Hayyanagavina (Neyyiorghree) prepared from butter and consumed by various higher section in food items. The Royal king also referred about use of pepper in large quantity by all the sections in the preparation of vegetarian and non-vegetarian curries, fruits like mangoes, jack, grapes, cucumber, plantains, were consumed during lunch time by vegetarians and non-vegetarians says Krishnadevaraya.¹⁷

Krishnadevaraya¹⁸ also mentioned about variety of drinks. During this period different types of drinks were consumed by different sections. 'Panakam' made with sugar and water and niru-majjga (butter milk) were consumed in large quantity by all sections in summer season. Coconut water, sugarcane juice were also used. He also mentioned about the great technique of coconuts buried under the heaps of sand under the shade of trees in the gardens to keep the water cool during summer.¹⁹

Food offered to God or Goddesses as Naivedyam in different temples:

Inscriptions of Vijayanagara period are giving very interesting details about variety of food items offered by Brahmins to the temple deity in the morning and evening. This act was known as *Naivedyam*, *Aaragimpu*, the *Prasadam*, which was distributed among the bhaktas. A series inscriptions.²⁰ From Kalahasti (Chittoor) dated 1423 CE. Tripurantakam (Kurnool) dated 1423 CE., Kalahasti (Chittoor

dated 1532 CE.), Chinna Ahobilam (Kurnool) dated 1547 CE., Peda Ahobilam (Kurnool) dated 1558 CE., Cheruvubellagallu (Kurnool) dated 1560 CE., Srimushram (South Arcot District) dated 1584 CE., are giving list of variety Prasadam or food offered during this age on every Jatra days, pulihora, vada, chenigelu, sondelu, payasam, pesallu, (green gram), bellu (pulses), minimulu (black gram), veluvalu (horse gram), mumthanu (cashew nut) miryaalu (pepper), sonti (dried ginger), bellam (jiggery), rice, ghee, nune, curd rice (Dhaddhojanam), Appalu, etc., The information gleaned from Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam epigraphs also records most of the items mentioned above.²¹ An inscription²² of Krishnadevaraya's period dated the year 1519 CE., states that to lord Venkateshwara appalu, atirasalu, godhi, panakam, payasam, vada, idli, dosa, kanukka, atukulu, junnu, dhaddhojanam etc. Are offered. Fruits, such as Banana, Apples, mangoes, lemon, coconuts are also offered. *Tambulam (paan)* was also offered to lord Venkateshwara This shows that temple Archakas were experts in cooking different types of food.

With the establishment of Muslim rule in India at Delhi 1206CE and its expansion to Gulbarga, Golkonda, Hyderabad, the Arab and central Asian food culture, food items entered into the native food culture. Even the local Telugu people started, enjoying goat or sheep (mutton) Biryani, Sheek Kabab, made with Goat or Sheep Kheema), roasted on coal fire on a specially made stand, Nyaari, Kulche, Paaya Shorwa, Bun Sweet or Bread Sweet (Double ka meeta), *Sheerkorma*, (Ramzan special sweet), *Haleem*, *Dum ki Biryani*, *Patthar ka Ghosh*, etc. Became favourite food items of local Non-Vegetarians. Similarly the vegetarian. Baighan Masala (Brinjal Masala curry), Mirchimasala, Sambhar/Pappucharu, Rasam, Dhahiwada, Areselu, Murkulu, Pulihora (tamarind or lemon rice), Tamato Chatni, Karvepaakupodi, gongurapachadi, Mango pickle, Idli, Wada, Dosa, Utappa etc. 'Sharbat', 'Lassi', (made with curd) also became favourite drinks of Telugu people. Became favourite food for migrants from other parts to Andhradesa. Thus we can conclude that the delicious food consumed by the people of Andhradesa during medieval times helped them to be healthy and fit.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND FORMATION OF MIXED CASTES IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA

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Andhra society did not remain a stagnant one, since early times till the medieval period. As a result of Economic development, due to growth of trade and commerce, industrialization and increased agricultural output, brought many changes in social structure of Andhra society. Indian society was generally conceived as based on the theory of 'Chaturvama system', or the division of Hindu society into the four vamaas such as Brahmin, Kshetriya, Yaisya and Sudra¹ which remained only as a theoretical concept. Due to the process of acculturation and contact of various Socio-Cultural groups and local tribal population², the society was integrated into a new social order, which resulted in the emergence of mixed castes. The Dharma shastra of Vasistha and Boudhayana³ tried to fix the position of these mixed castes and tribes in the traditional social order, 'Varna sankara'⁴ became a common feature during this period. The Buddhism and Jainism also contributed to the process of acculturation. An attempt is made in the present paper to throw some light on the social structure and social formation in the medieval Andhra.

The process of assimilation continued till the 10th and 11th centuries. By that time Buddhism and Jainism began to decline and

the resurgence of Hinduism in Andhradesha began. The ruling class started upholding the concept of Chaturvarna system, supported the Hinduism, which emerged in the form of Puranic theism⁵, supporting the caste system. In Andhradesha, the revival of Brahmanism began under the rule of Vengi kingdom, especially during the reign of Rajaraja Narendra (A.D. 1022-1063). Rajaraja Narendra thought of reviving of Hinduism as his moral duty and patronized poets like Nannayya, who translated Mahabharata into Telugu, with an aim of upholding the brahmanical social order⁶ many books were written with the same motive, during the period, except the Saivite poets, like Palkurki Somanatha, others propagated Chaturvarna dharma. Even the followers of Mallikarjuna, known as Aradhyas reconciled with the Brahmanical social order⁷ The kings took pride in taking the titles like, Chaturvama dharma pratisthacharya and Chaturvarna dharma pratipalitulu⁸ The Vamashrama dharma was upheld only in principle, by the rulers of the period. The prasastis are only traditional. The caste based occupations increased in number from the beginning. The medieval inscriptions mention the society consisting of 'Asthadasa Mahapraja'⁹, which is a general assembly of 18 major communities. The division of society into 18 communities is

based on occupational and even this also became traditional concept, over a period of time. Even during the period of Satavahanas, inscriptions mention the existence of 18 Srenis¹⁰Sreni is nothing but an occupational group. During this period each occupational group became a 'Jati'¹¹as most occupations are hereditary. 'Jati' of a person is the occupational group into which a person was born. Each Jati had its own rules and regulations, own codes of conduct, known as Kuladharm or Jati dharm,¹² if any member of the jati violated the Jati dharm, he was liable for punishment. So one must keep in mind that the concept of Asthadasa praja rather than the Chaturvarna dharm, in analyzing social conditions of the medieval times in Andhra. The Asthadasa mahapraja is mentioned in several records was a representative assembly of the major communities of a village or town or a Sthala. It discharged several administrative functions and played an important role in the economic and social life of the people. The Asthadasa mahapraja consisted of¹³1.Mahajanulu, 2.Nakaram, 3.Kampulu, 4.Balanja Settigaru, 5.Komati, 6.Idaravaru, 7.Gollavandru, 8.Srivaisnavulu, 9.Akkasalijanulu, 10.Salevaru, 11.Velamaveguru, 12.Illaris, 13.Gandavaru, 14.Nayakulu, 15. Reddlu, 16. Karnalu, 17. Telikivevuru, 18. Nayilu. Some other records mention the following as 1.Brahmana, 2.Kshetriya, 3.Vaisya, 4.Sudra, 5.Vevaharika, 6.Panchala, 7.Kamsakara, 8.Tantuvai, 9.Vastrabhedaka, 10.Tilaghatika, 11.Kuruntaka, 12. Vastra-rakshaka, 13. Devanga, 14. Pereka,15. Gorakshaka, 16. Kirataka, 17.Rajaka, 18. Kshuraka. Actually we find many more communities, by the early medieval period. There are several causes for the emergence of a large number of communities by the early medieval period. They are 1.Political, 2.Economical, 3.Religious, 4.Ethnic factor. Let's analyze one after the other.

Political: the early medieval period witnessed the rise of tribal chiefs and peasant warriors in place of traditional ruling classes, belonging to Kshetriya caste. Tribal communities such as Sabaras¹⁴ and Boyas, held very high positions. In the Rastrakuta-Vengi conflict, there were several Sabara chiefs fought against Vengi kingdom, supporting the Rastrakutas. In the Velanadu administration many Boya¹⁵chiefs held very high position, like

those of Mandaleshvara. The early Kakatiyas chiefs names such as Erra, Gunda and Proia, suggest their tribal background. They were earlier tribal warriors, who were later employed in the Rastrakuta army. We know that the Kakatiyas called themselves, as belonging to Samantha Visthi¹⁶ Visthi is the Sanskritised form of Vetti, which means a slave or servant. In later inscriptions they claimed to have belonged to the fourth caste¹⁷ But in some instances they are described as Kshetriya¹⁸Vidyanatha describes that the fame of Kakatiyas excelled that of the Solar and Lunar families.¹⁹We can infer from this that they do not belong to either of the two, to which most of the early ruling families' claim to descended from.

A very important social aspect of this period is the rise of the peasant groups, like the Reddy, Velama and Kapus, who were mainly agriculturists group, who entered the military service, under the various ruling dynasties. This was the need of the hour. As the period, witnessed frequent wars between the various neighbouring kingdoms. The wars gave an opportunity to become rich quickly. By this way, young peasants were recruited into army. The contemporary inscriptions mention such two groups known as Nayakulu²⁰and Ekkatlu²¹The Nayankara system under Prataparudra helped further development and increase in the number of military chieftains. After the downfall of the Kakatiyas and later its disintegration, Andhradesa witnessed the rise of several independent kingdoms. Such as Nayakas of Musnuri family under Prolayanayaka, who belonged to Kamma community, who established an independent kingdom at Rekhapalle²²Prolaya Vemareddy, who belonged to the Reddy caste, established the independent Reddy kingdom from Addanki.²³ Similarly the Padma Nayaka chief Singamaneedu who belonged to Velama community established the kingdom at Rachakonda.²⁴ These peasant warrior groups liberated the Telugu country from the Muslim rule.²⁵ This is known as the Reddy-Nayaka age in the history of Andhras²⁶

Economic factor: agriculture was the main stay of the economy during medieval Andhra, a number of industries related to agriculture developed. This gave rise to many sub-castes

among the agriculturist such as Reddies, Kampulu, Gallas, Boyas, toddy tappers (idarasi²⁷ etc. Next to agriculture, Textile industry became important, which gave rise to the sub-castes. Based on the specializations related to the textile industry, like Vastra bhedakas (dyers), Devangas (spinners), Tantuvaivi (weaver), and Vastra rakshakas (sewer). These sub-groups were involved in the cloth making and cloth manufacturing industry.²⁸

Ethnic factor: since the ancient times the process of drawing the hill and forest tribes, like the Sabaras, Pulindas and others into the mainstream of society began. The tribes were war like in nature, which made them to join the military services of the rulers of the age. The Matedu inscription was issued by a vassal under Proia II, who belonged to Pulinda Vamsa²⁹ The originator of his family, 'buchana Vemabolakula had the title 'Kotamalla', which means "destroyer of forts". Another important tribe that was slowly integrated into the social mainstream was the Boyas³⁰ The Boyas were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. As they were war like qualities of body and mind they were recruited informal³¹ Inscriptions mention that they also entrusted, with an obligation to supply ghee to the temple lamp³² Gradually they were integrated into the social main stream and raised high positions at the court. The Ganapeshwaram inscription, informs that, Jayapa Nayaka, the Gajashahini of Kakatiya Ganpatideve was the descendant of Naraboya, the ruler of Divi Seema³³

The process of assimilation of various ethnic groups into the society multiplied the number of castes. The Dharma Shastras also facilitated the absorption of such aboriginal into the traditional social order (Chaturvarna), by the concept of Varnasankara. The Mellacheruvu inscription³⁴ mention, Bettevaru, among the Samastha Praja. Bette or bettu means people having the temperament of adventurism and cruelty, which in-directly signifies their hunting background (aboriginal). From the above it is clear that aboriginals and hunters were absorbed into the society as Bette caste.

Thus the indigenous society of the early Andhra after the advent of the Brahmanism and Buddhism can be divided into three

divisions. The first one those like the Nagas, Pukiyas, Dhanakas, Mundas, Hirannekas, etc., who were hit herto acting as local chiefs and more civilized than others embraced either Buddhism or Brahmanism and were slowly absorbed in the ruling caste. The bulk of the agriculturist society called Reddis, Kapus, Telagas, and their dependent professionals, also come under this division. The second division consisted of those who took some more centuries to mingle with the Aryanised society. They are the Kurumas, Boyas Kondakapus, Kondareddies etc... Who were accustomed to a settled life by agriculture and pasturing, but not bothered in the early historical period and stayed away from the advanced classes for several centuries. Third division comprised several uncivilized groups who were accustomed to live independently, without being the subjects under any political authority. Such people are still noticeable in the tribal areas. Their needs were very limited and they do not require any help from the rulers for their sustenance³⁵

Emergence of outcaste sects in Andhra society;

It is generally believed that the advent of Brahmanism was responsible for the isolation of certain sects of people from the society and treats them as untouchables. It is worth examining hypothesis in a historical perspective. By the 41 and century B.C. some Brahmin families might have settled in few places not in many villages. In the process of Brahmanisation according to the reformed Purana cult, the Brahmans have admitted into their fold several deities like Katappa, Kotayya, Kondayya, Mallayya, Appanna etc. of the indigenous people giving Sanskritized names to those gods like Katesvara, Kotesvara, Mallesvara, etc attributing legendary origin to them and introducing Brahmanical rituals in those temples. In fact as we all know, they have admitted the Buddha himself into the Brahmanical fold as one of the avatars of God Vishnu. It was not a case of the said admission of the indigenous deities into a more civilized religious fold of the Puranas. So the theory that untouchables was the creation of the Brahmans does not stand to reason as well as historical evidence and lacks practicable way of implementation. The words Chandala, Matanga, Nishada, Antevasin etc... Which are

nearly synonyms for untouchables? The indigenous society consisted of various professionals. Agriculturists formed the bulk of the society. Whereas the other professionals like the potters, smiths, carpenters, weavers, washer men, barbers, leather tanners, etc...Formed, the subsidiary sects. Besides these sects there were certain communities who lived on the edges of the forests taking to the profession of cattle breeding and little farming. They are called even today as Kanda Kapus, Kanda reddy, Kurmas (Sheep breeders) adopting unsettled farming to just sustain themselves.

It is a wrong notion that the Chandal as or untouchables were those who evolved out of the illegal marriages between the Brahmin female and Sudra males as stated in the Smriti. Historically we have no evidence to say that inter caste migration from higher castes to Chandals took place in large numbers in the past. The implication of the statement is that such inter caste progeny would be treated to be equal in social status with the already existing Chandals. That classification in such stray cases, who trespass the norms of marital alliances. It is difficult to subscribe to the view that the entire community of the Chandals evolved as a result of the said inter-caste marriages³⁶ Some of the early eastern Chalukyan charters mention the term Boyas, certain Kanderu Boya Vidusarman of Parasara gotra, who is versed in the Vedas and Sastras appears as donees in the Koneki grant of

Jayasimha Vallabha³⁶ datable to A.D. 667. The Kondanagaru grant of Indra bhattacharaka³⁷, the Reyuru grant of Vishnu Vardhana also mention some Soya Brahmans, with gotra affiliations as donees. Here the term boya Brahman was interpreted as Boyas were considered as Brahmans if they learned the Vedas and Shastras³⁸ this is due to the misunderstanding of the Boya term. Boya is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Bhoja which means an official like gramani³⁹ The Pallava and Salankayana rulers appointed village officials with the title as bhojakas, this is noticed in the Hirahadgalli plates of Sivaskanda varma. The ja letter is changed to which is possible according to the Prakrit and Telugu grammar. The said grantees in the above allusions were such Boya Brahmans, who were born in the Brahmin families possessing the gotra and charanas as described in the charters. They were not the aboriginal Boyas taken into the Brahmin caste⁴⁰ The attribution Kammakula bhavana noticed in the Sanigaram epigraph⁴¹ of Kakatiyas Proia II belonging to 1149 A.D does not refer to the Kamma sect of modern period, but actually applies to a family of Brahmans which has migrated from Kammanadu. The family belonged to the Brahmin caste of Attreyagotra. The modern Kamma sect of people in Andhra desa is originally of the Kapu families hailing from Kamma Naadu or Karmarashtra of the medieval period. Family appellations as Kamma, Kona, Yengi etc.. Do not refer to separate castes but to regions or places from which those families hail.

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CHENNAI LABOUR UNION LEADER – THIRU.V.KALIYANA SUNDARANAR – A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

P. Arumugam

Thiru.V.Kalyana Sundaranar is known as Thiru.Vi.Ka as shortly among the Tamil people in state Tamil Nadu. He was born in Thundalam village at porur, Chennai in 188, august 26. His parents were Mr.Viruthachalam and Ms.Chinnamal. In 1894, he has joined in Wesley School for his studies and dropped out from school at 1904 without proper completion. He had a keen interest in Tamil language and literature from the eminent personalities of Tamil language named Karaiverpillai, Mahavithvaan Thanikachala Mudhaliyar, Pamban Kumaragurudhasa Swamigal. Also he learned the language from the great tamil scholar Maraimalai Adigal. He learned the concepts of Jain Religion from Parganaatha Nayinar, Professor Chakravarthi Nayinar. He learned science, Darwin's human history and evolution, and the scientific inventions of western countries from the first communist of south India comrade.Singaravelu.

He has joined in the company of British man Spencer due to his poverty in 1907. He had catalyst the thrust of independence struggle among the fellow workers during the lunch breaks by reading the newspaper 'Vandea Matharam'. The British were warned Thiru.Vi.Ka for his activities among the labours. He had infuriated with the British action in the company; hence he relived himself from the company and joined into the Wesley School as a Tamil teacher later. He served as the Head Master of the school in 1916.¹

THIRU.VI.KA IN THE LABOUR UNION

In 1908, while Thir.Vi.Ka was working in Company Spencer; the leader of England labour party Mr.Geer Hardy has arrived India and stayed in Chennai for few weeks. Thiru.Vi.Ka has maintained a relationship with Hardy while buying some materials in the company. During that time a brief history of Mr.Geer Hardy has published in a magazine. Thiru.Vi.Ka has enriched his knowledge on developing the labour union and research on labours with the writings of Geer Hardy and his story. Thiru.Vi.Ka then developed a continuous reading on the same. Thiru.Vi.Ka was also influenced by the Russian Revolution in 1917. All the mentioned factors were the lightening candles of Thiru.Vi.Ka's labour union activities mostly.

THE ORIGIN OF CHENNAI LABOUR UNION

After the school timings over, Thiru.Vi.Ka used to roam out and he used to make a discourse about patriotism, religious order, humanity. In 1917, he was invited to give a lecture at Venkatesa Gunaamirtha Varshini Sabha located at Barex, in Perambur, Chennai. Selvapathy Chettiyar has invited him.² The audience of that occasion were the workers of the Binny Mill and Karnatic Cotton mill. After the occasion, Thiru.Vi.Ka has disturbed immensely by knowing the hurdles of the workers who faced in those mills. Later he decided to start a labour union for them. In 1918 April 8, with the larger effort of

Thiru.Vi.Ka, The Chennai labour union (MLU-Madras Labour Union) has started and Mr.V.V.Wadiya has become the first president who was a leader of Homerule movement also the friend of Dr.Annie Beasant. Thiru.Vi.Ka was elected as joint-president.³ Binny mill and Karnatic Cotton mill workers were joined into this labour union. In continuation of this, the Choolai mill workers were also started the labour union for them at their workplace. Hence, the Chennai labour Union was the very first formal labour union in India. In this labour union there were 13,000 workers as members. All the credits should go to Thiru.Vi.Ka who was the core key for made this out.

In Binny mill, the British and their office assistants were attacked and tortured the workers by physically beatings and all was continued regularly. The peak of the atrocity was heating the iron rod and wounding the body of the workers as a punishment. The labour union which was started by Thiru.Vi.Ka has made an end for all the atrocities held in the binny mill. The continuous struggles of the labour union a labour commissioner has been appointed for Chennai. Though, several other labour issues were negotiated and finished. In Continuation of the same, he has started the M & S.M. labour union for the railway workers, Tramway Labour union, Electric board labour union, Kerosene oil labours union, Printing labour union, Aluminium Labour Union, workers who worked in the European people's house for them also a separate labour union in the name of European domestic workers union, Salon labours union, Scavenging labours union, Riksha drivers labour union, Police Union were bloomed in different times in different sectors.⁴ Thiru.Vi.Ka was the backbone for all the mentioned labour unions and he had the headship in many labour unions.

The struggles were not only held in the binny mill labour union. It was spreaded among all the other labour unions for demanding their rights in terms of wage increase, bonus, dearness allowance and protesting against the downsizing the labours, and closing the company for no reasons.

THE ORIGIN OF CENTRAL TRADE UNION

There was need to centralise all the labour union at Chennai. Hence, the concept of Central

Trade Union has emerged. In 1920, March 21 the labours conference was held for Chennai (Madras) presidency. Thiru.Vi.Ka has emphasized the need of Central Union in his presidential address on the same conference. There were 3000 delegates including the observers have attended the conference. The following demands were passed as resolutions of the conference. Those were: Voting rights for the labours in the Presidency elections of Madras Presidency, Representation of Labour unions at State council/State assembly, Wage should be given for the holidays and Sundays, Continuous assessment and research should conducted among the women labours to address their issues and problems in particular. In 1920 July 4, Central Labour Union for Madras Presidency has started. Thiru.Vi.Ka has elected as President and Mirunalini was the Secretary.⁵ In those days, every weekend that was on Sunday the Central Labour Union meeting used to hold at the beach. The labours were interestedly participated in those meetings by raising slogans and holding the flags of the labour union. This paved a way to build a labour unity among them.

If one labour union's company has lockout or proposing the strike; all the other labour unions were also participated with labour solidarity. The Central Labour Union was helping out to assist financially to the weaker labour unions, regaining the jobs of the labours who lost due to the labour union activities, and also they secured the family of the labour who involved himself/herself in the labour union activity.⁶ This was affected the British and the owners of the company very badly. This Chennai labour union was the key factor which emphasized the need of the labour union at all India level. Later, in 1920 AITUC – All India Trade Union Congress has originated.

THIRU.VI.KA – THE PERSON WHO WON STRUGGLES AMONG THE ANTI-ELEMENTS

Since the communism principles were not spread much the Chennai labour Union has faced many oppositions in its initial stage. The British were warned the then Governor of Chennai Lord. Bentland Wardia. Ramnad King and Kayar Desikachariyar were written in the Mail magazine that India did not any labour union. In the magazines, New India and Desa

Pakdan Thiru.Vi.Ka has written the explanations, opposed and criticised the stands of those landlords and kings. After the origin of Central Trade Union the then Governor Lord. Willington had warned Thiru.Vi.Ka for the labour union activities against the British. In 1920, Buckingham Mill was shut down due to the riot. The administration creates a story that the riot was happened because of the labours. The fact was that the administration wontedly created the riot. In 1920, November 11 the administration was filed a case on eleven workers in the high court of madras.⁷ These eleven workers were the main leaders of the labour union who ignited the riots, and they continuously disturbing the working environment at company premises, they made strikes and all, due to this all the production works were stopped in the factories/companies; hence hereafter they should not involve in the labour union activities also Rs.75,000 was lost due to these activities of the labour union leaders hence they should repay the money to the company as compensation- all these statements were made as a complaint and filed the case on these grounds.⁸ The high court has also given judgement in favour of the company administration.⁹ The administration was very glad and they considered that was their victory against the labour union. The Chennai Labour Union leader Wadia was compromised with the company administration under compulsion and left to abroad. The administration considered that the labour union could not work hereafter; but later after Wadia with the headship of Thiru.Vi.Ka the labour union was successfully worked with more vigorous.

The afore mentioned case and the struggles were the stepping stones of the origin of labour act in India at 1926. In 1921, there was a strike at karnatic mill and the Buckingham mill workers were also supported the strike. 13,000 workers were participated in the strike.¹⁰ The company administration has tried to stop the strike in many ways. The Maneuver of the administration became the riot. The administration was planned to separate the workers under some community categories with cunningness. Hundreds of huts of the labours were fired. 7 workers were fired and

shot dead by the police in the riot. 37 workers were injured badly.¹¹ Chennai has freeze and struggle was continued more furiously. The company administration has cooked a story that the labour union leader Thiru.Vi.Ka was the main reason for the incidents.

Hence, the then governor planned to deport Thiru.Vi.Ka. Since the justice party was announced if Thiru.Vi.Ka has depretd from India to abroad or somewhere the struggle would be continued like never before. Hence the then governor dropped the plan. Also he was continuously trying to separate the workers under the community category which was also failed utterly. All the plans of the governor were defeated by strong leadership of Thiru.Vi.Ka and the workers unity.

Thiru.Vi.Ka has done many records in building workers unity as a union leader. He was Tamil Scholar, a good Press Reporter, Fighter of Female Liberation, a Marxist, a Patriotic and an incomparable union leader. In all the roles whatever he made; he marked his success record. We cannot write the history of the labour union without his works. He had paved a strong base for emerging the labour union in India. His remarkable victory was made in the cotton workers strike with the demands of wage increase and working hours. The other labour union leaders were also focused on the wage increase and working hours since Thiru.Vi.Ka has deeply concerned and discussed about the socio-economic conditions of the workers. He challenged the company administration not only to increase the wage but to give share from the profit of the company. He demanded that the factories, companies should run under the control of government not by the private. He defeated the government's attempts to Step down him from the labour union. He was completely involved and sacrificed his life for the labour union after joining till to his end. In September 17 1953, Thiru.Vi.Ka has passed away with eye-sight problems. In April 1943, the silver jubilee occasion of the Chennai labour union, Thiru.Vi.Ka has discoursed an important speech which should not be forget by the labour class ever in the history.¹²

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SOCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

Dr. J. Arun

The History of Christianity in Tirunelveli is traced back to the arrival of Portuguese on the Coromandel Coast to augment their trading prospects at the turn of the fifteenth century. The Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries who accompanied the traders to Tirunelveli coast were the first to spread Christianity in the district.

Francis Xavier (1542-1552) a member of the Society of Jesus, was a catholic Missionary from Spain reached India on Sixth May 1542 and settled at Goa. He worked among the coastal area people of Tirunelveli–Thoothukudi and Travancore with a small group of Goa trained interpreters. Many of his letters were written from Manapad on the coast near Tiruchendur. His letters Portray his daily activities in the Coromandel coast. He left India in 1552 A.D. and the work was continued by father Henri Heneriquez Superior of the Jesuit Mission, until his death in 1600 A.D. Thoothukudi, Mannar Island Vempur, punnaikayal, Virapandiyapatnam, Manappad and Periyapatnam become the major Catholic Mission stations.

Punnaikayal was the headquarters of the religious activities and commercial interests of the Portuguese until 1579 A.D. The Jesuit Missionaries shifted their headquarters from Punnaikayal to Thoothukudi in 1579 A.D. They took efforts to build a church near their residence. This was St.Pauls College dedicated

to our Lady of Mercy where the statue of our Lady of shows was placed. The Church was consecrated by the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Henrique De Tavora on 5th August 1582. Francis Xavier was followed by the Robert Nobili (1606–1656). John D. Britto (1674-1693) and Joseph Beschi (1711-1742) unfortunately the great Jesuit order was suppressed by Pope Clement leaving the good work done by it high and dry. Roman Catholic religion spread in to the hinterland of Thoothukudi region in the 17th century. Father constant Joseph Beschilater called Viramamunivar (1711-1742) an Italian Catholic Missionary did his missionary work in Kamanayakkampatti, Kayathar, Andipattian and Manapadu. He was imprisoned by the people of Kurukkalpatti village of Sankarankoil taluk suspecting his missionary work. He was rescued by the Christians of Kayathar.

The Society of Jesus was restored in 1814 by Pope Pious VII. In 1838, to Jesuit Missionaries, Father Martin and Louis DuRacquetsent by George XVI arrived at Palayamkottai and commenced their mission work in Tirunelveli. Yet the Jesuit mission suffered a steady decline in its missionary activities partly due to divisions within its own ranks and partly due to the growing influence of Protestants. There were 30,000 Roman Catholics, in the Composite Tirunelveli district by 1820. The Christian missionaries took a

pioneering interest in the promotion of social service in the district. Perhaps religious motives might have forced them to take such a large interest but it did not for the upliftment of the society especially the poor.

Social Services

The Tirunelveli Social Service Society (TSSS) is a voluntary organization under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Palayamkottai, working for the Welfare of the downtrodden since 1972, by implementing a number of welfare programmes. The society works for the development of underprivileged, marginalized people, landless agricultural labourers, people who are below the poverty line, youth women and child labourers. The motto of the society is that they may have life. The aims of the Society are, to build up people's organization, to reduce child labour and to give awareness education and community health.

This organization working in Palayamkottai is engaged in the welfare programmes like, feeding the poor, the aged and the handicapped in the region. The mid-day meal programmes of the Social Welfare Centre of the society alone covered 5200 Children in 43 schools of this region. The feeding programme covered 12 orphanages with nearly 200 wards. The mother and child welfare centres have been set up to provide services to about 1000 mothers and babies.

To begin with, the Society started welfare programmes such as School feeding, poor feeding, food for work, health camps and some relief programmes during emergency situation like flood and drought. From 1980 onwards the Society is engaged in adult education programme, community health programme, women development programme, small savings and other educational programmes. The integral development of child labourers has drawn the attention since 1987. The society is implementing a number of development programmes which are described below

(i) Vimala Grihini Training Centre: The Centre was started in 1977 at Kuruvikulamin the District. By the end of 1992, training for 30 batches were conducted with 696 young girls benefiting. These girls are taught to read and

write, health and nutrition, ways to bring to their children and some skills like tailoring and plastic wire basket making etc. (ii) This society organises, to work for the development of rural people. 239 villages are covered under this programme. (iii) To organize women to work for their development Women Motivation Programme has been started. Under this programme 305 villages were covered during the year 1993. (iv) Development of child labour programme has started functioning in the District. (v) Under the Community health programme, health education is given to villagers, 12 dispensaries manned by qualified staff nurse and health workers function under this management. The society achieved in getting the housing colonies built, transport facilities, roads and drinking water facilities. It helped in obtaining loan for buying milchycattle, running petty shops, securing sewing machines, etc.,¹ (vi) Saranalayam a unit of the TSSS, has helped in a big way in rehabilitation of street children and preventing them from being exploited by anti-social elements.²

St. Joseph's Charity Institute

This charity home was founded as child welfare centre by the French Jesuits in 1854 at Alantalni near Tiruchendur. In 1859, the home was shifted to Adaikalapuram, four km north of Tiruchendur. This Institute has about 1006 inmates and embraces several social and educational organisations like (a) child welfare home, (b) two cottages for girls, (c) two cottages for boys each unit consisting of 25 children with a house mother, (d) Home for boys, (orphanage) (e) Women Welfare Home, (f) Rescue Home for women, (g) Home for aged women, (h) Home for aged men, (i) St. Joseph Middle school, (j) St. Mary's Middle school, (k) St. Joseph Industrial School, (Carpentary and Tailoring), (l) Typewriting Institute, (m) Teacher Training Institute for Women.

Lucia Society for the Blind and other Disabled

The Society was started at Meelavittan near Thoothukudi in 1978 by Fr. A. Antony, a visually impaired. The institution is a corporate body registered under the Societies Registration Act on 28 February 1978. Though initially started for providing services only to the blind through vocational training such as weaving, envelope making and furniture

making, the Institution had enlarged the scope of its work, to include there habilitation of all type of disabled. The services that the Society renders are: Medical treatment and surgery for visually impaired and orthopaedically handicapped through medical camps; providing aids and appliances; provision of special education such as braille reading and orientation and mobility; vocational training such as mat weaving, envelope making, textile weaving and recanting and furniture making; placement in services and settlement in life.³

Multipurpose Social Service Society

The Thoothukudi Multipurpose Social Service Society, is a charitable association registered under the Societies Registration Act 11 May 1972. The Bishop of Thoothukudi Diocese is the President of this Society who is assisted by 10 governing body members and a Secretary / Director, who is in charge of the day today administration of this society. The area of operation of this society confines to the area of the Revenue Districts of Thoothukudi and Tirunelveli districts.

With the "To Break the Bread and to Break Bondages", motto it helps the poor, the widows, the handicapped, orphans, less educated unemployed village girls and unemployed educated youth for getting the self-employment through financial accommodation, from banks and job oriented training.⁴

St. Joseph Leprosy Hospital

Bishop Francis Tiburtius Roche, the first Bishop of the Diocese of Thoothukudi started St. Joseph's Leprosy Hospital on 30 October 1949 with the help of three sisters of the institute of Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, in the Northern outskirts of the town which fittingly came to be known as Arockiapuram. Started with 15 leprosy patients accommodated in two sheds, it had developed into a well equipped hospital with 300 beds by the end of 1958. The first Survey, Education and Treatment Unit was started in the three roadside clinics in 196, the number of leprosy patients treated there rose to 2245. Now this Institution, is collaborating with the Government of India in its leprosy eradication programme with Leprosy Control Unit, In patients care in the hospital and rehabilitation

section, stands but as a hallmark of Thoothukudi town and a living monument of Catholic Church is compassionate care for the leprosy patients.

Sacred Heart Hospital

In the year 1959, the then Bishop of Madurai, Poona and Vizagapatnam requested Mother Elizebeth Affentanger to open the Hospital in the respective Diocese, but for want of trained personnel it could not be realized. In 1960 when Mother Elizebeth felt that there were enough trained sisters to start a Mission Station. She started a novena to the Sacred Heart, to reveal to her the most deserving place for starting a hospital. Fr. Thomas Fernando donated 18 acres of land at Thoothukudi for the temporary use. On 19 March 1960 a small dispensary was started by Sister Bertha and Sister Annie in the Sanatorium. In 1962 a small ward was built with 45 beds for admitting maternity cases and seriously ill female patients. There was also an operation theatre to attend emergency cases and other operations. At present it is the Little Flower Ward commonly known as Children's Ward. Soon it became necessary to build a ward for male patients too. To meet the requirements in 1963 Thomas Ward was opened. An outpatient department was built in 1964. Dr. Agastine also rendered his selfless voluntary service to this institution as a Resident Medical Officer.

In 1965, a residential quarters was built where three doctors could be accommodated. During the initial years Dr. M.P. Krishnan, Dr. P.J. Mathew and Dr. Paranjothi served in the hospital with great devotion. Through the continuous and tireless effort of Sister Paula Graf, the Hospital gained popularity in subsequent years and many patients started coming from distant places. To help these patients a country was built in the year 1966.

Additional buildings were constructed in 1966 with the financial assistance obtained from the Mother House, Luzern, Switzerland and West Germany. A new hospital with 150 beds was opened in December 1971. Recognizing the importance of having adequately trained people to provide efficient health care, a School of Nursing was started in 1974 to provide training in nursing education

in general nursing and midwives. At present the hospital has 225 beds and special departments such as medical, surgical, obstetrics and gynecology, pediatric, outpatients department and public health department.

Conclusion

Tirunelveli District Roman Catholics were once under the Bishop rice of Tiruchirappalli. Then upto 1973 they remained in the Madurai

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Diocese. In 1973 Tirunelveli Diocesan was created and a new Bishop was ordained and consecrated. In educating the poor and in the upliftment of the downtrodden, the services rendered by the Catholic community is enormous. Today they are running schools, Colleges, Poor Homes, Hospitals etc., Roman Catholics of the Tirunelveli district live in all parts of Tirunelveli. Because of the service done by the priests and nuns most of them are educated and employed in various Jobs.

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF INDIANS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTH INDIA AS GLEANED FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN TRAVELERS

Dr. Aziz Ur Rehman

Customs and manners are different between regions and among divergent societies below is the description of some popular customs among ruler, masses and foreigners. Customs were adopted by common as well as high class people with the difference of the grandeur and the purpose. Indian customs and manners were also introduced in Muslim society due to contacts¹ further it assimilate Iranian customs² and due to intermixing of customs and manners it becomes difficult to differentiate.³

Muhammad Tughlaq celebrates the coronation fourty days after his father death as it was customary.⁴ On coronation the streets were beautifully decorated with coloured cloths and drums were beaten in his admiration. Gold and silver coins were thrown over the parasol of Sultan from the roofs and on entering Tughlaqabad gold trays were given by the nobles and again coins thrown on spectators and people sang in his praise.⁵ On his returning from journeys the elephants are adorned out and all the sixteen imperial elephants bear an umbrella which sometimes was finished with gold and in other pierced with jewels; and ahead of it was the saddle-cover decorated with expensive stones. Wooden pavilions were

constructed there on them sits the girls with luxury stuff among whom some were expert dancers.⁶ Another custom among the ruler after returning from any campaigns they halt for one night before entering the capital perhaps for making great rejoicing from the next morning.⁷

Hanging of the turbans on the necks of their horses was the custom followed by the Indians while advancing for sacrificing their lives for the sake of Allah the glorious.⁸ Muslims of India followed custom while starting any work by the workers they give them some rice to eat and a *Fanam* to each when they leave.⁹

When a non Muslim desire to accept Islam he was brought before the Sultan who attires him in beautiful dress as per his status and give him a gold collar and bracelets as gifts.¹⁰ These newly converted non Muslim not fully gave their customs and manners and therefore Muslim also start adopting them with the passage of time.¹¹ Similarly the marriages with non Muslim princess gave further support to it.¹² It was a custom that head dress was not removed in the presence of elders.¹³ When the person of royal service not pay the debit the creditor visit the palace and demands for justice

standing on the door and thus payment was made from royal treasury.¹⁴

Before going on war the ruler of Vijayanagar appears in an open plain and it looks that he was going on pleasure, mounted on elephant or in palanquin each enrich with gold and costly stones accompanied by horsemen, foot soldiers and many elephants disciplined just before him. King then rides on a horse hold a bow and arrow in his hands and throw it towards the country on which the war is going to. He then announced the number of days left for the formal beginning of war and the news spread and then he reach in the plain and waits for the date of approach. On the day he announced a proclamation and orders that the entire city should be burned except the fortress temples and houses of the lords who were not thatched and this he do that all in order the people accompanied should attend their wives and household.¹⁵ He further orders that whatever came to his hands outside his own lands meaning from the land of enemies should be given to *Bazdars* (falcons) and to the Brahmins.¹⁶

In Calicut when king dies the apparent heir live constantly in the city in a palace little missing from the city for one year. After the time period completed, the prince other heirs, his brethren, nephews, and rest of all the official of the kingdom organized a function. They all assist the new king in celebrating the function performed on death anniversary as the memorial service in which alms were spent and money was utilized for providing food to the Brahmins and the poor people as well as all those who pays visit and those who accompanied with them. Almost hundred thousand people assembled. They all accept the prince as the heir his associates according to their ranks. Previous officers were removed while some succeeded in retaining their offices. An interesting law of the kingdom was that when all the people returned to their homes, the prince himself went to a far of place set for him and he did not come back to Calicut till the sitting king survive, while others may come. On going to his selected place the prince goes to a bridge where river flows near the town, and discharges an arrow in the direction of the king residence. He then offers prayer as a manner of respect.¹⁷

The ruler of Calicut city was an idol worshipper and so the inhabitants. They worship sun or an ox and large number of other idols which were made by them. Their customs and manners are contrasting some kills all types of animals saving cows and oxen.¹⁸ In the province of Quilon on the sides of roads after half miles found timber houses near them locate wells for the use of travelers. Non Muslims give water to their co-religious in vessels whereas to Muslims they throw in their hands to drink. The *Malabaris* neither permit the Muslims to enter in their houses nor to use their vessels for eating or drinking. If it happens they either break the pots or give to the Muslims. In the area where Muslim population was absent the Indians prepared their food in separate pots and put on the banana leaves and the things left were eaten by birds and dogs.¹⁹

"We used to meet infidels on this road at night; but as soon as they saw us. They get out of the way until we had passed. The Muslims are most respected People in this country except that, as before mentioned, the native do not Dine with them and do not admit them to their houses."²⁰

The rule of succession was that the son of the king's eldest sister was the natural heir of the state and all the brothers succeed one after the other and if there was no brother the nephews the sons of eldest sister become the heirs. In case the sister did not produce a son then a council was held in which someone relative of the king was raised to the throne and if not so they elect the person who was best from all. Due to this reason the rulers of Malabar always old. Their nieces and the sister were well treated and cared because the heir of the kingdom comes from them and they have their own revenue sources from which they meets their needs. When these girls reached the age of twelve or achieved the puberty. A youth belongs to royal lineage from outside the kingdom was summoned and was given the charge of taking her virginity. Large number of gifts and money was send to the young man.²¹ When the person arrived he was warmly welcomed and huge ceremonies and feasts were organized as it was in the marriages. This man tie a golden necklace to the girl which she wears throughout her life as a symbol of the

observance organized for her. After that she had the freedom to make relations with her own choice to which she was so far restricted.²²

King had two wives and each one of them was attended by ten priests and they sleep with them carnally to honour the king, and due to this reason the kingdom did not belong to the son but to nephew.²³ Women of *Caranjins* delivered child all alone and their husbands remained in the fields and treat it fortunate.²⁴ They washed the newly born child with cold water and laid it on the ground over figs leaves and these children live long in these countries without any headache or toothache or loss of any teeth.²⁵ *Nayres* women during menstrual cycle keep themselves up in a separate house for three days. They did not touch anything and prepare their own food in a pan and dishes especially reserved for this.²⁶ After three days they first bath in hot water and wear clean cloths, then went from the house to a tank and bath second time and remove the cloths and dressed again in fresh attire and return to their houses and restart talking with mothers, sister and others. These separate houses were plastered and swept and no one allowed in it except them. At the time of child birth the women were comprehensively washed in plenty with warm water during first three days and number of times onwards. With the exception of preparing their personal food women of *Nayres* did not perform any work.²⁷

Girls were deeply attached to their gods and on getting the partner of choice²⁸ they offer a sacrifice after consulting her husband, they fix a day for the ceremony and arrange a cart in which set a high water lift, at the end they hanged two iron hooks. On appointed day the relatives, friends both men and women with music, dancers and tumblers came. Girl remained naked above the waist and wears cotton cloths below.²⁹ She cuts the flesh from her body and throws upon her husband surprisingly without showing any sign of pain. On arrival at the gate she was let down and her wounds were treated and make her husband to love. In the end meals served to all the participants.³⁰

Another kind of religious custom was very strange. Some women of the country due

to their false notion dedicate the virginity of their daughters to one of the idols.³¹ Soon when they achieved the age of twelve mothers take them to the monastery where the idol was kept, decorated beyond expressing admiration, all the close people holding a celebration for the girl and it looks like they were going to marry. Outside the monastery stands a four-sided figure block of hard black stones surrounded by wooden gratings on them burn the oil lamps for whole night. Pieces of silk covered the stone and in the middle of the idol inserted a sharp pointed stick. Mother of the girl take her inside along with some women of relation and performed the ceremonies and finally the girl take her own virginity and spread the blood on the stones.³²

Indians are deeply attached with the superstitions and Mughal emperor too believes in astrologers and saints. Astrologer in Mughal court made horoscope of child and the rulers start expeditions after consulting them. Female soothsayers in the harem also forecast future Babur attributes one of his defeats by Uzbeks as his stars are not good.³³ Non Muslims are most superstitious than Muslims they believe in ghosts, sensation of eyes, *Kajal* mark on forehead protect the child, eclipse were ill treated and also believe in magic and sorcery.³⁴ Superstitious habits and the practices followed by people looking strange to everyone. The custom followed by people of Goa for the maid before her marriage. In order to honour the pagoda before giving her to the bride groom which was considered as auspicious for him they organize music and triumph before their pagoda made of ivory bone and bring her before the image and forcibly take the virginity of the maiden and blood fall on the image and after performing their superstitions and ceremonies they bring her back to home and then hand over to the bride groom. For this they feel honour and proud that pagoda makes their work easy and save them from labour.³⁵

They prey in the morning till they meet any thing and in whole day they prey from it be it a dirty thing. If a crow seen to them at first sight while leaving for any work they return believing it signal of evil and bad luck. On new moon they pray after viewing by falling on their knees and greet her with great dedication.³⁶ Some of them are known as *Jogis* like

hermits and for becoming holy men these people live very hard and strict life with asceticism and motivate general masses of many strange things. Many among them are soothsayers and magicians wandering all over the country, carrying live snakes which they know how to control by charm and put them in small baskets. Sometimes they call them out and make them dance on certain instruments voice which they engage and converse unto them. They put them in their necks on their arms legs kissing them simply for earning. These people were expert in making poison with which they perform strange activities.³⁷

To start any journey the Indians preferred second, seventh, twelfth, seventeenth, twenty two or twenty seventh days of the month of *Safar*.³⁸ Maintaining two swords one hanged from the saddle called as *Ar-rikabi* and the second with tremble.³⁹ If someone lies on the ground without fighting so that they may capture he was saved from being killed, because it was the custom in some parts of the country not to kill the person who reacts in such a way.⁴⁰

They perform their superstitions with extreme devotion. On every hill, cliff, cave built their pagodas and idols in most devilish and misshapen nature, cut out of the stones and rocks with their tools by hard labour and a stream of water drawn and the entire people pass from there wash their feet and then lay down before the idol. While others sit before their idol and offers fruits, rice, eggs, etc. as their affection and then the Brahmin the priest come and take everything and eat it making the people fool that the idol ate it.⁴¹ Fourteen days before going on sea voyages they perform great ceremonies by sounding drums trumpets and burn fires so much that it would seen both in the day and night. Flags were hoisted on the ships and feasts were organized for pagoda for safe voyage on return they again do the same functions for appreciation. Similar functions were observed on the occasions like feasts, fairs, child births at the time of sowing and travelling.⁴²

Portuguese and *Mesticos* of India when visited by a person who may be of little importance to another house who was the chief gentlemen of the city, it was necessary that the

visited receive him from the door of his house with great reverence with his hat into his lobby. He then asked him to sit on the chair before sitting himself and talks with each other. In the same way he went up to door to see off him. The visited offer farewell, if he not does this the visitor take it a great evil on his part esteeming it disrespect and seeks revenged on him in the similar way.⁴³

Many Indians drown themselves willingly in Ganga where they go on pilgrimage believing this river originated from heaven. The person who drowns himself tells to the people there, do not think I do this because of the sufferings or I require money but my main objective was to reach *Kusai* in this way he drawn himself and the dead body was burn and ashes were again drawn into same river.⁴⁴ Ganga treated in high assessment and thus in spite of fresh and clean water near they yet take it with great reverence and if not sufficient to drink they shake over it on them and then they consider themselves fine.⁴⁵

Indians regard cow with great respect and did not permit its slaying, they treat its urine as care of sick person if he drinks it, walls and buildings were plastered with its dung.⁴⁶ It was custom prevailed among some Indians when someone heard the news of death of beloved person they in hurry cut the collar of shirt.⁴⁷ Custom of honesty prevailed in India similar with the Sudanese that they did not seize the belongings of dead even it worth thousands. This property remains in the custody of the head of the Muslim (*Kabir-ul-muslemin*) until the legal claimant of it not takes.⁴⁸ Whenever a ship was damaged all things spared from it goes to the treasury.⁴⁹ Indian without wearing the socks does not appear before the Sultan.⁵⁰

Nayres were great warriors and believe in ghosts of different types and superstitions and considered days as fortunate and unfortunate and work according to them. Believing in omens always exist if a cat crossed in face any person who was about to start any task did not do so and if a crow start crying at the time of leaving they return back, or in a farewell a person sneezes the person sits again for some time before leaving. Adoration to the sun, the moon, the lamps and cows exist among the *Nayres* who gives them great respect. If a

person possessed something they simply believed that God enters in him and demons makes him absolute, and acts very awful things. They do number of devilish symbols and wonders. Believing that a person with proper signs dies would take rebirth from a different woman.⁵¹

Nayers soldiers increase the length of their nails as a symbol of gentlemen because they had nothing to do except military functions and long nails hinders to work other than military. Growing of nails also help in catching and holding a thing including the rapiers and same thinking exist among Portuguese and *Mesticos*. Their leader wear a gold or silver bracelet round their necks, arms, elbows for identification from each other, governors, ambassadors, king, captains and leaders when they go somewhere protection was given by *Nayres*. They were very strong fiercely fall on the enemies, and fighters of great reputation both at sea and land.⁵² The king did not persecute them for any crime even they sentenced death and the task was completed by other *Nayres*. Their daughters do not marry outside their creed and if any relation discovered they kill them without being answerable to higher authorities. It is amazing the use of dirty water instead of moving water like streams. Near the place of their residence they had a well or pit in which water was stored and its location were open on the way of public movement. When they get up in the morning they wash all their body starting from the feet up to head. Both men and women do this without hiding themselves from nearby going people. This water was so creamy and foul-smelling that a man could not cross from there with open nose. Their belief was that if they did not bath in this water they remained unclean and their whole body remained impure and full of sins. This way of cleaning body not to be done with moving water of river or streams but the standing water in well or pit because it was the necessary condition for purification, their Brahmins continues repeating some words and performed ceremonies for making it virtues and profitable.⁵³

Some Indian offers their prayers in the eastern direction like Russian exciting both hand high and putting them on the peak of the head then they lay downward and the direction

of face was towards the ground extending their body to its full length it was their law. The idols houses are located in eastern direction and the idols also stand towards east.⁵⁴ Indians go to *Pervota* which was their Jerusalem. They come either total naked including both male and female but some of them clad in *Fotas* and wear necklaces of sapphire, bracelets round the arm and golden rings called *Allooak*. They enter in the idol houses on bulls whose horns are covered in brass. These animals called as *Ach-Chee* with shod feet and three hundred bells in their necks. Non Muslims believe bull as father and cow as mother and with the dung backed bread by which they prepare their food and with the ash come after burning makes pictures of their animals on their faces, foreheads and rest of the body. On two days namely Sunday and Monday they eat one time in day.⁵⁵

Salam was the highest kind of reverence a rule performed in such a way that they joined both their hands and raised them above head as much as possible and daily they offer Salam to the ruler.⁵⁶

"The king gave Christovao Figueiredo on dismissing him a cabays of brocade, with the cap of the same fashion as the king wore, and to each one of the Portuguese he gave a cloth embroidered with many pretty figures, and this king gives because it is customary; he gives it in token of friendship and love."⁵⁷

Some inhabitants of India practiced an act of attachment the custom of never sitting at heal other not to sit on ground, some other did not lay full on the ground, while some adopt the custom of never speaking. Whenever the king toured anywhere a Brahmin who even of the age of twenty years of age, stayed in the house of queen and king accept it as greatest favour that these Brahmins become known to the queen and on this base he became confident that his sister and he belongs to same father. Moreover by this it became clear to him that the children of his sister are real than his own sons therefore the son of sister became the successor.⁵⁸

The foreign traders halt at inns according to the custom where food was cooked and served to the guests by land lady who then

slept with them. All this was done by women by their own choice as they like white men.⁵⁹

The two lowest castes namely *Pulari* and *Hirawa* (*Pulayan* and *Vettuver*) feed their children for three months and then depend on

cow or goat milk. Women without cleaning their bodies or faces put down them into sand and continue enclosed there from morning to the evening by which they became blacker and not differ from the colour of little buffalo.⁶⁰

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THE MEDICAL SERVICES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN ANDHRA

G. Babu

A missionary in Guntur gave a graphic picture of diseases which took away hundreds, if not thousands of the poor in their wake. Mumps, measles, chickenpox, pneumonia, enteric fever, diphtheria, syphilis, cholera, hookworm, tapeworm, malaria, amoebic dysentery, bubonic plague, tuberculosis and influenza often afflicted the people. Added to the ill-health were superstitions. Smallpox, according to the past belief, was caused by a goddess and no treatment should be given to the afflicted person, as that would incur Divine anger. Death and often blindness were the result of the disease. Attempts of well-meaning officials to vaccinate failed; as people tried to evade it.¹ Cholera does its work so quickly that no time must be lost in rehydrating the patients. Plague was the worst killer in the Coastal District of Andhra, Pisupati Chidambara Sastry even wrote a book of poems giving a lugubrious picture of how people perished in multitudes due to the affliction of this contagion. Plague with all its velocity hit Ongole town in 1914. People had to leave the town, and live on the outskirts in palmary sheds. Whole streets wore desolate look,² when municipal areas presented such a shockingly bad picture, rural areas were worse, and residential areas of the outcaste people were the worst.

People of outcastes living in chill penury, devoid of proper nutrition, and living in extremely unhygienic conditions were often victims of ill-health. During the colonial rule, Allopathy was introduced in India; but for lack of proper facilities it was inaccessible even to upper caste Hindus. Traditional medical system of Ayurveda and Unani were on the wane. In these circumstances, the plight of the untouchables in matters of healthcare can easily be understood.

The American Baptist Mission its centenary celebrations were held at Ongole in 1935-36 there was on view among the few articles of the pioneers' personal belongings the surgical kit' used by Samuel S. Day who was the founder of the Mission. It is well that it was clearly labeled; otherwise it could easily have been mistaken for a high school dissecting set.

That little set of instruments was the only equipment of record in the Telugu Mission from 1836 to 1880. This surgical kit healed number of patients. It was reported that in 1858 there were only seven medical missionaries in all India. According to R. R. Williams in 1880 on the Seminary for that year Lakshmi Nursu, our medical man, has looked after all the Compound and has proved himself a very skilful doctor, his success it truly great. He has the confidence of the people not only among the Christians but the heathen regard him as a high authority. He is a faithful, earnest Christian physician.³ After two years, S. F. Smith, the man who saved the Mission from the second closure motion, he described in 1853, about Lakshmi Nursu:

Some of the disciples at Ramayapatnam have had an experience which is worth recording, one man having some knowledge of medicine as a native physician, after his conversion he became the doctor of the seminary and compound. He had a little room with a few samples of drugs and medicines, sufficient to meet ordinary cases of disease. He had been a heathen until two or three years ago. I asked him if, in the days of his heathenism, he sincerely believed in the power of his idols to do him any good. He replied that he had much confidence in them, but now he had learned that they were nothing.⁴ But, unfortunately in the year 1896 was a note that the services of Lakshminursoo were discontinued for financial and other reasons.⁵

In December 1886, Miss E. J. Cummings, M.D., arrived in Ramayapatnam. Although her stay in the Mission was brief on account of ill-health, She left early in 1892, apparently the impression she made was favorable the Mission Conference wrote a note to the Woman's Societies in 1887 "Whereas we have heard with pleasure of the interest and activity which the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Societies to India and of the fact that several Baptist lady students in the various medical schools of the United States are now fitting themselves for mission work". That they had felt very happy and rejoice at the movement and, in view of the urgent need of such work in the

Telugu country, express the hope that such lady medical missionaries may speedily be sent out to the Telugu Mission.⁶

A few months before Dr. Cummings left India, Miss Ida Faye, M. D. and Miss Beatrice Slade, R. N. arrived in Nellore; there they opened a dispensary in rented rooms in September, 1893. The same year Dr. Stuart Timpany settled in Hanumakonda and began medical practice. Rev. A. Friesen in Nalgonda reported a thousand people treated with limited medical knowledge. In Palmur (Mahabubnagar), Rev. E. Chute had been doing some medical work when in 1892 he obtained the services of Dr. (Miss) Graham, a graduate of Madras Medical School. She continued in work there until her resignation in 1906 to take service in the Government Hospital in Bangalore. There she died of plague in November of the same year. The medical work in Mahabubnagar was carried on for twenty years more before being finally closed.

The work in Nalgonda was rapidly expanded on the arrival of Dr. Lorena Breed in 1896, but it suffered greatly for lack of continuous service of competent staff and was finally closed. Sooriapet started medical work with the arrival of Rev. and Mrs. A. J. Hubert in 1900. Mrs. Hubert, a trained nurse, ministered to many needy cases. When the Huberts retired in 1936, the Women's Telugu Baptist Convention appropriated Rs. 400 to help pay the salary of an Indian woman doctor and the Hanumakonda hospital staff assisted there twice a month and provided supervision. The doctor soon left because of ill-health but the Hanumakonda staff continued to supervise the work. Finally, however, the Sooriapet dispensary had to be closed.

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The medical work in Udayagiri began with the arrival of the F. W. Stait in 1898. They erected the buildings, accumulated equipment, and trained their own assistants in their hospital. In this way, the work was continued in Udayagiri, a rural village fifty miles from the railway, until the death of Dr. Minnie Grant Stait in 1928. Rev. F. W. Stait kept the work going with Indian doctors until his retirement in 1935, after his retirement no one shouldered the burden of running the hospital, then the hospital was closed. It was reopened in January 1936 and run by the staff of the Nellore mission they could not continue, the hospital was closed again in 1945. For a further period of five years, a nurse-midwife was employed to take care of deliveries in the homes. Since then, there has been no mission medical work in Udayagiri and the buildings have been used to running the school.

The first hospital in the Mission was in Nellore. It had its beginnings in the dispensary opened in 1892 and by 1896 the new buildings were in use. There were many changes of staff and other hindrances to uninterrupted work. The hospital was actually closed for several periods, once from 1901 to 1904. Then Dr. Lena M. Benjamin took charge and through her forty years service was able to build it up from four beds and 13 in-patients to 124 beds and 200 in-patients a year. Nurses' training began in 1906 with four women who had passed the sixth standard. One of these, Kodamala Atchamma of Kanigiri, graduated in 1909, the first Telugu Baptist trained nurse, apparently the first Telugu woman to complete nurse's training. The school for nurses was started with full equipment in 1908. By 1955, 275 women had finished the course and 261 of them had taken the training in midwifery also. In addition, 39 had taken the latter course only and 15 had been trained as compounders.

In 1906, nurses were looked down upon as mere servants and only the meagerly educated would take the training. By 1957, so many young women were seeking admission to what had become a respectable profession—largely because of the fine work of mission hospitals—that it was possible to fill the classes

with candidates who had finished high school. As a consequence, the lower grade of training in Telugu was discontinued and the higher grade course using English as the medium of instruction took its place. To Miss Helen Benjamin, R. N.-Thirty years in the service of the Nellore Hospital-Goes much of the credit for this achievement in the training of nurses.

Many Indian doctors and nurses have contributed largely to the growth and service of this hospital. The first Indian doctor was employed in 1913. By 1955, the two missionary doctors and one missionary nurse were being assisted by the following Indian staff: one M.B.B.S. graduate doctor (Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Science), two nurse sisters, eight staff nurses, 38 graduate nurses, four technicians and compounders, four office staff, and 25 other workers. One of the nurse sisters, Miss Ethel Thoray, a Telugu Baptist of Nellore, has been nursing superintendent since 1954. Similar accounts could be given of the development of medical work in Hanumakonda and in Ongole. Dr. Stuart Timpany practiced medicine in Hanumakonda from 1893 but was unable to erect hospital buildings until 1902.

In Ongole, Clough Memorial Hospital looked after the health of the downtrodden and the untouchables. Due to the efforts of James A. Baker, this hospital came up on a site of twenty four acres. The hospital was constructed on the slope of a chain of Ongole Hills. It had many natural advantages - beauty of contour, good soil, adequate drainage and a location which was accessible to all classes of the people. The hospital building was opened by Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Madras Presidency in December 1919. The Governor was so much impressed that he remarked: "I had no idea it would be my lot tonight to see anything so beautiful".⁷The services rendered by Dr. G.H.Boggs, who worked as Physician and Surgeon for four terms till 1946, Miss Johnson, the great nurse with healing touch and the Indian doctor of the Depressed Class Doctor J.R.Wood,⁸ are still remembered by the senior citizens of Ongole and the erstwhile Guntur district of which Ongole Taluk was part.⁹

It is a pity when the Americans left, handing over the hospital to the native Christians, dark days befell this once great

centre of healing for the downtrodden. Thieves and burglars stole everything of the hospital. The bare walls now stand as mute spectators to the past glory of the hospital. The senior citizens, whom this Research Student had met, told him how the missionary doctors looked after the health of the downtrodden and poor charging next to nothing and how it has fallen on bad days "after the great white doctors and nurses" left Ongole.

Dr. J. W. Stenger started in November, 1961 the work which developed into the Clough Memorial Hospital. The missionaries contributing most to the development of this hospital and nurses' training school in the thirty years ending in 1956 were Dr. and Mrs. Arthur G. Boggs and Miss Sigrid Johnson, R. N. Medical work in the Mission by doctors qualified in Western medicine began with women. Missionary women doctors first came to India because of the desire to save the lives of some of the Indian women who preferred death to being treated by a man. They were able to continue in service and to build up a strong hospital and three good schools of nursing because this great need touched hearts and pocket books in women's missionary societies in America.

Another interesting feature of the medical work in the Mission is the extent to which it has been self-supporting; well over half the income being derived from fees paid by patients. In spite of this dependence upon fees for income, the hospitals have been able to treat practically all the worthy poor who have sought medical help, many of them completely without cost. This has been possible because missionary doctors have been willing to live on subsistence pay and put all the earning of their skill into the hospital account. That this measure of self-support is possible in a country where anyone may get free treatment in a government hospital is a great tribute to the reputation of the doctors and the doctors and the nursing service in mission hospitals.

The Question of the future is that of the relation of the medical work to Telugu Church. Are these hospitals necessary to the Christian church? If so, how can they be staffed, financed and managed? Obviously, Christian hospitals are not absolutely essential to the Christian

church because strong churches exist in areas where there are no Christian hospitals. Furthermore, it would be unthinkable that extension in evangelism should be limited to the people evangelized.

Even though Christian hospital may not be absolutely necessary, there is no denying

their usefulness and the desirability of continuing them as long as possible. Is it possible for the Telugu Church, even with foreign aid in money and personnel for a further period, to staff, finance and manage such institutions without jeopardizing its chief function of Christian nurture and evangelism?

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9. This research scholar met a number of citizens above of 70 and 80. They narrated to him a number of heartwarming stories of Boggs' generosity, kindness and medical skills. Dr. Boggs used to address the patients as *Atta, Mama, Bidda* as per the age, as if he was their nearest relative

DALIT SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS IN HYDERABAD STATE

Bandari Suresh

The autocratic Nizam regime effectively repressed political and social movements and mass mobilization along party and caste lines. The Congress and the Communists hardly made a beginning, even through front organizations, until the late 1930s. Instead, the Arya Samaj took on political importance and fed into the Congress movement to give it a Hindu nationalist' tenor. Local Muslims and some Hindus (very often Kayasthas) formulated an ideology of a multi- religious, pluralistic Deccani Hyderabad culture' form the nineteenth century, but this came under attack both from Hindus and those Muslims who sought to promote a more orthodox Islamic identity.

Dalits faced pressures on both sides, to identify themselves as Hindus or with Muslims. In some ways there was closeness in Dalit-Muslim relations in the Hyderabad area itself, yet it was a closeness characterized by doubt. The relationship was expressed in a saying quoted by one Dalit activist, 'The Dalit colony is the Muslim's in-laws 'place', meaning that Muslims took wives/girls from among Dalits. But this was an unequal relationship. In the devadasi custom among Malas and Madigas,

the basavior matangis very often formed relations with affluent or noble after our girls', was a Dalit complaint. The closeness thus had a clear element of sexual exploitation in it, though Muslims did not observe untouchability, and was symbolized in the naming of Hyderabad itself, after a Dalit girl (Bhagyamma or Hyder Ali) said to have been brought into the harem of the founding prince.¹

The Adi Hindu movement

As this emerging, partly-educated Dalit middle class began to enter social life, the radicalization among Dalits throughout south India brought with it identification with the 'adi' ideology. It was Bhagyareddy Varma himself who presided over the momentous conference at Vijayawada in 1913 when the 'Panchama' identity was rejected and over a number of conferences after that. Nevertheless, in Hyderabad they took up an 'Adi-Hindu ' theme: four Adi-Hindu conferences were organized between 1912 and 1924, and gradually the main organizers began to use this terminology. In 1924 Arigay Ramaswamy formed the Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha; not to be outdone; Bhagyareddy transformed his Manya Sangam

into the Adi-Hindu Social Service League. This became the main organization of the Dalits of Hyderabad, a feat attributed to his energetic organizing and ability to gain support from liberal Hindu sympathizers. Along with the traditional aims of internal reform ('removing social evils, establishing schools, societies, reading rooms, bhajan mandalis'), the aims of the organization included 'removing ignoble appellations and spreading the identity of 'Adi-Hindu'.

What exactly did the Adi-Hindu identity connote? This term was spreading among sections of north Indian Chamars at this time claiming them to be exploited and conquered original inhabitants² and Bhagyareddy himself travelled to north India for some of the conferences, notably two in 1927 and 1930, which described the depressed classes or adi-Hindus as descendents of the original inhabitants of this country who were rulers and owners of this land of their birth before the advent of the Aryans to the country.³

This was familiar anti-caste radicalism. But 'Adi-Hindu' could also leave space for identification as Hindu with simply the assertion added that Dalits could claim a high position within the total community, that they had been among the creators of the Hindu epics.⁴

These were issues debated and discussed among Dalits, and the 1931 Hyderabad Census reported on the controversy: A controversy recently raged in the press as to whether the Adi-Hindus are Hindus. While the caste Hindus maintained a discrete silence, two opposing sections of Adi-Hindus entered the arena. The Adi-Dravida Educational League argued that, judged by the history, philosophy and civilization of the Adi-Dravidas, the real aborigines of the Deccan, the Depressed Classes are, as a community, entirely separate and distinct from the followers of Vedic religion, called Hinduism. The League's contention was that Hinduism is not the ancestral religion of the aborigines of Hindustan; that the non-Vedic communities of India object to being called 'Hindu' because of their inherited abhorrence of the doctrines of the Manusmriti and like scriptures who have distinguished themselves from caste Hindus for centuries past. that the

Vedic religion which the Aryans brought in the wake of their invasion was actively practiced upon the non-Vedic aborigines and that the aborigines, coming under the influence of the Hindus, gradually and half-consciously adopted Hindu ideas and prejudices. A section of Adi-Hindus emphatically repudiated the above arguments in a statement in the press and deplored the tendency of the Adi-Dravida Educational League to seek to impose an invidious distinction. The concepts of God, the mode of worship, the system of rituals and code of customs and the manner of dress and way of life of the socially depressed classes are identical with those of the caste Hindus, and therefore they maintain that religiously adi-Hindus are Hindus.⁵

Awakening of Dalit Consciousness

The economic changes introduced by the colonial rulers in the 19th century in order to consolidate their rule and intensify the exploitation of India, had an impact on the relations of production in the rural areas and created new classes from among the various castes, the various revenue settlements - the zamindari, rayatwari, etc., the introduction of railways, defence works, the colonial education system, the uniform criminal and civil law and colonial bureaucracy affected the caste system and modified its role in society.

In the land settlements, the British ignored the inalienable rights of the actual cultivators, in many areas made the intermediaries, the non-cultivating sections that only had a share in the produce traditionally, become the sole proprietors of the land. In the zamindari settlement areas, the Shudra peasants became tenants at the mercy of the landlords; in other areas a class of peasant proprietors arose, but even in this the larger peasants gained while the actual cultivators became tenants or sharecroppers. The Shudra peasantry was divided into an upper section or the rich; intensified exploitation coupled with famines and other crises, indebted peasants of all the cultivating castes who were pushed into the ranks of the landless.

A section of agriculturists became landless labourers. A class of rural poor, landless or poor peasants emerged from the ranks of most of the middle and lower castes in the 19th century.

The most significant changes have been in the countryside. The close correspondence between caste and class no longer exists in most parts of the country. The old upper caste zamindars and other big feudal landlords have, to some extent, been weakened and feudal authority is, to a large extent, asserted by smaller landlords, the former big tenants of the zamindars and the large peasant proprietors. While the position of the upper castes has weakened the most, the new landlords are from the middle castes. The middle castes are, today, significantly divided along class lines. The landlords and the rich peasants are a small group from the traditionally cultivating castes, and these castes are also found in large numbers among middle and poor peasants and even among the landless.

The lower sections of the middle castes, i.e., the artisan castes are primarily middle, poor or landless and some are continuing their traditional occupations. Therefore, today, the main exploiting class in the rural areas consists of the earlier upper caste elements, i.e., the Brahmins, the Rajputs, together with the upper stratum of the middle castes, such as the Patidars, the Marathas the Jats, the Yadavs, the Vellars the Lingayats the Reddys the Kammas, the Nairs, etc.

The middle peasants, comprising about 25 percent of the rural households, largely come from the major cultivating castes and from other lower castes, as well as a small section of Dalits. This section has contradictions with upper sections of the rural elite, but due to the caste relations and low class consciousness in areas of low class struggle, they are trailing behind the elite landlord sections of the other castes.

The poor and the landless, who consist of 60% of the rural households, have the greatest number of caste divisions, including a large number of small artisan and service jatis, and even Muslims. This class consists also of a large number of households from Dalits and Adivasis. Of the rural agricultural labour families, 37% are Dalits and 10% Adivasis, while the remaining half was drawn from the cultivating castes and other lower castes. Here, caste divisions among the exploited are the greatest.

The Non-Brahmin Movements

The anti-Brahminical movements in India, especially in Maharashtra, are important because the specific characteristics of Indian caste feudalism and the way it was transformed and yet essentially maintained by British colonial rule, defined the specific anti-feudal tasks of the Indian revolution. The most basic anti-feudal task, the land question, took on extremely complex features as a result of Indian caste feudalism. Because of the way in which hierarchical relations were maintained within the village and among the exploited classes themselves, and because of the way in which productive work for the land was institutionalized through the *jajmani* / *halotedari* system, it was insufficient to look at the land question simply in terms of landlordism.

Similarly, the slogan of 'land to the tiller' was abstract and insufficient in the Indian context without understanding the overall Brahminical domination. For the fact was that much of the land had two tillers - the cultivating middle caste peasant, whether tenant or ryot and the Dalit field servant whose connection to the land was equally long-standing. The very inequality among the exploited institutionalized through the feudal caste hierarchy, meant that the need for creating unity in the context of resolving land question was crucial. It is hard to see how this could be done without a specific programme of action constituting poor peasants including Dalits, as well as caste Hindu toilers who would have the responsibility of seizing and distributing the village lands and instituting necessary programmes of co-operative and collective agriculture.

Though attempts were begun by the Dalit castes from the late 19th century to organize themselves, the various sections of Dalit liberation movement really began to take off from the 1920s in the context of the strong social reform and anti-caste movements, which were beginning to develop a genuine mass base. The non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu especially provided an important support. It is not accidental that Jyoti rao Phule, the *mali* (gardener caste) who lived in the middle of the 19th century, made the initial ideological advances and formulated a theory of Brahminism and 'Irani Aryabhat' conquest

turning the Aryan theory upside down to identify with the original non-Aryan Shudra and at i-Shudra inhabitants of the country.

Dalits, to some extent were organizing the century also. An early attempt in Maharashtra was the movement of Gopal Babu Wangankar. Much organizing focused on the effort to regain their rights to serve in the British Indian Army, which they had helped till the 1870s, but which was then withdrawn from them. It was in the 1920s, however, that the Dalits began to organize strongly and independently throughout many regions of India. The most important of the early Dalit movements were the Adi-Dharma movement in Punjab (organized in 1926); the movement under Ambedkar in Maharashtra, mainly based among Mahars, which had its organizational beginnings in 1924; the Nama-Shudra movement in Bengal; the Adi-Dravida movement in Tamil Nadu; the Adi-Karnataka movement; the Adi-Hindu movement mainly centered around Kanpur in UP; and the organising of the Pulayas and Cherumans in Kerala.

In most of the cases the Montagu - Chelmsford Reforms provided a spark for this organization of Dalits, but the crucial background was the massive economic and political upheavals of the post-war period. The movements had a linguistic-national organizational base and varied according to the specific social characteristics in different areas, but there was considerable all-India exchange of ideas and by the 1930s this began to take the shape of all-India conferences with Ambedkar emerging as the clear national leader of the movement. The founding of the Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942, and its later conversion into the Republican Party, gave Dalits a genuine all-India political organization, though this remained weak except in certain specified localities and did not by any means constitute the entire Dalit movement.

Social Reform Movements in Hyderabad

While other exploited sections of society identified both Hindus and Muslims as oppressors, and still others were led into the Hindu fold. There was some Dalit attraction to Muslim culture in Hyderabad. The period between 1920 and 1940 saw a clear split in the Hyderabad Dalit community on this issue. In

this narrow and communalized framework, a small but vigorous Dalit movement developed after 1910 based among Hyderabad Malas. This particular movement has the advantage of having its organizational history thoroughly documented by a later activist, P.R. Venkatswamy.⁶

Three men stood at the centre of it in the early period: Bhagyareddy Varma, B.S. Venkat Rao and Arigay Ramaswamy. Bhagyareddy (1888-1939) was originally Madari Bhagaiah, a steward for a Catholic family who educated him, who became involved with, and later employed by, the Brahma Samaj and took the name 'Bhagyareddy Vanna' to emphasize the rights of Dalits to claim a high status, 'Varma' being Brahmanic and 'Reddy' indicating high status non-Brahman.⁷ His organizing activity began in 1912 when he formed the Manyasa Sangam, with members including a building contractor, a confectioner-baker, the Superintendent of the Hyderabad public gardens and other employees, a disparate group which gives a sense of the emerging 'Dalit middle class', still without much education but, as a colleague described them, 'young and enlightened young men.

At the same time Arigay Ramaswamy who had been an office boy carpenter and ticket collector on the railroads, began a social reform group in Secunderabad and Madari Audiah, the son of a butler, had started another Manyasa Sangam at Ghasmandi. All these organizations stressed internal social reform: attempting to ban drinking of alcohol and meat-eating at social functions, abolition of the devadasi custom. This group also found itself in conflict with the traditional 'caste chaudhuris or headmen of the Malas and worked throughout the 1920 to reform this system settling up alternative courts to handle disputes outside the state's courts and in the process to try to broaden caste customs'.

Arigay Ramaswamy, according to Venkatswamy's account who was himself religiously, inclined and adopted the pose of a guru, seemed to have had tendencies towards an incorporative position:

'In our meetings he used to instill in us the sense of self-respect and to feel proud of ourselves as we were the aboriginals and

masters of this land. The foreign invaders hostilely dubbed us as 'Rakshasas' in their Shastras and Puranas. At the same time he insisted that we should give up the social evils which crept into our society and due to which we were contemptuously treated by the Hindus.... From Hindu platforms he talked of Vedanta, defects in the social structure, criticized Brahmans and recited atrocities against the Panchamas and the inhuman treatment meted out to them in the abominable Manusmriti'.

This was by and large an integrationist position. In later times Ramaswamy opposed Ambedkar's 1935 call for conversion and joined the nationalist Andhra Mahasabha, staying with the 'right wing' of Gandhian Congressites when the split occurred out of the All-India Depressed Classes League (also called the Harijan League) led by Jagji' between them and the communists. Later he followed his Congress connections to become paan Ram.

Bhagyareddy's rejection of tradition was more radical. In treating untouchables as the original sons of the soil', in seeing Brahmans as outsiders pushing all the original Indians down to south India, he was said to have used the term Adi-Hindu in a way in which 'Hindus did not refer to religion but was given by foreigners to those living in India. He opposed temple entry movements general), and at one of the important Adi-Andhra conference disputes in 1938 in East Godavari, refused to preside until all there agreed not to support a bill for temple entry then being introduced in the Madras provincial council by M.C. Rajah. He was also an ardent admirer of Buddha and celebrated Buddha jayanti for the first time in 1913 and again in 1937, two years before his death. While politically inactive during the 1930s he gave his support mainly to the Ambedkarite group of Dalits in Hyderabad.⁸

The 'autonomy versus integration' dispute which we have seen in the Nagpur- Vidarbha region was playing itself out among the Dalits of Hyderabad in a context in which an appeal to identity as 'original inhabitants' dominated discourse. However, the limitations of the Hyderabad organizing efforts have to be noted. Almost all organizing contacts were limited to Hyderabad city, in contrast to Maharashtra and the Andhra areas. Although leaders like

Bhagyareddy Varma made trips to north India and coastal Andhra, there is little evidence from accounts such as Venkatswamy's of vital rural contacts in Hyderabad state itself, though some village schools were said to have been founded. There was also clearly no working class of the type which lent such vitality in Nagpur and Bombay, and no sign of much thinking on economic issues during the 1920s.

Hyderabad Dalit politics was marked by intensive competitive struggles. During the 1920s these were primarily between Arigay Ramaswamy and Bhagyareddy Varma, founding rival 'Adi-Hindu' organizations, rival reformed caste panchayats, with occasional physical confrontation and fights between the factions. During the 1930s similar battles took place between B.S. Venkatrao and Arigay Ramaswamy, and later between Venkatrao and Subbaiah. While there were ideological-political differences embodied in these disputes, the personal competition for leadership is striking.

During the 1930s, Ambedkar's movement was to attain some significant mass base in the Marathi-speaking regions of the state, while the communists won a foothold in the rural Telugu districts using some of the same issues the Ambedkarites were using in other terminology-opposition to vethbegar and land for the landless. But the Telugu speaking Hyderabad Dalit leadership appeared aloof from this; when they went as Dalits to the rural areas in the 1940s they most often went to Marathwada and there had to speak the language of Ambedkarism; they had little organic connection of their own. Perhaps because of this, for all the initial impulse towards an autonomous Dalit identity, in practical political terms the main Dalit organizations and leaders of Hyderabad were to be divided, in later years, between Hindu (Congressite) and Muslim (pro-Nizam) orbits.

It was because of the efforts of the leaders of the Dalit liberation movement the process of the eradication of untouchability had started in the State. The erstwhile Madras State passed the Social Disabilities Removal Act 1938 and the Madras Temple Entry Act in 1948. These Acts were in application in Andhra region. The erstwhile Hyderabad State, after the Police Action, passed. The Hyderabad Harijan Temple

Entry Regulation in 1358 F. and 'The Hyderabad Harijan (Removal of Social Disabilities) Regulation in 1358F. These Acts

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CASTE AND COMMUNITIES UNDER THE LATER PANDYAS

Dr. A. Baskaran

The society of the pandya country was more or less similar to that of the other part of the contemporary Tamil Country. However, there were certain changes due to geographical and economic positions. When the pandyas were in esteem power their society was also its pack. The pandya country was divided into a number of small nadus and kurrans. Ur was a small village in which their divisions of Brahmadeyas caturvedimangalam, nagaram, agricultural societal villages, padaipathu, etc. They had their own institutions of them, mention must be made to the vellanuagai. The members of this institution were non-Brahmins. Next in the cadre formed the ngarams, where the traders dwelled. Padaipattu is a group of villages where the soldiers resided. The following communities Brahmins, Vellalas, Kammalas, Idayar, Parayas and other castes.

Villages

Generally, the villages and residences were located in the areas where there were enough water resources. In other words, it is to say that they were situated on the bank of rivers tank blinds and lakes. Most of the villages were established in the fertile regions where the once perennial rivers, the vaigai and the Thamraphical, were flowing. For example, the geographical position of Madurai was described in those days as Madakkulakkil Madurai is situated to the east of the tank Madakkulam. It

is still evident that Madakkulam is located to the west of Madurai and provides water for agricultural lands in certain areas of Madurai¹.

Social setup

In the pandya inscriptions, one cannot see the word caste. It is replaced by the term kudi. It is very difficult to ascertain that the Tail Society followed the chaturvarnu (Brahmins, Kastriyas, Vaisyas and sudras) system of the north Indians, Where the social status was maintained on the basis of the birth. It is not the fault on the part of any individual for his birth form any any caste or kudi². But the original Tamil society was based mainly on the occupation. There were the divisions of valangai and Idangai group which were formed on the basis of occupations³. The later Pandya society consisted of different caste people, Such as Brahmins, traders, Vellalas, Maravas, Valayas, Kallars, Palli, Kaikkaslur, saliyar, carpenter, thattar, smith, Idayuar, Kuyaras, Uvachars, Physicians, barbers, astrologer, Parayas, Pallars, Chandalar, etc⁴.

Brahmins

The Brahmins were respected by the public as the royal members next only to the kings. They showed much interest in education and religious discourses. This kings patronized them and established chaturvedimangcelams and Agaharns for their benefit. The inscriptions

and copper plate records of the later Pandyas mention about the patronage of the Brahmines by the kings and other lush strata of the society. The Brahmin population in the society was very meagre, but still they were highly respected. As per a record of the first later pandya ruler, Jatavarman Kulasekhara Panmdya I, the Brahmins from different parts of south India lived in the pandya country. They were called as malayala Brahmins and Kannada Brahmins⁵.

Vellalas

In the later Pandya Society, the vellalas occupied a high position second only to the Brahmins. They formed the majority of the population in the villages. Agriculture was their main occupation and hence most of them became landlords. There were a group of Vellals, called Kdikanathu Vellalas lived in Tirunelveli region⁶. A lower rank of vellalas, who lived in Thiumayam and Kottaiyur region were called as Siruvellalas⁷. As the peasant community they were also called as Bhumpulras children of the country the earth and Nattumakkal people of the country. As they considered plough as their god, they were again called by the name chitrmali parianattar⁸. As in the case of Brahmins they were engaged in various official positions. They served as ministers and army generals. Some of the vellalas were involved in Cattle breeding and weaving one udaya divakara muvendavelan seems to have served as an official during the reign of maravarman sundara Pandya I⁹.

Kammalas

Kammalas, the artisans, were also called as panca kammalas, as they engaged in five kinds of work. On the basis of the Materials that they used for making their works, they were categorized into five division namely the teacher (Carpenter) the tap tachchar (stone mason), the kannar (brass - smith), the tattar (gold - smith) and the kollar or karumar (black - smith). The Kammalas regarded themselves as the descendants of the divine artificer visvakarma and called themselves as thevisva Brahmins. According to the legends, Visvkarma is said to have five sons, namely, Manu, Mayan, Silpa, Divasekaran and Dairanga and they are said to be the originators of the five occupations or castes among the kammalas. According to one story, the kammalas were the descendants

of a Brahmina member and a beri chetti women. They often claimed equality with the Brahmina member and sometimes even higher status. They assumed the title acarya (artist) wore the holy thread yajnopavita and claimed the right to perform religious ceremonies and rites among themselves, especially at marriages¹⁰.

Idayar

The Idayar, Cattle breeder, were also called Idayar and kon. The areas where they lived were known as Ayakkudi, Ayapadi, Ayarpadi and Dvarapathi. The Podigai hill religion was mostly occupied by this community and hence it was called as tybadu. The chieftains of this region were also from this community. This is attested by a record of parthipasekharapuram. Their main occupation was cattle breeding and their women used to sell milk, butter, curd and butter milk in the cities and villages. They worshipped krsna and Balarama as their tutelary gods. An epigraph of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, from Thiruvattiyur in this North Arcot district refers to the Maikirtis of the Idayas. In this, the Idayas were called as Nandaputras. They also donated cattle, lands and money to the temples¹¹.

Parayas

The word Paraya was derived from the root pavai, one who announces the orders of the kings and others during the festive occasions or during the ceremonial times. they were the permanent employers in the temples. some of them served as agricultural labourers, mud pot makers, helpers in the graveyards, cleaners and guards. The residential areas of the parayas were called as paraicheris. A paraya residential area was named after a queen of the pandya king Jadavarman sundara Pandya I, as Bhuvanmudh Udayal cheri, The Parayas also took keen interest in the administration of the Pandyas some of them, perianattu parayam, Kananattu Parayan and ahalangap paraya had signed in a land sale deed during the time of Maravarman Kulasekhara I¹².

Other Castes

There were also other castes during the later pandya period. The Marava tribes seemed to have lived in the Thirumayam region. They were mentioned in the inscriptions of this period as Maravar, Maramutaligal and

Maramanickar. They were involved in the construction of temple buildings. The kallars were supposed to have lived in the sivagangai area. They were referred to in an inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I. The valayas were a sub-caste people lived in the Thirumayam region. Some of them were land owners. The Saliyas were the weaving community next only to the kaikkolas. They seemed to have lived in the flower garden area of Tirunelveli. A member of Saliya caste is said to

have gifted coins for lighting lamp in the siva temple at pattamadai¹³.

There were two major divisions among the caste of the Pandya country they were attached either to Valangai or Idangai division. Generally, the Valangai people were engaged in agricultural work while the Idangai were involved in trade and artisan works. But this was not followed throughout the period of later Pandya history.

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BUDDHISM AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN ANDHRA

Prof. Challapalli Swaroopa Rani & M. Prasanna

Introduction

The contemporary interest in Buddhism is based on its social appeal. Within India Buddhism has appeared as an alternative to the hierarchical and in egalitarian ideology and Hinduism. Buddhism is viewed as a system which was more sympathetic to oppressed groups and social solution to the problem of caste oppression. After a pioneering work of Dr. Ambedkar on social philosophy of Buddha some scholars like Eleanor Zelliot. (1992), Uma Chakravarti (1996), Rhys Davids (1997), Gail Omvedt (2003) and others worked on the social dimensions of Buddhism. Studies on Andhra Buddhism are mostly historical and they focus on archaeological investigations of Buddhist sites, Buddhist art and architecture and so on. Scholars like M.Rama Rao (1956), I.K.Sharma (1988), B.S.L.Hanumantha Rao (1993), B.Subramanyam (1998), E. Siva Nagi Reddy and others have thrown some light on Andhra Buddhism. But the social aspects of Buddhism were not touched by the scholars of social sciences. Hence at least to fill the gap to

some extent, a modest attempt is made in this essay. The present essay mainly focuses on the social dimensions of Andhra Buddhism right from its inception. It further discusses the impact of Buddhism on other religious sects like Saivism and the social mobility that took place due to the impact of Buddhism among the lower castes in Andhra society.

Spread of Buddhism in Andhra

Andhra Pradesh is known as the land of ancient sites of Buddhist learning. The history of Buddhism is deep rooted in this land. Dating to the pre-Christian era, Andhra has some of the most fascinating archaeological monuments that tell the story of Buddhism in the region and the legacy had its beginnings in Andhra at a very early date.

The Pali Buddhist text *Suttanipata* gives us an interesting story of Bavari, an ascetic from Andhra Janapada, Asmaka or Mulaka dispatched his disciples to Rajagriha to meet the Buddha. Among the disciples sent by Bavari, Pingiya was renowned scholar and

elder. It is further said that Pingiya explained the greatness of Buddha to his teacher Bavari and Bavari was converted into Buddha's *dharma* (*Suttanipata*) according to the above information perhaps Bavari and his disciples are the earliest persons to be converted into Buddhism in the Telugu country.

Did Buddha Visit Andhra?

There are some stories which state that the Buddha himself visited this place. P.S.Sastry identifies Nandapura, as the present village of Candavolu near Bhattiprolu. He is also of the opinion that the women of the Nandapura (Candavolu) village may have seen at least once in their life the great Buddha. Buddhagam, a village near Candavolu is hallowed with the visit of the Gowthama Buddha and named after him. This very place Buddhagam has a large area of Buddhist remains and noted for its earliest metal image of Buddha from south, now kept in Madras government Museum. This identification of P.S Sastry emerges out of a wider study of early spread of Buddhism into Andhra desa. He firmly argues that Buddha in his life time came to Andhra. Naga king Muchilinda Naga was one of the earliest few persons to meet Buddha after enlightenment. It appears Muchilinda Naga and his dynasty was around Machilipatnam which is not far away from Bhattiprolu (Sharma, 1988: 46). Tantric Buddhist texts say that the Buddha himself started *Kalachakrayana* at Amaravathi and he was said to set the wheel in motion for the third time at Amaravathi (Mitra: 1971).

Bhattiprolu stupa was identified as the earliest among the other stupas of Andhra. It contains the corporal remains of Buddha. Raja Kuberaka is said to be the king of Bhattiprolu and he is an ardent follower of the Buddha. Kuberaka is said to have arranged a great festival on the occasion of installation of relic casket in the stupa. Hence the information regarding Bhattiprolu stupa indicates the spread of Buddhism in Andhradesa before Asoka and Satavahanas.

But most of the Buddhist monuments in Andhra date to the Asokan period. Asoka spreaded the message of Buddha and erected stupas in Andhra. The end of Asokan period came with the beginnings of the rule of the

Satavahanas. Kosambi says that the 'Satyaputtas' may be identified as a branch of the Asoka family in Maharashtra which eventually became the Satavahanas and who ruled perhaps the greatest empire after Asoka (Kosambi: 1975). Their rule is famous for their patronage to Buddhism. Though the later kings of Satavahana dynasty followed Brahmanical religion, they are indifferent towards Buddhism. Their women, merchant and artisan classes are the chief patrons of Buddhism. Likewise the successors of the Satavahanas in Andhra such as the Ikshvakus and Vishnukundins also promoted Buddhism by donating grants and constructing the *Viharas*. Buddhism mingled deeply with the local culture and it had a glorious career in Andhra desa. It also influenced the social and cultural life of the Andhra people for nearly a thousand years.

Social Dimensions of Andhra Buddhism

As Buddhism is known for social justice and equality, the Andhra society which followed the *dharma* of Buddha was also influenced by it. It is generally accepted that there was no evidence of casteism at the advent of Buddhism in Andhra. Andhras are also believed to be the non-Aryan tribes. As in the case of Magadhans in north India Satavahanas and Andhras also referred as the Mlecchas by the Brahmanical literature. The main reason behind this derogatory reference is the Brahmanical literature is that both these kings belong to the non-Aryan tribes who followed Buddhism.

All the social groups seem to have followed Buddhism in Andhra. An inscription found at Amaravathi mentions a cobbler by name Vidhika. He is the son of a Naga, who is an *adhyapaka* (the teacher). Vidhika is said to have visited Amaravathi stupa along with his family members and donated the *purvakumbha* which was adopted as the crest of Andhra Pradesh State. The Nagas and Yakshas. The non-Aryan lower caste groups, of the society are said to be the ardent devotees of Buddha. Buddhist iconography and literature frequently indicate their presence in Buddhist shrines. But Brahmanical literature says that the Nagas are the mere snakes and inauspicious who frequently trouble the Vedic rituals. This myth regarding the question of the Nagas was broken by Dr. B.R.Ambedkar in his writings. He says

that Buddhism only makes a difference between the egg born Nagas and the human Nagas (Ambedkar: 1957). Nagas appear to be the staunch supporters of Buddhism and in the same way the Yakshas as the guardians of the Buddhist centers.

Regarding the women in Andhra Buddhism women folk enjoyed both economic and individual freedom in Buddhist era. Royal women like Gowthami Bala Sri from Satavahana family and Bodhi Siri, Santhi Siri and others from Ikshvaku family are known for their donations to Buddhist Viharas.

Buddhist Culture

With the social revolution of Buddhism, an alternative culture to the Vedic or Brahmanical culture also evolved in India even in Andhra. Buddha emerged from the non-Vedic Sramanic tradition and opposed the superstitious belief system and encouraged scientific enquiry. He allowed all sections of people including the kings and slaves and royal women and the courtesans into his *Sangha*. Upali (a barber), Amrapali (a courtesan), Jivaka (son of a courtesan) are recognized as the close associates of Buddha. Buddhist society is simple and open. They do not regard one's caste and occupation and do not attribute any credit based on one's birth.

Buddhism highly influenced the art, architecture, literature and learning. Buddhist monasteries are known for imparting education to the people. Andhra society in Buddhist era also highly influenced by the democratic ideology of Andhra. Women enjoyed privilege in Buddhist era in Andhra desa. Matriarchy was followed by the rulers and others. The prefixes in the names of the kings like Gowthamiputra Satakarni and Vasitiputra Pulomavi indicate the prevalence of matriarchy in their society. As rightly pointed out by B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, the cosmopolitan spirit of Buddhism removed the tribal barriers and helped them to be united under the Andhras who could establish the mighty Satavahana empire attended by economic prosperity and glory (Hanumantha Rao: 1993). Buddhism was not only a revolt against Vedic ritualism but also an attempt at the synthesis of all the best elements in Aryan and non-Aryan religions. Despite the indifference of Brahmanical kings like the

Satavahanas, Ikshvakus and Vishnukundins, Andhra became a flourishing centre of Buddhism and a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists all over the world. The chief patrons were royal ladies, merchants, artisans and the people at large.

Mahayana and Tantric Phases in Andhra

Acharya Nagarjuna, the chief proponent of Mahayanism is believed to belong to this place. It is viewed that Nagarjuna made a great damage to the popular Buddhism in Andhra. Under his leadership Mahayanism introduced Sanskrit *dharanis (slokas)*. Several unhealthy practices were also introduced in the Tantric phase of Buddhism. They deified Buddha and created a large number of Buddhist deities. Mystic syllables (*mantras*), ritualistic circles (*mandalas*), physical gestures (*mudras*), *yoga*, astrology, alchemy, magical sorcery, co-efficiency of female element etc. were practiced in Tantric Buddhism. According to Astin Woodwell Buddhist Tantrikism is nothing but Saiva idolatry, Sakti worship and demonology. Dhyan Buddha concept was also developed in which Sakti worship is an important feature (Goyal: 1993).

Spread of Tantric Buddhism among the Out Castes

Basically Tantrikism disregarded caste system. Hence the out castes and wanderers got attracted towards it. In Andhra context also lower castes were seen to be continued in this Tantric religion. Tantric priestly functions were usually performed by the people of lower castes. Several other non-Vedic practices and traditions such as Nathism and Siddha Yoga were also evolved from Tantric Buddhism. It appears that most of the practitioners of the Natha Yoga and Siddha Yoga were happened to be the persons belong to the out castes. Interestingly women also practiced Siddha Yoga. Tantrikism regard the *nivana* in the union of a girl belongs to out caste. Likewise Siddhas also consider the Chandala women as a symbol of *nairatmya* which leads man to the social and conventions. Hence it is viewed that the customs like Jogini among the out caste women in South India and Andhra in particular has been emerged out of the Tantric practices of the Siddhas. Jogan Shankar says that these Joginis are the degraded Buddhist nuns who belong to

the lower castes (Jogan Shankar: 2003). The religious mendicants or priests from lower castes such as the Pambalas and Pothurajus also might have emerged out of the Tantric practices of Buddhism. They participate in the rituals of Malas and Madigas. And these Pothurajus, Pambalas and the Joginis closely associated with the cults of village goddesses. During the occasions of the *jataras* (village festivals) they play a prominent role. Buddhism in its Tantric phase merged with the local traditions particularly in the worship of village goddesses.

Impact of Buddhism on Saivism

As stated by B.S.L.Hanumantha Rao, the processes of Aryanization in South India were characterized by conciliation, compromise and synthesis. We can see the process of syncretism even among the gods like Siva, who is a mixture of Harappan Pasupati and Rigvedic Rudra, neglected by the Aryans, began to appear on the scene. To encounter the spread of Buddhism in South, the Brahmanical Sages brought Siva into forefront. In this phase Saivism has been co-opted several ideas of Buddhism such as disregard of casteism and equality between men and women etc. trident a weapon of Siva also came into existence as an imitation to *Triratna*. As the Tantricism created religious mendicants from out castes, Saivism also produced a particular sect called Jangamas from the lower sections. Even these Jangamas do not care for caste distinctions and practice celibacy. Local aboriginal tribes are identified as the *ganas* of Siva. Village goddesses like

Ellamma, Pochamma were considered as the wives of Siva and have lost their identity.

Basically the worship of village goddesses is the practice of non-Aryan of Dravidians who also follow the matriarchy. Brahmanism imposed the non-Aryan god Siva against the non-vedic heterodox Buddhism. Religious history of Andhra proves that many Buddhist centers in Andhra were demolished and converted into the Saiva temples. Stupas were reshaped as the Siva Lingas. Pancharamas of Andhra Pradesh are said to be constructed on the ruins of Buddhist shrines. Buddhist monasteries were also demolished and the monasteries of the *bhikkunis* are named as *lanja dibbalu* or the mounds of the courtesans. And the *bhikkunis* lost their Buddhist identity. But the *sramanic* practices are still being continued in a worst form.

Conclusion

As discussed above Buddhism in Andhra desa highly influenced different aspects of Andhra culture over a thousand years. Though there are many changes in its course. but it did not lose its non-Brahmanical social philosophy. Right from its inception, the out castes have been closely associated with Buddhism in Andhra desa. The Nagas and Yakshas, who were the staunch followers of Buddha gradually, emerged as the priests of the village rituals. But the unhealthy practices of Tantricism made the women of lower castes as the objects of lust on one way and they were given the rank of religious mendicants on the other.

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OCCUPATIONAL ARTISANS IN TELANGANA REGION- (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POTTARY)

Ch. Chandraiah

Artisans traditionally belonged to the professions of Black smithy, Carpentry, Pottery, Shoe-making, and Weaving and Oil extraction. They used to provide effective support and servicing facilities to economic activities like household tools and farm equipments and maintenance of these equipments in the villages. Artisans in the above cited trades were essential for all the agriculturists, were hereditary in nature and were being paid annually a given share by all agriculturists in the village. The artisans like Bricklayers, well diggers, etc., were neither required regularly nor by all. These artisans were paid fixed charges, which varied according to market conditions, as and when the services were used. Artisans are classified on the basis of castes, employment and products. In the districts Telangana the artisans are identified by their caste. Examples of such classification are: a) Sali - weavers; b) vadrangi – carpenters; z) kummari – potters; d) medari or erikala – basket makers; e) kammari – blacksmith; f) kamsali – goldsmith; g) dasari – wig makers; and h) kanchari – brazier. On the basis of employment, the artisans are classified in two categories viz., self-employed artisans and wage-earning artisans. Majority of artisans in the districts are self-employed artisans. The products of artisans in the district are two types i) those who produce for sale for example potters and carpenters; ii) those who render services for example barbers and washer men. On the basis of finance, the artisans are classified in to three categories. They are: i) independent artisans who can own the tools, secure raw materials by themselves and sell their products independently; ii) kharkhanas who own a shed and tools and workers come and execute the production; and iii) dependent artisans who usually depend on the middle men for finance, raw materials, etc.

Pottery is the process of forming vessels and other objects with clay and other ceramic materials, which are fired to give them a hard, durable form. Major types include earthenware, stoneware and porceiain The place where such wares are made by a *potter* is also called a *pottery* (plural

"potteries"). The definition of *pottery* used by the American Society for trusting and material(ASTM, is "all fired ceramic wares that contain clay when formed, except technical, structural, and refractory products." A different definition, used within the field of ceramics, is "everything which is not porcelain" In Archaeology, especially of ancient and prehistoric periods, "pottery" often means vessels only, and figures etc. of the same material are called Terracotta Clay as a part of the materials used is required by some definitions of pottery, but this is dubious. Pottery is one of the Oldest human inventios. originating before the Neolithic period, with ceramic objects like the Grayettian culture Venus of Dolni veston nice figurine discovered in the Czech Republic dating back to 29,000–25,000 BC,^[3] and pottery vessels that were discovered in Jiangxi, China, which date back to 18,000 BC. Early Neolithic pottery artefacts have been found in places such as Jomon Japan (10,500 BC), the Russian Far East (14,000 BC), Sub-Saharan Africa and South American and India.

Pottery is made by forming a ceramic (often clay) body into objects of a desired shape and heating them to high temperatures (1000-1600 degrees Celsius) in a kiln which evaporates all the water from the clay and induces reactions that lead to permanent changes including increasing the strength and solidity of the object's shape. A clay body can be decorated before or after firing; however, prior to some shaping processes, clay must beprepared. Kneading helps to ensure an even moisture content throughout the body. Air trapped within the clay body needs to be removed. This is called de-airing and can be accomplished either by a machine called a vacuum pug or manually by wedging. Wedging can also help produce an even moisture content. Once a clay body has been kneaded and de-aired or wedged, it is shaped by a variety of techniques. After it has been shaped, it is dried and then fired.

Pot and other materials making.

Create two balls of clay of the same size by weighing or estimating. Throw each half of the clay between curved hands until it becomes a ball. Push your thumb into the middle of the ball, leaving roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ cm in thickness at the bottom. Pinching: Rotate the ball in your hand, making small pinches between thumb and fingers and gradually moving up the wall. Aim for an even thickness, leaving the rim slightly thicker. Tip: Keep your thumb inside and fingers on the outside, if your finger muscles get tired, take a rest! If it's very flexible or wet. Dry the pots evenly inside and outside while avoiding the rims as much as possible. Its better to under dry than over dry— they should be flexible, but not sticky. Score around the rims of each pinch pot with a knife. You can crisscross the score marks and add slurry or water to help the clay stick. Place the pinch pots together. This is the most crucial part in the making process! Push one rim into the other by digging your finger in just a little and pushing over to the other side. Repeat all the way round the join. It doesn't need to look neat! Once joined you can gently hit the pot with a stick all over to compress and reinforce the join. Get it into round shape and knock out the join and pinch marks, patching up any holes using the above technique. Shape the piece to your desired shape. Air hardening clay may not get much taller, but you can use modelling tools to create a smooth surface and define the shape by smoothing up and down. Open the top by pinching to create a lip or cut the top open with a knife and finish neatly. *to dry it evenly, avoiding the rim. The pot is dry enough when it's no longer tacky or flexible and feels like leather (we call this 'leather hard').*

Decorating

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Decorating your pot is where you can add your personality! I've demonstrated three decoration techniques here— each look nice alone or in combination. Place your pot on a banding wheel and use a serrated kidney to scrape around the shape. Then scrape in an opposing direction around the whole pot to further define the shape. Finally, use the rubber kidney to smooth the pot. Using the straight side of the kidney, slightly curved, scrape away the score marks. Mark making: I've used a soft rubber tool to make line marks in the clay, but you can use many different tools that are plastic, wood or metal, sharp or blunt, to get different effects. Slip decorating and paper resist: freehand paint with slips or use paper to make more defined lines, shapes or figures. Cut out shapes from paper, dip in water and stick onto the pot, making sure there are no gaps between the paper and the clay. Paint slip (or acrylic paint if using air hardening clay) over the top. When it's almost dry you can peel off the paper to reveal the pattern. For scraffito the slip needs to be very dry— otherwise you'll create rough-looking marks. You may need to leave your pot to dry overnight. Use a carving tool to carefully scratch the slip off in a pattern or image. Carving: Once leather hard you can carve clay. Here I've carved into the marks I made earlier with a sharp carving tool.

Dust: dry clay creates dust that is harmful to inhale. Pots shouldn't be scraped when bone dry as this creates the most dust. All clay must be cleaned off the tools after use to avoid this. Hair dryer: drying work too closely can overheat the hair dryer and cause fire. Sharp tools: scissors, carving tools, knife, serrated kidney (we can use plastic modelling tools with children). Pottery is beautiful work in village culture and pottery items very natural for cooking. This types of food is healthy.

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SAHODARAN AYYAPPAN: A SHINING STAR IN THE SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT IN KERALA

I.B. Chinthu

Introduction

Sahodharan Ayyappan was one of the social reformers associated with the social reconstruction of modern Kerala. He was born in an Ezhava family. The impact of western education and the philosophies of social reformers like Sree Narayana Guru, Vaikunda Swamikal, Brahmananda Swami Sivayogi and Vagbhatananda influenced Ayyappan to become a social reformer. Ayyappan was closely associated with Sree Narayana Guru since his childhood. Sree Narayana Guru gave all kinds of help for his studies at Trivandrum. After completing his education Ayyappan actively participated with SNDP yogams for the irradiation of caste system in Kerala society and to uplift the Ezhava community who were the victims of religious discrimination.

With the introduction of the Caste System a three-tiered society was created in medieval Kerala with Nambutiris as the supreme authority of land and law and order. The second category includes people like kings, feudal chieftains and the Nairs, who ruled the country according to the guidance of the Brahmins. In the third category were the people who belonged to the untouchable groups. Numerically the Ezhavas were the largest community in Kerala. But they were at the top of the caste group known as *Tindaljail* or polluting caste. They were spread evenly all over Kerala. Basically they were the cultivating class, traditionally associated with growing and tapping coconut trees. They were also called *Izhuvans*, a widespread tribal people inhabiting

Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. They are known under different names with more or less variations in their customs and manners; they form one and the same caste.¹ In Travancore they are called *Ezhavas* in Cochin they are known as *Chekava* or *Chovans*. In Malabar they are called *Tiyyas* while in present Kasargode and in (South Canara) Tulunadu they known as *Billavas*.²

They were deprived of all freedom and the fundamental dignity of being human members of a civilized society.³ Even during the first decades of 20th century, people belonging to the Ezhava to Nayadi were denied the freedom to walk on public roads. The only difference in comparison to earlier times was that they were not killed, but only beaten up if they sometimes happened to walk on such roads.⁴ Despite the fact that they belonged to Hindu community, they could not enter temples. They were denied to worship in temples and even entry in to temple roads. The Ezhavas had their own temples, but not allowed to worship the higher Gods of Hindu religion like Vishnu or Siva. Ezhavas and other *Avarnas* used to worship the corrupted forms of God like *Chathan*, *Chamunti*, *Madan*, *Marutha*, *Yakshi*, *Arathan*, etc. There were other social humiliations as well. An Ezhava should keep himself, at least thirty six feet away from a Nambutiri and twelve feet away from a Nair. There was also caste restriction in dressing styles. Only women of the upper castes were allowed to wear a waist cloth (*muntu*) which came below the knees. This *muntu* was usually woven by the Ezhavas, but

women of this community and other lower communities were not allowed to wear it.⁵ The low caste Ezhavas, both male and female should never dress themselves like a caste Hindu. In case of women they always need to appear topless before caste Hindus regardless of their age.⁶ They were not permitted to cover their breasts even with a simple towel, if anybody wears an upper cloth, she has to remove and expose her breast before the high caste men in order to show her respect. Samuel Mateer observed that the proper salute from a female to person of high rank was to uncover or expose her bosom.⁷ Covering up of the breasts of Ezhava women was regarded as an infringement or encroachment on the rights of high caste men. This prohibition was enforced throughout Malabar, until about the commencement of 20th century and in Travancore until 1859. While in Cochin it has strictly observed up to the first half of the 20th century.

Till 18th century the Ezhavas continued as the most populous landless community. They faced slavery, untouchability and unapproachability. They had not only cultivated the land but also rendered *uzhiyam* or forced labour for their masters. This system only harassed the Ezhavas. No one had the courage to resist or refuse to work. They were not permitted to carry umbrella, to wear shoes, or golden ornaments, to carry pots of water on the hip, to build houses above one story in height, to milk cows, or even to use the common language of the country. The caste system, feudalism and land system thus made the social and economic life of the Ezhavas a pathetic one.

The advent of colonial powers had helped in upliftment of various sections of society. With the impact of westernization and the modernization of society the condition of the community underwent some changes. The economic wealth acquired by some of the Ezhavas through their occupations like toddy business, coconut cultivation, coir and copra business. It also created in them an urge for getting privileges and to become elevated in the social hierarchy. Even these privileged class within the community denied the social privileges and civic rights. They were forbidden from walking through public roads or approach

roads of temples, entry into the temples wearing upper cloth and even to build a good home.

Both the Internal factors and national changes paved the way for many business and agricultural families among the Ezhavas to get prominence. Land ownership, agriculture and trade were the main factors contributed for this change. However the individual or private ownership of land was denied to the Ezhavas. They remained as poor landless agricultural labourers. Sahodharan Ayyappan realized that implementation of land reform measures was the only factor which raised the status of Ezhava tenants to the owners of land. The most revolutionary land reform measure in Travancore was the proclamation of 1818, which marked a turning point in the history of the Ezhavas. It gave right to the people to take up waste land and new land formed from rivers and backwaters for cultivation.⁸ Some of the Ezhavas secured a considerable share in the *sircar* tenancy rights and using their labour power and their capital earned from non-agricultural pursuits. It marked a change in the condition of Ezhavas from agricultural labourers to tenants. The Ezhavas who had a share in the *sircar* tenancy by the Regulation of 1818 became land owners by the Regulation of 1865 issued by the Travancore ruler Sree Ayilliam Thirunal.

The Ezhavas were actively participating in non-agricultural occupation such as coir making, coconut trade, toddy and arrack trade, artisanal occupations, handicrafts etc. The commencement of the interportal convention in 1865 between Travancore and the British Government was an important milestone in the development of trade, especially in the export of coconut products. The demand for coconut products in Europe and America increased towards the end of the 19th century, Ezhavas witnessed the advantage of cash economy. Through all these ways the most of the Ezhavas become economically independent and began to uplift themselves. Along with this the establishment of Public Works Department was the factor which contributed for the transformation of the community. Ezhavas were able to develop as wage labourers in rural and agro-processing industries. Several Ezhava women were employed as coolies in the Public Works Department. Thus they developed as an

enterprising community. They even ventured into new economic conditions as contractors, commission agents, cash crop farmers, traders and entrepreneurs.

Even though they advanced in many sectors they did not had a valuable change in their social status. In this circumstance the spread of Western education and the work of Christian missionaries brought about a radical social change in Kerala society. Most of the low caste people got certain social as well as civic rights as a result of these social movements inspired by westernization. In the processes of social transformation Sree Narayana Guru played a vital role. Getting inspired by the Sree Narayana movement the newly emerged middle class of Ezhavas like Sahodharan Ayyappan went forward with more social reforms to get rid of all these disabilities. For that venture they even joined hands with the Nairs, who treated the Ezhavas ruthlessly in the former years. They even went forward with the signing of Malayali memorial along with Nairs, Christians and Muslims for availing civic rights and for getting entry to government jobs. The memorial made a joint undertaking to cast off the impact of Tamil –Telugu Brahmins in civil service of the state, by touching the feelings of recognition of these communities.⁹ It constituted the first spark of political consciousness among the people of the state and a bold attempt by the educated middle class at exposing public policies prejudicial to its interest. This memorial was signed by 10038 people belonging to Nair, Ezhava, Christian and Muslim communities and the petition was submitted to the then Maharaja Sree Mulam Thirunal on 11th January 1891.¹⁰ The Nairs were the only group, among the memorialists of 1891, who were capable of getting any favour from the government.

The failure of the *Malayali Memorial* forced the Ezhava educated middle class to raise their voice against the government and society. Dr. Palpu, who was neglected a job in the Travancore medical service only because of his low caste birth, entered in to the mainstream and acted as the champion for the agitations against the deprivation of political as well as civic rights of Ezhavas, when they failed to get any desired result from the Malayali Memorial, the Ezhavas made the leadership of Dr. Palpu for the removal of their social disabilities by

submitting a petition of rights in October 1896. This is popularly known as the Ezhava Memorial, signed by 13176 Ezhavas among them half were land tax payers.

Ezhavas then aimed at entering into the *sirar* or government service, for which they needed entry to government schools. They claimed that as the majority community they were the major contributors of tax and so they wanted the government schools to be opened for them. Thus the memorial concluded by demanding entry to government schools and employment. As a result the Ezhavas got certain educational rights. The Ezhava Memorial was significant in many respects. For the first time, a section of the people who belonged to an untouchable and discriminate caste dared to point out to the government their importance in number, economic strength and contribution to the exchequer. Even though the Ezhavas did not assert themselves or question the prevailing customs, the Ezhava memorial was considered as the first charter of demands of the Ezhavas. This memorial certainly marked the beginning of an organized agitation of the Ezhava community.

Sahodharan Ayyappan decided to make a collective action for the destructing rigid caste system since his arrival at Cherayi in 1917. The idea of holding an inter dining as a prelude to the fight against caste system was put forward by him. Ayyappan arranged an inter dining and encouraged few Pulaya youths to participate in June 1917. The inter dining has created great chaos in the society, as its aftereffect 22 Ezhava families were excommunicated by a meeting organized by *Ezhava Vijnana Vardhini Sabha*. Consequently, Saharan Ayyappan was given the sobriquet *Pulayan Ayyappan*. In 1917, Saharan Ayyappan also started a journal named '*Saharan*' which means brother. This journal became a mouth piece of Ayyappan's movement to change Kerala society into a caste tolerant and enlightened community. Ayyappan was a follower of Buddhism, which made him protest against the animal sacrifices in Kali temples.

In Cochin Ayyappan organized the *Ezhava Samajam* which submitted a memorial to Cochin raja for providing the same rights for the people who refuse to convert to other

religions. As Ayyappan did not get a reply, he convened a meeting under *Ezhava Samajam* at Calicut the *All Kerala TiyyaMahayogam* declared that they will wage peaceful struggle till the disabilities of non- caste Hindus are removed. Ayyappan was the notable leader of Travancore SNDP Yogam even before his establishment of Cochin SNDP Yoyam.¹¹ An All Kerala Ezhava Youth League was formed and in its first meeting conducted on July 31st 1933, they set a request to SNDP Yogam for declaring Ezhavas as non-Hindus. In the second meeting held at Karunagapally Saharan Ayyappan asked Ezhavas to abandon Hinduism, as they felt their upliftment within the fold of Hinduism was much difficult.¹² Ayyappan was the member of Cochin Legislative assembly from 1928 to 1949 and the member of Travancore-Cochin assembly between 1949-1957. He also served as deputy speaker and minister in Cochin legislature. As a member of Cochin assembly he introduced the Civil Marriage bill, *Tiyya Patriarchal Succession Bill*, and *Tiyya Matriarchal Succession Bill*, all these bills paved way for the modernization of Kerala society and upliftment of Ezhava community.¹³

Conclusion

With the introduction of western ideologies the lower caste people got some privileges in society like the economic growth and stability but their social status was same as before because of their lower caste origin. The contributions of Saharan Ayyappan and other social reformers for the upliftment of Ezhava community have an immense role in the present status of Ezhava community. The inter dining organized by Sahodaran Ayyappan was an innovative step towards bringing all depressed caste together to fight against the injustice faced by them. All those progressive steps by these leaders paved way for the all-round development and modernization of Ezhava community. With these social reforms movement's higher caste domination over the society was changed, the society was reshaped with equality. Now they formed their own caste organizations and played significant role in society, which is even capable of controlling the political scenario of the state.

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ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE DECCAN SULTANATES

Dr. G. Dayakar

INTRODUCTION

After fall of Bahamani dynasty the five kingdoms were established in different parts of the Deccan such as the Barid Shahi, Immad Shahi, Nizam Shahi, Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi. These dynasties worked for development of their regions. They were

established systematic administration and closely associated with the people. They were encouraged literature, art and architecture in those regions. During this period the Islamic architecture played an important role in Deccan. In my paper what are the monuments constructed with Islamic

features in the Deccan was analyzed and their architecture explained.

THE IMMAD SHAHIS

Immad Shahi rulers constructed several beautiful monuments in Berar. A very fine specimen of the architectural style of an Immad Shahis shows in the Great mosque in Gawligarh fort. Basically mosque was the house of Allah. It is built on high terrace, bound on the west by the prayer-hall and enclosed on the remaining three sides by an arcaded screen walls with battlement crestings of pleasing design, and with a large gate in the east and small entrance in the north and south sides. The large gate is itself an imposing structure constructed on the model of the Mahakali gate without its flanking set of rooms and galleries.¹ The interior of the mosque was divided by square pillars into seven aisles, each three bays deep, but now only two front bays remain, the third one along with the back wall was collapsed some time ago. All twenty one compartments thus formed were surmounted by a corresponding number of full domes of pleasing contour, of which only fourteen now remain.

The important monwment at Elichpur was the Idgah. It was constructed in 1347, it is the usual plan of a one wall mosque, with five recessed prayer-niches, crenellated at the top and buttressed at either end by slopping towers. To the north of the central prayer niche is a raised pulpit in the form of a domed structure shaded by projecting eaves on brackets and adorned with a parapet and finials at the comers most of which have fallen down. The shape of the receding arches of the prayer niche, conforming to the pointed horse-shoe variety, is similar to those occurring in the late fourteenth century tombs at Gulbarga.

Another monwment of Immad Shahis is Jame Masjid in Elichpur. In this Masjid the prayer chamber consists of a spacious hall four bays deep; having a fayade of eleven arches and is roofed by eleven small domes in the front of row. At the rear it seems to have had a large central dome covering the central portion of the interior to the extent of six bays, but the original dome, along with the side ones, is no longer there. The interior

is plain and simple to the point of being severe, the decoration being limited to rosette bosses in the arch spandrels under the central dome. It is the best suitable example of Islamic architecture in Deccan. However, some variation was provided by use of double columns in the bays under the two arches flanking the intermediate three ones. Apart from this, the general design of the fayade, the shape of its stilted pointed arches, the treatment of the cornice and the parapet are much in the same style as in the Gawligarh Mosque² Daru'sh-Shifa Mosque at Elichpur and Jami Masjid at Malkapur are other two monuments of the dynasty. Both were had same style, each comprising a prayer hall two bays deep, flanked by the typical square pylons at front ends, and consisting of five arched openings under a bold cornice on close-set brackets, decorated by an additional parapet of trefoil crenellation and roofed by ten very low domes. Architecturally, the only departure from the style represented in the Gawligarh and Elichpur Mosques is that the arches in these Mosques are wider, which was perhaps due to the smaller number of arched openings, necessitated in their turn by the smaller size of the Mosques³.

THE NIZAM SHAHIS

The Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar constructed several monuments in the Islamic style of architecture. A large number of beautiful and interesting monuments of all types, such as Palaces, Mosques, Tombs and etc., were constructed by Nizam Shahi Sultans not only in Ahmadnagar city and also in various places such as Daulatabad, Jalna, Junnar, Khuldabad and Paithan etc.

The first typical tomb in the Nizam Shahi style is Rumi Khan's Tomb, which was constructed in the middle of the sixteenth century. Measuring about 26 feet square and raising to a height of about 40 feet, it is crowned by an impressive large full dome. At four corners are flat-roofed square kiosks, and in between them, a parapet of trefoil merlons.⁴ The outside walls are divided into two horizontal pointed rows of three recessed arches each, which are variety displaying a tendency to ogee shape at the top. The

middle one of the lower arches is larger. Separating the two rows are a series of string-courses and a band of blind merlon-crests. The dome placed on a lofty drum within the band of petals is in contrast with flat-roofed kiosks at corners. The treatment of the exterior and the overall fine proportions make this tomb one of the outstanding monuments of the Islamic style. The Rumi Khan Mosque measuring about 40 by 30 feet is a double-storied mosque. The prayer-hall comprising the upper storey has a three-arched facade and is two bays deep, its flat roof being supported on round pillars of black polished stone. A tomb datable to this time is that of Sayyidu's-Sadat at Paithan. Its chief point of interest is in the ornamental quintifoil shape of the recessed arches on the wall, recalling mindfully the similar feature in the Lange-ki- Masjid at Gulbarga.⁵

The *Do Boti Chira* Tomb at Ahmadnagar locally believed to enshrine the remains of Sharza Khan consists of a square chamber with three arches of unequal size on two of its sides. The Tomb constructed in the year 1561. The whole is shaded by a deep cornice supported on brackets, and above it runs a simple parapet. The roof is crowned by a full dome placed on a lofty circular drum, the phase of transition from the square chamber to the octagon being achieved through squinches. The building is remarkable for its chaste simplicity and carries with it an air of impressiveness.⁶

Damri Masjid, a small gem like building of very neat design and fine workmanship, particularly of the carvings on its facade and the central Mihrab. It consists of a single prayer-hall of three aisles, each two bays deep, with corresponding arched openings in the north and south walls, and its flat roof is supported on arches springing from octagonal pillars placed on foliated bases. The facade has three arches of the pointed variety, shaded by a steep cornice on evenly placed brackets by a richly decorated square pylon at each end crowned by a slender and graceful minaret, which also occurs at the rear corners. From the middle of its highly ornamental parapet wall, topped by a cresting of double merlons of trefoil pattern, are placed square ornamental piers carrying two slender

minars which enclose for flying arch, marking an outline of a pointed dome. These minars have ornamental balconies and heavy *chakra* like moulding, domed by orbs of a fully developed type.⁷

Another magnificent monument is Salabat Khan II Tomb. He was minister during Murtaza I (1565-1588) rule. It was locally known as Chand Bibi ka Mahal. It was built on a lofty octagonal terrace of stone about 300 feet in width and 12 feet in height, the tomb consists of an octagonal hall about 12 feet across surrounded by a three storied verandah about 20 feet broad, the sides of which are faced with alternate openings placed symmetrically. The whole building rises to a height of about 70 feet⁸

The largest of the Khuldabad tombs situated a little distance to the west of the Malik Amber tomb is two storied square tomb of the usual type. In spite of its plainness, it is particularly remarkable for the perfect balance between its upper and lower parts. Another tomb in the said group which is remarkable for its unusual design is the tomb of Zachcha Bachcha situated close to Malik Amber's tomb. In general plan and design, it resembles to a certain extent the tomb of Shah Ashraf Bayabani near Amber. The dilapidated tomb of Zachcha Bachcha seems to have had the octagonal section only up to the roof level, and its corner pillar has a plain shaft and only volute capital, enclosed within long moulded brackets. The monuments of the last phase of Ahmadnagar architecture include a few tombs at Daulatabad, Khuldabad, Amber and Wakla in Aurangabad District, and a mosque and a tomb at Kher in Poona District. All these monuments of Nizam Shahis reflected the Islamic architecture in the respected areas.

THE BARID SHAHIS

The Barid Shahi rulers constructed several big and small monuments with Islamic architecture in the Bidar region. Ali Barid (1543-79) was an important ruler, who constructed several monuments with Islamic style. Ali was greatly fond of architecture and it is from his time onwards that a distinct Baridi style of building art became an important. The tomb attributed to Qasim I is a

small square building, measuring about 20 feet a side, of no architectural significance. Roofed by a plain conical dome of eight facets, both externally and internally, it resembles the tombs of Waliullah and Kalimullah at Ashtur. The in completed tomb of Amir Barid, on the other hand measuring about 64 feet a side, would have been quite imposing if it were completed, but in its present state, rises to the roof-level only. Its walls are divided externally into three equal vertical parts, the middle taken up wholly by a lofty arched portal enclosing the door, and each of the side ones by a double storey of two arches. But it was only under Ali that a distinct change came over the general architectural character of the buildings, and Bidar and its neighborhood witnessed much building activities, either in new construction like his own tomb and mosque, or in restoration, alteration or rebuilding, as in the case of fortifications and palace buildings, particularly the Tarkash and Rangin Mahals. Ali carried out large scale improvements to the fort and city walls Bidar and rebuilt the Rangin Mahal. In the Rangin Mahal, the only structural innovation is the use of wooden columns, minutely carved all over in intricate patterns in the Hindu style which supported the main hall. Its wall was originally faced with enamel tile decoration in floral and calligraphic designs and matching colours, but this has almost disappeared. However, a greater distinguishing feature is the fine glistening mother-of-pearl inlay work occurring on some of its archways, set in jet black stone or dark-coloured basalt⁹

Ali Barid tomb was architecturally example for tomb architecture of the Barid Shahis. It measure 58 feet square and built on a spacious platform in the midst of a vast garden, entered from the south through an imposing gateway. The middle arches are slightly larger, and the upper one is further emphasized by an ornamental window in the form of a miniature copy of the fayade of a triple arched building shaded by projecting cornice supported on brackets and decorated by a parapet of interlacing arches between two domed finials. The upper storey has a hall and rooms, whose walls are decorated with a large number of small niches; this

feature, found in most of the palace-buildings throughout the Deccan. A mosque was attached to Ali Barid tomb. It comprising a single prayer hall, measuring about 42 feet by 15 feet and divided into three aisles, also introduces some new features in the hitherto prevailing architectural design.¹⁰ In mosque the stucco decorations, with usual floral pattern, along the base of the vaulted ceilings and with decorated arches were there.

The Barid Shahis used in the constructions were stone with an occasional use of black polished stone etc. Workmanship is very fine during this period. The Kali Masjid constructed with wood. The more refined character of the mosque, emphasized by its exquisite workmanship of stone material and some of its forms which would be more appropriate in wood should indicate that in the mosque. It was built in the close of sixteenth century. It consists of a prayer-hall, measuring about 46 feet by 35 feet internally, which is entered through three arches of considerable dimension. The interior is divided into six compartments by means of massive columns on which rest the arches which support the basket-shaped ceiling in the middle bay at the rear and shallow domed ceiling in other bays. The vaulted ceiling in the interior is elaborately decorated with cut-plaster work¹¹

Another important Barid Shahi monuments were Ibrahim Tomb, Baber's tomb, Dog's Tomb, Qasim II tomb, Khan Jahan tomb, Chand Sultana tomb, Hazrat Mukhdum Qadiri tomb, Hazrat Sayyidu's - Sadat tomb, etc. The Ibrahim tomb was replica to the Ali tomb. It was 42 feet square. The dome was pointed instead of being three-quarters of an orb, and has thus a more pleasing outline, and the rim of the dome is externally decorated with a band of petals. There is little stucco work and decorated arches were in the tomb. It had beautiful dome architecture. The Qasim II tomb built with slightly pointed dome and balance between its height and weight. It measure was 31 feet square. The exterior of the walls are same style of the Bahamani architecture. The Barid Shahis expends lot of money on the monuments and gardens in the capital city. They were encouraged the

stucco work, flower decorations, decorated arches, beautiful designed domes small and big size etc in their monuments¹²

The prayer-hall in every Masjid is vary spacious and with good ventilation. They were followed the plan of architect and provided building material which was essential for the construction. Most of the time Sultans were observe the construction and gave some suggestions to the architects for the beautiful monuments. The Barid Shahis policies helped for spread of the Islamic architecture in the Deccan. They were contributed a lot for the Islamic architecture.

THE ADIL SHAHIS

The Adil Shahis of Bijapur encouraged the Islamic architecture in the Deccan. The first Mosque built in 1306-07 with wood and it was Malik Karimuddin who replaced it with stone. It was built by Governor of Bijapur on the name of Alauddin Khilji¹³ The reign of Ibrahim II (1580-1627) was responsible for large scale construction, and it was witnessed the full growth of the typical Bijapuri style which is characterized by lightness and symmetry of form, excellence of workmanship and exuberance of delicate ornamentation.

THE QUTB SHAHIS

The Qutb Shahis of Hyderabad occupied an important place in the history of

Deccan. They were encouraged Islamic architecture and other aspects in their kingdom. They were ruled the Telugu country from 1516 A.D to 1687 A.D. They built many monuments in the respected area.

CONCLUSION

The Deccan Sultans such as Bahamanis, Barid Shahis, Nizam Shahis, Immad Shahis, Adil Shahis and Qutb Shahis constructed several buildings with Islamic architecture. They were used lime plaster, sandstone, granite Stone, black stone and wood in the construction of the monuments. They were built several monuments such as Bidar fort, Raichur fort, Golconda fort, Ali tomb, Jame Masjid, Hyderabad, Charminar, Charkaman, Ashur Khana, Gol Gumbad, Rangin Mahal Tarkash Mahal, Gagan Mahal, Chand Sultana Palace, Mecca Masjid, Daru'sh Shifa, Naya Qila, Charkaman, Qutb Masjid, Miyan Mishkh Masjid, Atapur Masjid, Saidabad Masjid, Hayat nagar Masjid and five Sultanate tombs in different parts of the Deccan. The monuments built with big Domes, Minars, decorated Arches, Brackets, Jalis, Mihrabs, Flower designs and Calligraphy, etc. the Sultans spent huge money for the construction of monuments in the Deccan. The cities such as Bijapur, Bidar, Berar, Gulbarga, Raichur, Ahmadnagar, Hyderabad, Osmanabad, Daulatabad, Aurangabad etc were developed during this period.

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RELATIVE DEPRIVATION- SEARCHING INTO THE EXPERIENCES OF AVARNA CASTES IN COLONIAL KERALA

S. Divya

The social customs and practices of early modern Kerala were infested with caste dissensions because of the historical materialism of Brahmins for centuries. The disciplinary power as Foucault, affected all aspects of the life of the avarnas and subjected to the possibility of surveillance at all times. So naturally the avarnas were inherently fragmented, disorganized, diffused and uncoordinated under the humiliating protocols set by the theological feudal society (Gopal Guru 2009, 210).

But by the nineteenth century, the socially politically and economically depressed castes of Kerala became the forefront of social struggles which paved the way for the social awakening and social transformations in Kerala. Here this paper analysis how far the experiences and the social situations of avarnas in colonial Kerala created the state of relative deprivation among them and how far it helped to their struggles.

The advent of Christian missionaries in the first decade of the 19th century caused disturbances in the 'peaceful and stagnant' society in Travancore. William Tobias Ringletaube, a Persian missionary received extensive help from the Dewan John Manroe in founding new churches and converting the natives. Help provided by the activities of the Christian missionaries contributed to a large extent in ushering social changes in Kerala. Missionaries spread their humanitarian work in the early decades of the 19th century in several districts in South Travancore. Such interventions resulted in the embracing of Christian religion by a large chunk of Channar community. The women of Channar sect abandoned their obsolete way of dressing and following the instructions of the missionaries started wearing modern clothes. They violated the customary social order by wearing the upper garments by women and preaching the new gospel in public among the upper caste people (Samuel Nellimukal 2003, 50). The Channars who were hitherto performing *Oozhiyam* job for their masters and were keeping away from the courtyards of the residences of the landlords now entered the courtyards fearlessly and preached the Biblical

scriptures parrot like without understanding the seriousness of what they were pronouncing. The slavish and passive Channars now became conscious of their rights and were not ready to tolerate any longer the humiliation heaped on them. Fearlessness was infused into their veins by Christianity (Samuel Nellimukal 2003, 50). This open defiance of existing social norms propelled intolerance on the part of the *savarnas* and led to yearlong agitations.

The socio-cultural regeneration in the nineteenth century Kerala was occasioned by the colonial presence, but not created by it. It is proved by the differences of opinion existing among scholars regarding the introduction and the implementation of breast clothes among the weaker sections of society. Some modern historians say that it was mere tactics adopted by the colonial masters. According to Max Weber the Christian missionaries who worked in Kerala were inspired and informed by the ideals of a protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism (Weber 1930, 87). The various markers of modernity and its ethics were introduced in Kerala during this period. But there were some errors in the case of their attitudes towards the lower castes in Kerala. Actually the major reason for the Channar revolt was the cunning activities of supplying upper garments to the converts by the missionaries. Even though the majority of the rest of the population had to struggle for many more decades to get that right realized (Neettu 1034 M.E), it is to be noted that Channar agitation which transformed into a problem of caste or class influenced the marginalized people in a notable manner (Abhimanyu 1990, 133). Even after getting the right to wear upper garments in the case of Channar women, the law never affected those who were at the very bottom of the society. But this incident highly influenced the outlook of the downtrodden and naturally a sense of freedom worked out in their minds. They wanted to bring changes in their own life and it also led to the development of self-consciousness among them.

In order to usher in social changes and developments, several social movements were

launched by early social reformers in Kerala who were awakened to a sense of self-consciousness from their relatively deprived conditions. Under the spell of the awakened consciousness, they brought about several changes in the feudal hierarchical society.

In short the low caste people were deprived of socio-cultural, economic, political and educational opportunities, power, money, status, social freedom etc. Eventually they became discontented and compared their positions to others and realized that they had less of what they believed themselves to be entitled than those around them. In this context we can use the 'Relative Deprivation' concept of sociologist Samuel Stouffer as the central variable force. In sociology, relative deprivation theory is a view of social change and movements, according to which people take action for social change in order to acquire something like opportunities, status or wealth that others possess and which they believe they too should have (Stouffer 1949, 210). The theory encourages the exploration of an individual's feelings of deprivation that may result from comparing his or her situation with that of a referent person or group as well as the behavioral effects of deprivation feelings. It is to be noted that people became conscious about

their status and positions from the thought of deprivation. Thus their feelings of deprivation over power, money, status, may lead individuals and groups to create social consciousness. Here such people become rebels when their desires become legitimate expectations and those desires are blocked by society. It would lead them to the inevitability of the movement for access of social satisfactions.

In the context of the theory of 'relative deprivation' it can be clearly seen that the reformers in general understood that the status of the downtrodden were pathetic than any other community in the society. When the people were suffering from socio-political, educational disabilities, others were unconditionally enjoying all the privileges and thus was convinced about relative deprivation of his fellow men of the downtrodden brethren infused a spirit of rebellion in the minds of reformers and it prompted them to fight for the well being of the socially, economically and politically weaker people (Chentharassery 2005, 16). They became more conscious and fought for social justice and social equality and infused consciousness in the minds of the downtrodden and began to think about their community development and attainment of social status and advancement.

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THE EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION IN ANDHRA

Prof. K. Gangaiah

The Western Christian missionaries by their charitable disposition and benevolence, permeated with Evangelical spirit, attracted the outcastes - *Malas* and *Madigas and other communities*. They extended to them all assistance to hold their head high. Their contribution to the education was indisputably great. Their helping hand to the health, hygiene and economic upliftment of the untouchables was no less great. They displayed a genuine sympathy for the suffering of the underprivileged. The Districts of Andhra were dotted with missionary educational institutions and workshops, some of which stand even today as living symbols of the indefatigable zeal of missionaries. Naturally, untouchables, the poorest of the poor were attracted by the kind missionaries. The cross became to them symbol of self-reliance and hope.¹

The Christian Missionaries from the United States of America and the Continent were often subjected by the orthodox sections of caste Hindus and Muslims to criticism. Ulterior motives were attributed for their efforts to educate the downtrodden sections of the Hindu community. Their zeal, and in some cases over zeal in proselytisation, might have contributed for the creation of such an impression. But subjective thinking apart, the missionary contribution to the education of the *Panchamas* should under no circumstances be underestimated. A visit to Christian localities in every Andhra town reveals a high degree of sophistication, multi-strayed buildings and more than average standard of life by Indian standards. Both husband and wife earn. Their combined income as teachers and other professionals far exceeds that of a class I officer. In this context, it is imperative to know that more than ninety per cent of the Christians were the offspring of the Mala and Madigas, some two or three generations back. But for the benefits conferred by the White Missionaries, it would have taken a century or more for the outcastes among Christians to reach their present status. Hewers of Wood and drawers of water were transformed into teachers, medical men, engineers and other professionals.

The Missionaries themselves recorded the sufferings and the indignities which the Malas and the Madigas were subjected to because of their illiteracy and age-old traditions. The children of the outcaste parents were skeletal. Their ribs were conspicuous and their stomachs were protruding because they had been eating every scrap of food they came across. In times of famines, the untouchables' woes multiplied. The untouchable and his family would go hungry to bed after drinking only water with a little salt. To save himself from starvation and death, he borrowed money on exorbitant rate of interest. The unscrupulous money-lender wrote down on the stamped paper recording the loan of Rs.30/- when actually he lent Rs.15/-. According to the Government Census of 1901,² 99.5% of the untouchable in coastal Andhra could neither read nor write. In such a illiterate state, the poor borrower put his thumb-impression on the promissory note. So, scarcity, debt and ignorance combined to hang a milestone round the outcaste's neck. To the question what the Government was doing in such conditions, the missionary himself answered. Even good laws and righteous administration can be completely nullified by the fall in the general morals of the society.³

According to the annual report of the Baptist Missionary Union in 1838, the most of the Telugu male population, of the higher and Middle, classes, can read, echoing one of the easy generalizations of hasty writers. It is true, of course, that even in those days the Brahmins, many merchants, and those recruited for government service in offices could read; but the great middle class of farmers and artisans was almost complete illiterate.⁴

It was natural that the wives of missionaries start schools to educate the locals such a situation Roenna Clark wife of Mr. Samuel S Day who was responsible for starting of American Baptist Mission in India, she wanted to start teaching school almost as soon as she arrived in Nellore in February, 1840, and that Mrs. S. Van Husen had assisted in this work from the time of her arrival a short time later until she and her husband fell ill and had

to leave India at the end of five years. In less than a year from that time, the Days had to return to America for the same reason and the schools and all the work were left in the care of the two Anglo-Indian assistants.

In 1849 i.e., three years later when Samuel Day, leaving his family in America, returned to Nellore hoping to show the Rev. Lyman Jewett, his new missionary colleagues, what a splendid beginning the Mission had made, he learned that the Anglo-Indian assistants he had trusted had immediately closed the schools, abandoned the work and spent the mission money in scandalous living in the mission residence. However Mr. Day rebuilt the school in one short year and a half was shown by his letter in October 1, 1859 to his wife in whom he reported dismissing nine teachers and 270 pupils. This time the school was closed by order of the Executive Committee in America.⁵

In January, 1853, the Peck and Granger were Deputation to visit the boarding school with great interest but were displeased to find that only about one fourth of the working hours were given to religious instruction. They insisted that all concerned in the teaching or management of the school be persons of hopeful piety. They opposed any teaching of English and were emphatic that even vernacular schools should be subsidiary to the preaching of the Gospel and have as their direct aim and tendency the raising up of a native evangelical ministry. Their recommendation was about the boarding school: For the reasons assigned by the Mission, and while the school enjoys the immediate care of Mrs. Jewett, the Deputation was not 'Prepared to recommend its discontinuance'⁶ By the summer of 1853 Samuel Day's ill-health had removed him from India and the Jewetts were left alone with the work, the problems, and the criticisms. F. A. Douglasses had joined the Jewetts in 1855, these two missionaries and two female assistants i.e., wives of missionaries and one native assistant, served the day school which was in the compound 'connected with the boarding school and the average attendance was 45 with 13 boarders.

In 1862, the average attendance of that school was given as 75 and it was reported that interest in it had been shown by Indians and

English friends, particularly by Judge and Mrs. Story. Mr. Douglas said that a Brahmin teacher school in Kovuru with and sixteen pupils had been thrown upon his bands. There were two schools among Outcastes. And all the schools were, wholly supported in India, except the small pittance allowed by the Union toward the boarding School.⁷The educational facts: 20 schools, 33 teachers, 2,000 pupils; 24 pupils had become church members; nine pupils had become employees of the Mission.⁸

In 1867, John Everett Clough said that he had seven young men probably seven of the twenty eight he had baptized at Talakondapadu; he made them in Ongole to learning and read. Later send them back to their villages as teachers and preachers. To expect great results from sending out as teachers and preachers young men from the most despised class in society whose acquaintance with the alphabet was only six months old takes faith in mankind.⁹ Mr. Clough had started also an Anglo-vernacular school but, before the end of the year 1867, his first full year in Ongole, he closed this school and turned all his educational efforts into training Indians to teach and preach in Telugu only.

Rev. John Mc Laurin, the second missionary to Ongole, he said it is hard to educate these people without separating them from their caste barriers and superiority feelings, among upper caste Hindus, but still it must be done. If the downtrodden people must be raised and gradually they must raise their people.¹⁰ Mr. Clough in 1870 said about the converts, perhaps one in two hundred can read a little, but not one can write correctly. The converts are willing to build school-houses, and support teachers, in most instances, if they and their children can only be taught.¹¹In the Ongole by 1872 there were 21 schools, 14 regular teachers, two of them teaching two schools each in alternate weeks, the rest of the schools being taught by preachers' wives. Catapilly Paradashi, a young man with five years of schooling, was the best educated assistant to Clough¹² By 1880, with the development of the seminary at Ramayapatnam; there were 291 teachers, preachers, and Bible women assisting 32 missionaries in the conversion of 26,339 as Telugu Baptists.

In 1881, Rev. S. F. Smith of New England, the man who saved this American Baptist Mission from extinction with his sacrifice, he had paid a visit to Nellore for that he had faced lot of hardship to reach Madras. From Madras he faced all the problems to reach Nellore by various means of transportations¹³ He arrived to find the missionaries just recovering from the dreadful experiences of the Great Famine. Memories of thousands dying for lack of food of precious schools closed for want of energy to carry on were being erased by preoccupation with the task-of re-starting the schools and of helping to rebuild shattered personalities.

According to W. B. Boggs who was one of the missionary, commented on the condition of the schools in Cumbum in 1884, lack of qualified teachers, lack of genuine desire for education and extreme poverty was the chief causes for the present very unsatisfactory state of these schools.¹⁴ The situation in Vinukonda show that in 1892 there was only one teacher who had passed any examination; in 1894 twenty-one passed the primary examination, seven were normally trained, and one had passed the middle examination. In Kanigiri the story was the same, Rev. George Brock was continually reported on the difficulties lie was having with the village schools. In 1893, for instance, he said about the night schools to one of them a few Vyshyas go and receive instruction from a pariah (untouchable)¹⁵ Brock could be patient with many shortcomings in the village schools that could in one generation, so transform an Outcaste Christian as to make him acceptable as the teacher of the high caste merchants. Again in 1903, he wrote, Sudra children attend many of our village schools, clearly these schools, poor as educational institutions, as measured by any reasonable standards, were achieved remarkable social changes.

In Bapatla, Rev.E.Bullard was having experiences in village education similar to those of his colleagues in other parts of the Mission. In 1888, the matter of education, in the village schools that have hitherto sprung up on this field have not been able to find teachers and many of them have been closed, in which there are at present fifteen promising pupils, studying for the Special Primary Examination. Our rule is that these pupils shall consent to spend at least

two or three years after they obtain their certificates in teaching our Christian schools.¹⁶The Normal Training Institution had completed its first year by graduating a class of thirteen young men and one young woman of these pupils, three were from Cumbum, one from Narasaraopet, and the others from our own field. All found schools waiting for them and the supply was far from being equal to the demand.

In 1892, a training school for mistresses was opened in Ongole and in 1895 a similar institution was started in Nellore. In Kurnool, the first Christian girl from the leather workers passed the primary examination in 1986. These events in the education of girls constituted a harbinger of the great contribution that Indian Christian women were to make to the educational and economic advancement of their people. But even training the teachers did not automatically remove all the obstacles to the improvement of the schools. Rev. F. Kurtz, writing about village schools in Vinukonda in 1898, said, The quickest way to improve our village schools is not to employ better qualified teachers at increased salaries, not to build school houses with mission money, but to create on the part of the people a genuine desire for an education.¹⁷

It is clear from the foregoing that there were many difficulties encountered in educational work, that determined efforts were made to overcome the difficulties, and that success achieved ill terms of education imparted was often very disappointing. Still the missionaries carried on with this type of work. Mr. Clough stated his reasons for his interest in schools for Christians by quoting from Dr. Howard Malcolm who reported to the Missionary Union on his visit to Burma in 1836. The largest development in village education during 1881-1905 was in Ongole, the largest field. Rev. J. M. Baker, succeeding Dr. Clough in this station, reported in 1902 that from the brightest pupils of 258 village schools 737 boys and girls were in boarding schools in Ongole. As soon as they finished the fifth grade many would return to their village became leaders because of their superior training. Some, perhaps after years of manual labour, would take a short course in teaching and enter school work. Some would learn a trade or go into

humble government employ. The influence of this large class who had been lifted up from the low level in which they were born must be enormous

According to Mr. James Baker, the small minority who are really a second selection from a selected lot prepare for life's work. After further training some were invited to teach in school, many went to the theological seminary, more than 100 men were on this field had taken the four years course at the seminary. The girls married and their lives determined by the course taken by their husbands. Some are left widows and these generally find their way sooner or later to the Bible Women's Training School, there were 43 such women in the villages and also a good number of other women who have received training with their husbands in the seminary. Although not all the 12,398 pupils in 634 village schools of the Mission in 1905 were so, integrated into a carefully planned system, everywhere remarkable progress was in evidence.

In 1872 the school was started at Ramapatham of which in later became the Theological Seminary in 1875. In 1877 the College was opened by Mr. Clough in Ongole had raised, while in America, an endowment of \$50,123.91 for the seminary and money for the college and Rev. A. Loughridge had arrived in Ongole to start the college. The first class was admitted March 1, 1877, all Christians of Nellore, Ramapatnam, and Ongole. As Mr. Loughridge asked the Missionary Union to the support for the school was not given, the institution was closed in October 15, 1878, and the missionary went to Hanumakonda to open a new station. But by May, 1880, pupils and teachers gathered again. In 1882, there were 178 boys in the school, 54 of them Christians 15 of these were prepared for the middle school examination and one for the college matriculation examination.

But progress was very slow; the first class in the college department was admitted in 1894 - seven students in 1902, two young men passed the First Arts examination (University examination at the end of the second year of college work) one a Brahmin and one a Christian in 1905 another Christian passed the F.A. This was D. Arogyam who after further

training entered the ministry and remained a faithful and effective Christian leader until his death. By 1910 there were other Christian colleges in Masulipatam and in Guntur and the work of the college department in Ongole had so declined that the Mission decided to close it. In 1904 three important events took place in the field of educational: the Free Church Mission (Scottish) withdrew from Nellore and transferred its boys high school to the Baptist Mission, a girls high school was opened in Nellore and the decision was taken to open a boys' high school in Kurnool. Consequently, the close of the year 1905, finds the Mission with the following strength in education: 634 day schools with 12,398 pupils, 23 boarding schools with 1,761 pupils, three high schools for boys with 824 pupils, one high school for girls with 15 pupils, one seminary with 105 students, one training school for men with 32 students, two training schools for women with 35 students, and one college with 34 students.

In Kanigiri, Mr. Brock encouraged the Home Missionary Society and decided to meet half of the salaries of the 17 workers employed by it in the 32 villages for which it had taken responsibility. He had in mind the work in the Christian Education Society was doing for the children who had completed the schooling offered in their villages, he had thought of the many Christian men and women teaching in the government schools who had received their first education in one of the village schools. In the Gurizalla area Sudra pupils were attended the entire village schools, some teachers were being supported by Sudras and in one village Moslems had called a Christian teacher. In 1929 at Cumbum there were sixteen boys in high school, eight boys in training school, five girls in teacher training; two boys in college were enrolled.¹⁸

In 1919 at Markapur encouraged the development in education for the Christian children and their neighbors in the villages were provided 17 Panchama Board Schools and 51 aided non-mission schools, all staffed with Baptist teachers. That means the education of Christians in the villages was handled by Baptist teachers at government expense under government supervision. Rev. C.B.Marsh invited those Christian teachers to a four-day Bible study camp in the mission compound and was

happy to attend, sixty of them attended. It was to achieve this fortunate arrangement for village education because the Hindu president of the Taluk Board a close friend of missionaries appreciated the work of Christian teachers and used his influence to extend their services for the community. In 1930, under this system of education, Markapur had thirty-two boys and four girls in high school, and nine men and two women in teacher training schools.

By 1925, the Ongole area, 51% increase in village education in 24 years. The village schools were entirely in the hands of the Mission and there was a considerable organization to handle the details of management and supervision. Mr. Baker had started his Continuation Course—a program for the publication and use of little booklets in simple Telugu designed for villagers who had learned to read but who would lapse into illiteracy again as they returned to work in the fields unless someone directed their reading and encouraged them to enlarge their learning. This was a natural outgrowth of Baker's belief, stated earlier, that even people who were barely literate could exercise a significant influence in the development of their villages.

The one girls' high school which had 15 pupils in 1905 increased strength 176. In percentage this is a tremendous increase but in fact it is discouragingly small improvement for 25 years compared to the increase of the boys. The reasons for this, parents did not yet feel that it was worthwhile to give their daughters higher education, parents were straining their resources to pay for the education of sons and had nothing left for sending girls to high school and parents were not yet willing to send girls to sit with boys in the local government high schools. In 1908, the school was upgraded a new class being opened for Higher Grade Training. The enrolment increased it remained at about 150 until Lower Grade Training was abolished in 1929 and reducing the strength to about 100. By 1930, the strength was 143 and the school was fortunate enough to obtain its first and thus far only-Christian headmaster, Mr. N. George. This was the only training school for men in the Mission but there were many Baptist teacher candidates in government schools.

The training schools for women in Nellore and in Ongole were continued and had an enrolment of 166. Some women were studied in other schools also it means the college education, the closing of the college department in Ongole has already been mentioned, but this did not mean that all Baptists ceased going to college for they were welcomed in Christian colleges in Madras, Guntur, and Masulipatam. By June, 1925, 125 Baptist men and women were named who had received two or more years of special training beyond high school, some were college graduates and some Trained Graduates it means graduates with a year of further training to qualify them for teaching in high schools and some doctors or lawyers. The progress in the education was significant, especially village education and in the training of teachers; but the preparation made for further advance in the later years were even more significant.

The way was prepared for the development of education to continue the legacy. In 1956 there were in Donakonda area 61 aided elementary schools and nine night schools under the management of Telugu Baptists who employed 195 Christian men, 64 Christian women and ten Hindu men. There were 5,229 pupils in these schools, 2,356 of them Christians. Half of the elementary education of the area was in the hands of these Christians, they taught a few more Hindus, mostly caste children, than Christians. They employed some non-Christians to teach in their schools. In one case, a Christian from the Outcastes employed a Brahmin as his assistant.

There were five government high schools in the Donakonda area, every child who qualified for admission could go to high school, there was a high school either within walk able distance from his home or he could get shelter within his relative house. The achievement in Donakonda was made possible by the training of the people during the first thirty five years of this century under the continuous guidance of one missionary, J.A. Curtis. Since his retirement in 1937, different missionaries had charge of the station but rarely had any been in residence.

In the Udayagiri area the situation was entirely different, in 1936 Rev. F. W. Stait reported that there was hardly a single village school in the whole field that was doing even

reasonably satisfactory work; he gave a gloomy picture of the prospects for the future in that area,²⁷ Rev. E. B. Davis, who had been in charge of the field most of the time since F.W. Stait's retirement, wrote that whereas Mr. Stait gave four rupees a month aid to village school teachers and was disappointed in their teaching in school and congregation, the seventy-two Christian teachers in that area in 1955 contributed to the local evangelistic program four hundred rupees. These same teachers, completely independent of the Mission, were the backbone of the Christian community settling church fights, marriage tangles, and disputes with caste landlords.

In Donakonda in spite of relative neglect for twenty-five years, the work progresses because of a sound background in education and Christian training; in Udayagiri, even though it seemed that little had been accomplished by 1936, something reasonably comparable to the Donakonda achievement had been attained. Perhaps the secret of success in both cases lies chiefly with the people themselves, who had at last really become convinced that education and the Christian way of life have substantial advantages for them. In the villages many more Christian teachers were taught to many more Christian and non-Christian children, in the 672 primary schools listed in 1955, practically all of which were in the villages, only 39 were even managed by the Mission. The numbers of primary schools during 1930-1955 decrease. The strength from 1,160 to 672 but the number of pupils increased from 27,930 to 34,232, an increase in average strength per school from 24 to 51, this shows that the primary education of Christian children was being taken care of with practically no effort on the part of the Mission.

The training of teachers during this period was greatly expanded. The number of men in

training increased from 143 to 431 and that of women from 166 to 214. At Bapatla the enrolment increased year by year to 285 in 1955, eight of these being women. A significant development was a new training school for men at Cumbum. One hundred and fifteen years after the opening of the first school in Nellore, the Mission reported as follows: three boys high schools with 1,542 boys and 179 girls on the rolls; two girls' high schools with 388 girls attending; one co-educational high school in which there were 153 boys and 77 girls; two men's training schools teaching 431 men and 21 women; two women's training schools with 193 students; 20 grammar schools with 2,026 boys and 1,080 girls; 39 mission primary schools teaching 1,703 boys and 1,443 girls; and 694 non-mission primary schools with 4526 boys and 13,789 girls in attendance.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that there were 431 men and 214 women in the four teacher training schools. These schools are not only increasing in enrolment but also advancing in grade. Since June, 1957, both men and women candidates must complete high school before entering teacher training. In the high schools 42% were Christian pupils, in the grammar schools, 51%. In both these categories there were, doubtless, more Christians in non-Christian schools than non-Christians in Christian schools. There are no statistics on this point, nor can one tell how many non-Christians there were in the Christian primary schools. It is significant that primary education had almost completely passed out of the hands of the Mission into the bands of individual Christians for the last item in the figures given above represents largely schools formerly managed by the Mission which have become the property of members of the Telugu Church.

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“WORLD RENOWNED MEDICAL EVENTS OF ASAF JAHİ PERIOD FROM THE PAGES OF HYDERABAD CITY - A CASE STUDY OF HYDERABAD CHLOROFORM COMMISSIONS OF 1888 A.D. AND 1889 A.D.”

Dr. N.R. Giridhar

‘Hyderabad’, is the fifth largest city in India, It was established by the fifth Qutb Shahi ruler Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in the year 1591 A.D. It was in limelight in Indian history, more so particular in south Indian history under the Qutb Shahis during the Medieval period and under the Asaf Jahis during the modern period. The Asaf Jahi's made Hyderabad the capital of their Dominions and popularly came to be called as the Nizams of Hyderabad state. The rule of Last four Asaf Jahi rulers namely Nazir-ud-Doula (1829-1857A.D.), Afzal-ud-Doula (1857-1869A.D.), Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (1869-1911A.D.)and Osman Ali Khan (1911-1948A.D.) saw the establishment of modern Hyderabad State.

There was all around progress and Hyderabad City witnessed several world renowned medical events related to the western medical science of Allopathy. These events which took place in Hyderabad City caught the attention of the medical world and put it on the medical map of the world. The name a few World renowned medical events which took place were the establishment of the Hyderabad Medical School in the year 1846 A.D. to impart medical education in Allopathy, the establishment of the Medical Department in the same year, the establishment of Afzal Gunj Hospital in the year 1866 A.D.,conducting the Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions of 1888 A.D and 1889 A.D., the establishment of Ameenbagh Maternity Hospital and Zenana Hospital in the year 1890 A.D. and in the year

1891 A.D., the discovery of the Malarial cause by Dr. Ronald Ross in the year 1897 A.D. and subsequent practical demonstrations in Afzal Gunj Hospital, Hyderabad Medical School and acceptance of the findings by the medical world, the establishment of special Departments to deal with Plague and Malaria in the year 1929 A.D., and Special Infant welfare centers from 1931 A.D. onwards. The two Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions occupies a special place in the history of medical science of Allopathy.

The two Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions was conducted at Afzal Gunj Hospital in Hyderabad in the year 1888 A.D. and 1889 A.D. respectively, under the stewardship of Dr, Edward Lawrie. Dr. Edward Lawrie was the Residency Surgeon of the British Residency at Hyderabad and belonged to the Indian Medical Service and was the personal doctor to Mir Mahboob Ali Khan the VIth Nizam of Hyderabad State. Dr.Edward Lawrie wanted to prove to the Allopathic medical world of the efficacy of use of chloroform as a safe anaesthetic agent in surgical operations which did not have any side effects, as a response to the world wide debate and experiments going on in the Allopathy medical world especially in London regarding the use of safest anaesthetic agent in surgical operations and whether Chloroform can be used instead of other anaesthetic agents. The two Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions caught the medical attention of the world and

focused it on to Hyderabad. Dr. Edward Lawrie was a medical student and house surgeon under Prof. James Syme (1799-1870 A.D.) at Edinburg.¹ Dr. Edward Lawrie had used Chloroform as an anaesthetic agent as taught by his teacher on his patients without any incident of death while being administered during surgical operations. He wanted to prove this to the medical world and when posted to Hyderabad he persuaded Mir Mahboob Ali Khan the VIth Nizam of Hyderabad State to give permission and the support scientific research on the safety of use of Chloroform as an anesthetic agent that led to conducting of the two Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions.

The experiments, the findings, the apparatus used including the chloroform cap, the subsequent demonstrations in London by the products of Hyderabad Medical School, the reports of the Commissions and the acceptance of the findings of the commissions in London and the presidencies in British India gives a special place to these Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions. Hence in this paper an attempt has been made to present the facts related to the Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions which stands out as one of the most world renowned medical events of the Asaf Jahi period from the pages of Hyderabad city.

"The First Hyderabad Chloroform Commission 1888 A.D."

The first Hyderabad Chloroform Commission, was held in 1888 A.D. at the "Afzalgunj Hospital", in Hyderabad city, under the directions of Dr. Edward Lawrie, and under the aegis of the "Hyderabad-Medical School" and the Nizam's Government "Medical Department". The VIth Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, took personal interest in the holding of the commission at the request of Dr. Edward Lawrie. The commission was inaugurated by the Nizam, at "Afzalgunj Hospital". The first commission consisted of surgeon Patrick Hehir, as President, Dr. A. Charmarettes and Dr. J. A. Kelley as members. A series of experiments were performed on dogs to determine the exact cause of death due to chloroform anaesthesia, to last the effects of poisonous does of chloroform on dogs, with the aim that the experiments should have an important bearing on the way in which the administration of the anaesthetic ought to be conducted in the

human objects. The elaborate experiments of the commission, lead them to conclude that chloroform can be given to the dogs by inhalation with perfect safety, and without any fear of accidental death if only the respiration and nothing but respiration is carefully attended to throughout".²

Dr.Edward Lawrie, while forwarding the report to the Government, stated that "the results of the experiments with the principles necessary for the safety of administration of chloroform taught by Mr.Syme, who never had a fatal case and with, my own experience which is founded upon the same principles. I have killed scores of dogs with chloroform and in every instance death was resulted from failure of respiratory function. I have also given chloroform in surgery without a death for more than twenty years and for as many as five to ten times a day during the last fifteen years, I have never seen syncope 'or' failure of hearts action produced by it". Dr.Edward Lawrie, lost no time in publishing the results of the commission.³

Dr.Edward Lawrie, on the occasion of the distribution of prizes to his students by the Royal Highness the Duke and Duches of Connaught gave a short speech on February 23rd 1889, saying that "He had done experiments with reference to the effect of chloroform and had never seen the heart injuriously 'or' dangerously affected by chloroform". Reacting to this statement of Dr.Edward Lawrie, Lancet, "a famous medical journal in Britain, commented on March 2nd, 1889, that the result of the research made on pariah dogs, was that these animals were killed from respiratory failure, in no case did cardiac syncope occur directly. Unfortunately Dr.Lawrie, contents himself with bare statements of results, adding that these results tally with his own experience, which he believes to be uniquely large. Dr.Edward Lawrie, as a disciple of Simpson and Syme arrives at conclusions consonant with the teaching of those great clinician's, but utterly, at variance with the experience alike of experiment and practice as carried out in Europe. We should require more than the scanty statements of experiments performed upon dcgs, notoriously non-susceptible to chloroform syncope - before we could accept the conclusions of the "Hyderabad Chloroform Commission", when they appear to

go in the very teeth of those at which the commission appointed by the "Royal Medical and—Chirurgical Association" (The Glasgow Committee), arrived and further, are opposed to the careful and pain taking experiments of such scientific observers as Snow, Claude, Bernard, Mac Mendrick, and others too numerous to mention.⁴

All those who are familiar with chloroform are well aware that syncope, when primary, as a role supervenes in the initial stages of inhalation. While secondary syncope due to respiratory embarrassment is the result of accumulation of chloroform in the blood leading to paralysis of the medullary centers, and occurs in a late stage of the administration. The primary syncope it is rarely if never, possibly to induce in dogs, although, unfortunately it is this form of chloroform heart failure which does occur in human beings, and which it is almost impossible to remedy. While welcoming the attention paid to the subject by the "Hyderabad Chloroform Commission", we cannot but feel that, the commission should inculcate a disregard of the heart as a factor in chloroform dangers, and it will do harm and provoke a slipshod. Carelessness in the use of that valuable anesthetic, which must in the long run is no damage to the cause the commission, has espoused.⁵

Dr.Edward Lawrie, accepted the Lancets challenge, and in a letter to that journal, published on May 11th, 1889 A.D. he wrote "There is no such things as chloroform syncope. It is conceivable that syncope may occur in initial stages of inhalation of chloroform, but in the course of a very large experience, I have never met with a single instance of such an accident, and if it ever does occur it cannot be due to chloroform poisoning though it might be caused by fright or shock. Owing to the numerous accidents, that have happened with chloroform to the discussions prevalent in the profession, and to the mistaken notion that the risk of heart failure is inseparable from its use; the public dread its administration much more than the dead surgical operations, and familiar from mere fright in the early stages of inhalation, is no less intelligible that it is easy to prevent, in cases where it is likely to occur by a preliminary dose of alcohol. On the other hand, it is equally intelligence that syncope may be

inducted if an operation be commenced, in the initial stages of chloroform shock by being brought fully under its influence. In poisoning by chloroform the heart fails when the respiration ceases, and never before, the heart or' gradually stops beating as a direct result of the stoppage of respiration and as an in-direct effect of poisoning with chloroform.⁶

Dr.Edward Lawrie, further asserted in the letter that the Lancet, should trust to the heart and circulation to signals of danger in "chloroform-administration". Our contention is that if the administration is even pushed far enough to cause the heart to show signs of danger, the limits of safety have already been exceeded and a fatal result must almost inevitably ensue, but we say further, that the respiration invariably gives warnings when a danger point is approached and consequently, that it is possible to avert all risk to the heart by developing the entire attention to the respiration during chloroform administration.⁷

In reply to this letter from Dr.Edward Lawrie, the Lancet, said "Mr.Lawrie, has contended himself with dogmatic assertion and iteration of his former statements. Whatever may be the value of work done by the "Hyderabad Chloroform Commission", Dr.Lawrie, seems inclined to accept the conclusions arrived at, rather than those of well known and tried scientists. It is quite impossible for those who have neither seen the experiments to which Dr.Lawrie refers nor received an authoritative statement 'or' to those methods employed and precautions taken. To accept the evidence of the results, to which he refers, concerning the depressant action of chloroform upon the heart.⁸

Due to Lancet's, dismissive reaction, Dr.Edward Lawrie, persuaded the Nizam of Hyderabad, to give permission to hold a "Second Chloroform Commission", and pay for a second more extensive study in that regard and in 1889 A.D. In a further letter to Lancet, Dr.E.Lawrie, stated that "He was directed by His-Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad to offer "Lancet", the sum of one thousand pounds, to send out a representative to repeat the experiments of the "Hyderabad Chloroform Commission". In response to this offer, "Lancet", proposed, the name of Dr.Lauder Burton, as his

representative in this matter, who accepted the offer. He was regarded as an authority on the action of drugs, on the heart and had published books on the subject.⁹

"The Second Hyderabad Chloroform Commission 1889 A.D.

"The "Second Hyderabad Chloroform Commission", was held at "Afzalgunj Hospital", Hyderabad in 1889 A.D. the same venue as that of the first Hyderabad Chloroform Commission. The second "Hyderabad Chloroform Commission", was held under the presidency of Dr.Edward Lawrie, Dr.Lauder Brunton, was one of the members of the commission, and the other members were surgeon, Major Gerald Bomford and Dr.Rustomji. The President and the members of the first commission were also associated with the second commission. For three months, the commission performed various kinds of experiments on some six hundred animals. The first telegram sent by Dr.Lauder- Burton from Hyderabad to London, was "Four hundred and ninety dogs, horses, monkeys, goats, cats and rabbits used. One hundred and twenty with manometer. All records have been photographed and numerous observations made on every individual animal and the results are more instructive than danger from chloroform is asphyxia or overdose none whatsoever on heart, directly".¹⁰

In December 1889 A.D. the report of the "Second-chloroform commission", was completed with the same conclusion as that of the first chloroform commission, that on administration of chloroform by inhalation to see the respiration stops first by heart. One of the most significant findings of the second commission, was that the administration of chloroform causes a fall of blood pressure and dilatation of the ventricles of the heart.¹¹ The report of the "Second-Hyderabad Chloroform Commission" was first published in instalments in the noted Medical journal "Lancet", in London between January and June 1890 A.D.¹² The conclusions of the "second chloroform commission", provoked numerous adverse comments in England leading medical journals. One of these was from Mr.Lenard Hill, the distinguished physiologist; who said that "the doctrine that chloroform, kills by paralysing

the respiratory centre propounded by the findings of the two "Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions", and the prejudiced enthusiasm of surgeon Major Dr.Edward Lawrie, is one of the most pernicious and dangerous doctrines ever put before the medical profession".¹³

Dr.Lenard Hill, also found many of the conducted experiments faulty, such as chloroform anaesthesia started with the animals in the induction boxes, in less than 6% of the animals were found to have ended, unobserved in the boxes during induction with chloroform, before any of the experiments on them had been set up in this. Hill, also said "The commission gives away their whole case. They never observed the accidental deaths. Dr.Lawrie, Dr.Burnton and their colleagues had ignored those deaths and had glibly ascribed them to the slipshod techniques of their unqualified assistants whose task was to render the dogs unconscious prior to the commission's experiments. Similarly after the publication of the results of the careful researches of Dr.E.H.Embley, the editor of the "British Medical Journal", said of the second commission that "It had looked upon the respiratory failures as the primary cause of death, most of the other researchers looked upon this as secondary to the failure in the circulatory apparatus. The commission deserves much credit for pointing out the importance of the respiration, but from the scientific point of view, no impartial observer can maintain that they proved its main contention".¹⁴

In spite of the wide experiments during the "second chloroform commission", and Dr.Edward Lawrie, personal assurances based on his vast experience, that he had never seen a death from heart failure due to the direct action of chloroform and Dr.Lauder Burton's, conversion to Dr.Edward Lawrie's beliefs the "Lancet", remained to some extent doubtful regarding the authenticity of the results. A carefully prepared questionnaire was sent to individual members of the British medical profession and similar information was sought in a more detailed form of questionnaire from the hospitals at home and abroad. The material thus gathered was analysed and many interesting observations were made by 1893 A.D. Such as by the most prevalent method of administering chloroform was pouring on a

handkerchief and in descending order of frequency on lint, 'or' towel 'or' a napkin, into an extemporized cone, 'or' on a sponge, etc. The recorded deaths resulting from chloroform being administered without an inhaler was used, as to determining the causes of death by chloroform, the answers to "Lancets", questionnaire bore out the findings of the chloroform committee of 1864 A.D. and the Glasgow committee of 1880 A.D. The larger proportion of deaths were reported as having resulted from initial heart failure, in opposition to the view of the physiological researches of the Hyderabad ommission.¹⁵

A possible explanation of why the observations of the "Hyderabad Commissions", differed from these made during the above survey by "Lancet", was suggested that, the conflicting views are reconcilable and seems to be possible, at least in many cases. The reports of the numerous cases refer to the failure of the pulse, as occurring before that of respiration, and it is undoubtedly true that although the pulse does fail, yet the actual heart action continues for sometime after pulse failure. This explanation however seemed hardly to apply to those cases of sudden death, which occurred at the commencement of chloroform anaesthesia, nor can the deaths, be explained as being due to fright and not due to anaesthetic effect.¹⁶

Dr. Edward Lawrie, gave convincing replies to all the criticism and he finally believed in the results of both the "Hyderabad Chloroform Commissions". In order to prove his point, that was based on the results and conclusions of the two 'Hyderabad Chloroform-Commissions', that chloroform administration for surgical cases as an anaesthetic, had no action upon the heart, but only upon the lungs and was absolutely safe, Dr. Edward Lawrie, impressed upon the Nizam and he along with some Hakims of the Hyderabad Medical service, on being deputed by H.H., the Nizam's Government, went to England in order to demonstrate the famous "Hyderabad method of chloroform administration", in 1894 A.D. The account of the then visit and the success of the deputation was well summed up in the report upon the subject which is included in the Medical report of 1894 A.D. of the Nizams Government. The report concludes "During our visit to England there were four discussions at

the well-known Medical societies on the subject of chloroform, the first was at London 'Hospital Medical Society, and was arranged by Dr. Leaf, and presided over by Dr. Dean, of the London Hospital. The meeting was an immense success. The second discussion took place at the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, but was marred by a suggestion made on the part of Dr. Gaskell. The third discussion took place at Sheffield, at a pleasant gathering of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of that town. The meeting was arranged by the friend of the late Dr. Jackson Clenver, and is memorable on account of the brilliant flattering reception accorded to us, as the representatives of the H.H. Nizams Government, by the distinguished physicians and surgeons of Sheffield, and also by the remarkable statement made by the president.¹⁷

In closing of the third discussion, the president said "that he was convinced of the truth of all we had stated about chloroform, but we should still continue to use ether, for the reason, that they got from the London-School as assistants and house surgeons, who knew nothing at all about anaesthesia. Ether being the less patient agent of the two was safer in their hands than chloroform. Finally during our stay in England, Dr. Ferner, introduced us to Mr. Victor Horsley, who had discovered that death from bullet wound of the brain is on cell forms with death from the uncomplicated action of chloroform, and is produced by simple arrest of the respiration without a asphyxia 'or' cardiac syncope. Horsley, whose disinterested kindness can never be forgotten; took any amount of to show us the results of his work, and how to perform experiments, at a time when he was excessively busy and he also repeated in our presence, one of the most famous of those experiments. This experiment showed clearly that death from simple bullet wound of the brain, and it finally settled by the chloroform controversy. No one has attempted to disapprove this statement, for the very excellent reason that it is not possible to do so".¹⁸

Dr. Mohammed Abdul Ghani, and Dr. M.G. Naidu, were the two students who went with Dr. Edward Lawrie to England for chloroform demonstrations. Dr. Ghani, used the now famous Hyderabad Chloroform Cap.¹⁹ The important facts, connected with the Hyderabad

Chloroform Commission's as recapitulated by surgeon-Lieutenant Colonel Dr.Edward Lawrie in the annual report of 1303 Fasli/1894 A.D. which was presented to the Nizams Government and was published in the year 1895 A.D. represented as follows highlights the importance and the final results of the 'Hyderabad-Chloroform Commissions'

Reports of both the commissions were later published by H.H. the Nizam's Government in a book form in the year 1891 A.D. This

memorable event caught the attention of the Allopathy medical world and focused it on to Hyderabad. Hyderabad found a permanent place in the History of Allopathy Medicine, and the permanence was high lightened by wide acceptance of chloroform as the main anaesthetic agent, the use of Hyderabad apparatus for administering chloroform with the help of Hyderabad Chloroform cap in surgical operations stands as a testimony to this world renowned medical event of the Asaf Jahi from the pages of Hyderabad City.

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IRRIGATION AS A SOCIAL RESPONSIBLETY, A CASE STUDY OF KAKATIYA PERIOD

Dr. Gugulothu Ravi & Dr. B. Babu Rao

Water is the essence of Nature. Without water the living things cannot survive and the world cannot exist. The qualities of water and its essential nature are recognized since ancient times. Indian literature refers to the precious nature of water at several instances. The vital activity of water in the natural phenomena is well recognized in India. The Hindus attached divinity to water and called it 'Ganga' and 'Yamuna'. Varun is the god of rain and water. The banks of rivers, river confluences, places of water springs, tanks, seashores etc., are treated

as sacred places, where the temple were built and gods installed¹.

The presence of divinity is felt more in places where a pleasant river flows, swans swimming in the water with the flowering trees on their banks². The Vishnu dharmottara, referring to the installation of images, states that installations should be made at river slides, in forests, gardens, at the sides of ponds, on hill tops and in beautiful valleys. At these places, the denizens of heaven are present³. In Tirukural it is stated that the world cannot exist without water and rain gives life to all the

creation, revives the dying vegetation, restores life to what seems to be dead⁴. Water is considered to be "liquid gold" in the east⁵. Thus the importance of water in the practical life is well recognized even in literature, in mythology, in religion and ritual.

Apart from being the essence of life water plays an important role in the economic life of all societies, as medium of transport, as source of irrigation for agriculture, for power and drainage.

The earliest civilizations of the world flourished on the banks of the great rivers. River waters helped the man in developing agriculture, easy transport, and also to have commercial inter course with distant communities. The rivers acted as the agents in enriching the soil by their seasonal inundation and providing irrigation for the growing crops, as well as the highways by which the produce of the land could be transported to cities⁶.

Irrigation is the artificial creation of water resources by constructing dams, tanks, canals, channels etc., for agriculture. In India, the antiquity of irrigation goes back to the beginnings of civilizations and early farming communities. The hunter-gathers of the prehistoric times turned to be food producers during the Neolithic period⁷.

The people of the "Harappan culture" were also familiar with agriculture as evidenced by the food grains collected from the sites like Mohenjo-dara, Harappa, Lothal etc., though no irrigation systems of the period are brought to light, it is evident from their highly advanced drainage and sewerage systems that the Harappan people must have used the waters of Indus and other small rivers for irrigating their farm lands by constructing dams and tanks and by digging channels etc. During the vedic period also, there are references made distinctively to wells, canals and dams.

The artificial tank irrigation became more popular in the Peninsular India because of its physiographical features inadequate rainfall and lack of perennial rivers in the region. The antiquity of artificial means of irrigation such as tanks, channels etc., may be traced back to the Megalithic times in South India. Almost ninety percent of the Megalithic sites, a characteristic feature of South India, are in close proximity to large reservoirs or river banks⁸. From the

extensive archaeological data on Megaliths, it is concluded that the authors of the Megaliths were settled people who practiced agriculture as their main industry and knew the value and use of irrigation⁹.

During the early historic period and medieval times, the importance of irrigation was spoken highly in the literary works as well as the epigraphical records of the period. The Tirukural and other works of the Sangam period stresses the importance of irrigation and agriculture to society¹⁰.

A few treatises on law also speak with authority on the importance attached to irrigation. The **Mitakshara**, written by Vignaneswara who adorned the court of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, AD 1076-1126, advocates the importance of irrigation works by stipulating rules and regulations for the construction of tanks, wells etc., and for their protection. These stipulations are useful even for the modern society.

The **Mitakshara** states thus:

"When after obtaining the permission of the owner of the field either by request or by payment of money, a man wishes to erect a dam for water or sink a well and if the owner of the field occupies it, the owner himself is punishable".

"The construction of a dam to a water flow should not be stopped by the owner of the field, even though it destroys another's land, provided that it causes little injury and is productive of much benefit (to many). A well, moreover, as it occupies a small portion of land, causes little injury but is beneficial on account of the abundance of water (in it) shall never be stopped. The use of a well more over is indicative, by implication of a small well, a water pond and like others"¹¹.

The construction or digging of a tank is considered by the early writers as the greatest of the seven meritorious acts of a man¹². The **Amuktamalyada** of the illustrious Vijayanagara king Sri Krishnadevaraya stresses the vital importance of irrigation by stating that both virtue and prosperity would increase only when tanks and irrigation channels were constructed¹³. Indian Epigraphical records, while referring to numerous foundations of tanks construction of bunds and sluices, digging

of channels and wells, emphasise the real Indian perception in giving so much importance to irrigation. The early Prakrit inscriptions contain references to the excavation and construction of such water reservoirs as **Kupi, Vavi, Kue Vavika, Tataka, Podhi** etc. In the Sanskrit epigraphs, there are such varied references to water works as **Vapi, Kupa, Tadaga, Paniya-Sangraha, Udapana, Dirghika, Kesara, Saras, Samudra** and **Sagara**¹⁴.

The famous Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman, dated AD 150 is the earliest inscription to speak about some technical details and the repairs conducted to the already existing Sudershana lake¹⁵. The Hisse-Borala inscriptions of Vakataka Devasena, written some time in AD 458-59, refers to the construction of a reservoir and named Sudersanasaras. The slab bearing this inscription was found in a place where there are remains of an ancient brick wall beside an old lake¹⁶ a well found on the side of the Pundariksha Perumal temple at Tiruvellarai near Tiruchirapalli in Tamilnadu has an inscription of ninth century AD engraved on a number of stone slabs forming the margin of the well. It states that the work on the **Perunginaru** or big well was commenced in the fourth and complete in the fifty year of Pallava Dantivarman's reign. This well was repaired in AD 1262 during the reign of Hoyasala Ramanathadeva¹⁷.

The priority given to the construction of tanks over temples is clearly understood from the inscriptions referring to the founding of new settlements. Among such numerous examples, the Kannada inscription of AD 1210, from Agraphara Belagum in Hassan district of Karnataka alludes to the founding of an **agrahara** thus:

"Having created an **agrahara** by the names of Kesavapura, having constructed the tank called Kesava samudra and Lakshmi-Samudra and having erected the temple of Isa and Kesava"¹⁸.

Some of the epigraphical records have explicitly revealed the great religious and social significance attached to the excavation of irrigation works like tanks, canals, sluices etc. From the beginning the construction of a tank was considered as an act of charity which attributed religious merit. As an impact of these

ideological perceptions, the kings, the samantas, the nobles and officials, the merchants and all wealthy man and women in general all contributed a lot in the construction of irrigation works. Particularly the rulers felt, throughout the historic times, that it was obligation on their part to provide irrigation facilities throughout their kingdom. Rulers without heirs considered the creation of a tank as their contribution to one of the Sapta samtanas. Even otherwise also the construction of a tank is considered as one the **Sapta Samtanas** or seven kinds offspring or seven acts of righteousness, which would also immortalize the name of the donor and establish his fame permanently¹⁹. The Ganapesvaram inscription of Kakatiya Ganapatideva (AD 1199-1262) enumerates the seven kinds of off spring or the **sapta samtana** as the procreation of son, the composition of a poem, the hearing of treasure, the planting of a grove, the marriage of a girl to a Brahmana, the construction of a temple and the construction of a tank²⁰. The Vanapalli plates of Anavema dated saka 1300, also refers to these Sapta samtanas.

The Porumamilla tank inscription of AD 1369 is a classic example commemorating the construction of a tank²¹. Apart from invocatory and genealogical details, the epigraph extols the merit of attaching to the building of a tank and also the details of tank construction and the specifications of the site etc.

Verse nine enumerates the seven kinds of the best off springs such as: a son, a literary composition, a tank, a hidden treasure, a Siva temple, a grove and a brahmana village.

These verses clearly explain the importance given to water and irrigation works throughout the period from Vedic times to fourteenth century AD.

In another inscription of sixteenth century AD it is said that the gods, men, **pitris**, the **gandharvas, uragas, rakshasas** and the **bhutas**, all depend on a tank. It is also claimed that the person, in whose tank, men, beasts and birds quench their thirst by drinking its water acquire the same merit as attached to the performance of an **Aswamedha**. Further claims that the **pita** of the excavator of a tank rejoices, the **Pitamaha** dances (with delight) and even the **pitris** of his cognates join him²².

Many other records, particularly of South India speak about the construction, restoration and repairs of tanks, channels, well etc. A study of the beliefs and ideological perceptions which inspired the rulers and other classes of people in undertaking the irrigation works, the attitude of the state towards these works and the different classes of people as authors of these works disprove Karl Wittfogel's theory of "Oriental Despotism".

Irrigation is the artificial application or process of supplying water to crops in the areas where the rainfall is insufficient or unseasonal. It is also termed as "hydraulic agriculture" applied to a system of farming which depends on large scale and government directed water control. "Oriental society" is also called as "hydraulic society".²³

The antiquity of irrigation is as old as agricultural farming. In ancient Indian literature, the land which is "not dependent on the god of rain" (adevamatrika) and has plenty of natural resources of water is highly praised. But when this is lacking, irrigation through lakes, dams, ponds, wells etc., becomes inevitable.

The large scale irrigation works executed in India and other oriental countries were attributed to the state. Some western scholars considered the execution and maintenance of irrigation works as the chief function of the state. Adam Smith, Engels and Karl Marx were the first scholars who stressed the importance of irrigation activity in relation to the position and function of the state. Inspired by Engels analysis, Karl Wittfogel put forward the concepts of "hydraulic civilizations" and "oriental despotism".

Wittfogel's concept of "Oriental despotism" or "hydraulic despotism" focuses on the nature of the tasks in large scale irrigation projects. He explains that the large scale irrigation projects could be executed only by the use of mass labour and this mass labour must be coordinated, disciplined and led only by a controlling authority i.e., the state. He says that in a "hydraulic state" one finds such "authoritarian patterns" as "agro managerial despotism" and a "monopoly bureaucracy". In other words, he has proposed a model of a state sponsored and state controlled hydraulic activity in which there is no scope for an individual private enterprise.

Wittfogel further explained that there were two types of irrigation societies: hydro-agricultural and hydraulic-agricultural. Hydro-agricultural societies are those having small scale irrigation works such as wells, tanks, rivers etc., which did not require a centralized apparatus like the state. Hydraulic-agricultural societies are those having large scale state directed irrigation farming. According to Wittfogel, it was the latter which led to "hydraulic despotism".²⁴

Taking into consideration of all the facts in Indian context, the scholars like Irfan Habib, R.S.Sharma and R.Thapar have questioned the validity of Wittfogel's hypothesis. V.K.Jain,²⁶ after an analysis of the epigraphic and literary data from fourth century BC to second century AD, has concluded that Wittfogel's hypothesis is both logically and factually incorrect.

A review of Indian perception of water as well as irrigation reveals the special attention paid by Indians to water and irrigation works since ancient times. The qualities of water and its essential nature are recognized in Vedic literature as well as Harappan culture. The role of rivers in the economic life of the country was very well recognized by Indians as early as the civilization began in the sub-continent. Artificial irrigation and water management are associated with Harappan and Megalithic cultures. Artificial irrigation in the form of tanks, canals, dykes etc., continued to play a major role in agriculture throughout the historic period.

Some of the epigraphical records have explicitly revealed the great religious and social significance attached to the excavation of irrigation works like tanks, canals, wells etc. From the beginning the construction of a tank was considered as an act of charity which attributed religious merit. As an impact of these ideological perceptions, the kings, the samantas, the nobles, officials, the merchants, religious establishments and all wealthy men and women in general all contributed a lot in the construction of irrigation works.

Many epigraphical records particularly from South India, speak about the construction, restoration and repairs of tanks, canals etc. A study of the beliefs and ideological perceptions which inspired the rulers and other classes of people alike in undertaking the irrigation works, the attitude of the state towards these works

and the different classes of people as authors of these works disprove Karl Wittfogel's theory of 'Oriental despotism'.

The present study concludes that irrigation as a social enterprise in the community life of Medieval Andhra. The epigraphical records

from Andhra clearly reveals that people from all sections of the society contributed greatly for excavation and upkeep of irrigation works. The temple also plays a significant role in that direction.

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MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TANJORE (17th & 18th centuries)

P.S.Harish

Warfare has been a recurring phenomenon from the very beginning of the civilization. Initially wars were small and not complex in nature, but in course of time warfare manifested itself into an important feature of the growing civilization. Since conflicts between various groups and nations became more competitive and widespread, different types of armed forces had to be maintained. In order to ensure success they had to be properly mustered and organized to be effective against the enemy. Hence military organization can be described as away of structuring the armed forces with a need to offer effective military capability.

Military forces have to be powerful in order to attack the enemy and for this discipline and orderliness are very essential. This can be cited as one of the reasons for the growth of the concept of organization in arm y.

Not only here, but when there is team effort in any activity in an orderly manner, we say that it is well organized. Hence the term 'organization' can be used to describe a group effort. In the context of army, there would be groups of soldiers who need to attack the opponent in a well organized way and for this training has to be imparted not only for making soldiers disciplined but to motivate them and imbibe the qualities of bravery and self confidence. In his essay 'A typology of Military Organization', Manry D. Feld identifies five ideal types which he intended to 'represent states of mind'.¹ They are the characteristic military organizations of particular political system and they are as follows-

1. Military elites who maintained themselves as an alien body superimposed on a conquered society. (characteristic of an imperial state)

2. Military elites who maintained themselves as an alien body distributed within a conquered society. (characteristic of a feudal state)
3. Military elites which make their place in society as members of native and politically oriented aristocracy. (characteristic of a national state)
4. Military elites who qualify themselves in terms of some socially oriented scale of aptitudes. (characteristic of a representative state)
5. Finally, military elites whose composition corresponds to the overall structure of power within a nation in arms. (Characteristic of a totalitarian state)²

The important point here is that different states had different types of military organizations based on their necessity and societal background. The British army had to modify itself to the situation based on the type of state on which it was having control. For instance, the Indian army under the East India Company and the British Raj serving an imperial state had to be different from the British army serving a national state or representative state. Similarly the type of persons who served and their loyalty to the state were very different in the Raj (in India and British territories) and Great Britain. These differences imposed different requirements on the officers in the performance of their duties.³

A strong and well organized army is an essential feature in order to sustain a mighty and stable empire. The basic principle of organization and growth of army depended on the nature of wars and the manner in which wars were carried out. Bigger army and sophisticated weapons influenced the methods of fighting and yielded decisive results. From sixteenth century we can notice that the aspect of military organization received significant attention owing to the introduction of firearms in war. These new weapons infused new spirit in the armed troops and it facilitated to the reorganization of the military forces. Stability of the rulers and their territorial expansion depended upon well experienced military strength. The following words of Ziauddin Barani, speak about the importance of military

forces-'Kingship is the army and army is the Kingship'⁴ Hence in order to be victorious in a battle, the king had to strengthen his troops and be an effective leader.

South India during 17th and 18th centuries consisted of numerous kingdoms ruled by various kings and hence there were diverse military organizations operative in the region, each employing different ways of training and operation. For example the organization under Golconda was different from Mysore and Tanjore and vice versa. Most of the functions in the hierarchical set up were similar but the names assigned to them were different. Only in two aspects we could see the difference. Firstly it was with reference to the various weapons used by the soldiers in the army and secondly it was the size the armed forces maintained by various rulers.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION UNDER TANJORE RULERS

Tanjore (Thanjavur) which is located in the southern part of Tamilnadu in the Kaveri delta region is historically a famous city from Sangam period onwards. After remaining as the main capital of Cholas for more than two centuries, this region came under the control of Vijayanagar rulers. During post-Talikota period, Tanjore asserted its independence, though it continued to remain loyal to the Vijayanagar overlords. Sevappa Nayaka who was given the area of Tanjore by the Vijayanagar ruler Achyuta Nayaka became its ruler.

The army under the Tanjore rulers consisted of mainly cavalry and infantry along with artillery. The artillery soldiers were recruited from the Muslim population, while the cavalry was manned by soldiers of Rajput background.⁵ Besides the above three arms of the military, there was irregular infantry who carried with them swords, shields and occasionally bow and arrow.⁶

The Marathas who expanded to the south after the mid 18th century, ruled Tanjore for more than one hundred and fifty years. From the beginning the Marathas established a strong base in their south Indian territories. It was Shivaji's step brother Venkoji who started to rule Tanjore under Maratha banner. During this long rule of Marathas, there were changes

in the administrative matters including that of the military and warfare. During the time of Ekoji and Shahji, various changes began to be introduced in the military system. Serfoji II, who ruled Tanjore from 1798, was well equipped with his armed forces. His infantry consisted of ten battalions of about two thousand four hundred regular troops. They were known as '*Junjhar Pathak*.' It is very significant to know that he adopted all the rules and codes of the British army; however, he prescribed Marathi and equivalent for the ranks and cadres of the Company forces.

The infantry of Serfoji II army consisted of the following-

- a. For every section of six sepoy, one *Dharusi*.
- b. For every section of twelve sepoy, two *Dharusis* and one *Prathikwan*.
- c. For every section of twenty four sepoy, four *Dharusis*, two *Prathikwans* and one *Pakwan*⁷

It is very interesting to see that Serfoji abolished English, Arabic and Persian (vocabulary) and gave Marathi and Sanskrit equivalents instead. He also replaced English drill commands into Sanskrit words.

In the context of military it is very prominent to note that even the names of the instruments usually played and used during the time of the beginning of war and in course of the battle were also translated into Sanskrit and Marathi words.

The designations of some chief officers of his army were *Hashan Junghar Pratama Pratik* (General) and *Hashan Junghar Samaradhira* (Deputy General). The infantry band consisted of twenty seven instrumentalists.⁸ A military store was known as '*Sangram Bhandar*.' The standard equipment for each of the ranks was one musket and a sword. The shape and worth of the sword and belt varied according to the rank the concerned officer held. Serfoji's artillery consisted of cannons of several sizes ranging from small ones to giant sizes. It is significant to note that most of the cannons were imported from England and many were cast in his foundry at Tanjore and Sarabendiraja Pattinam fort.⁹The fort at Tanjore

and the palace were mounted with cannons. Huge cannon (*Bhooda Birangi*) known as the Rajagopala which was built during the reign of Raghunatha Nayaka was also in use at this point of time. The cannons were cast by one Saverimuthu of Madras who was in the service of Serfoji and persons manning the cannons were known as '*Thof Daroga*.'

For using in the cannons and muskets, the gunpowder was imported from Trichy and Madras. He also maintained a *Dharu Khana* for the manufacture of cannon balls and gunpowder behind the present day Saraswati Mahal library and also in the north main street adjacent to the palace.¹⁰ He was also said to have purchased a large number of muskets from Krit Company of London.¹¹In addition to the infantry and artillery Serfoji maintained a small but efficient cavalry capable of doing field service. A portion of the cavalry was kept in the palace to serve him as mounted lancers (known as Lal Risala) and designated it as *Samaradhira Aswa Rakshaka*. These lancers wore beautiful dress and head gear and also wore epaulet, gauntlets helmet and belt with the emblem of Serfoji with the inscription of *Huzur Yodha* or the King's soldier.¹²

Hence it can be concluded that there were numerous kingdoms in south India during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and therefore we find diverse military organizations. With regard to the military organization of Tanjore, there was three fold foreign influences to the existing military organization. One was the influence of Muslim soldiers who basically looked after the aspect of artillery, secondly, it was from the Marathas who ruled the region for a span of more than a century and thirdly it was from the Europeans who influenced not only Tanjore, but also other parts of southern India. The Maratha rulers developed a strong military system and had a thorough interaction with the European military pattern in course of time. It was so profound that Serfoji II adopted all the rules and codes of the British army; however, he prescribed Marathi and equivalent for the ranks and cadres of the Company forces. This is a very significant fusion of European and Maratha military organizations and can be considered as a unique element in the military system of Tanjore.

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CUSTOMS OF DIVORCE AND WIDOWS REMARRIAGES OF LAMBADA COMMUNITY IN TELANGANA - A STUDY

Dr. B. Hathiram

Among the tribals inhabiting the plains of Telangana, the *Lambadas*, with their near-yellow skin complexion, are the largest group. They are originally from North India. After the loss in Battle of Tarain between the Rajput king Pruthviraj *Chauhan* and Muhammad Ghori, the *Lambadas* migrated to other regions. In India's system of positive discrimination, they are listed as Scheduled Castes in the states of Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi, as Backward Classes in Maharashtra, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, and as Scheduled Tribes in Orissa and Bihar. The erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh has classified them as Scheduled Tribes from 1956 in the coastal areas, and from July 1977 in Telangana¹. After the formation of separate states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana on 2nd June 2014, their population in Telangana is 20.46 lakhs or 5.81% of the overall population of the state².

The *Lambadas* are also known as *Banjaras* and *Sugalis*. The term *Banjara* owes its etymology to the Sanskrit word '*Vanachara*' - wanderers in jungles - based on their nomadic life. They are found all over the country and are variously known as *Banjaras*, *Banjaris*, *Boiparis*, *Lamans*, *Lambanis*, *Sugalis*, *Sikalis* and *Lambadas*. The language they speak is *Gor Boli*³.

For marriage alliances between two *Tandas*, they first approach and consult the *Tanda* head. The head hands over the details of

both the bride and groom through *Baat* and *Dadee* and also speaks to the parents of the other side. The *Gotra* or patrilineage of both the families is referred, and only if they match, would the activities related to the marriage be initiated. A *Banjara* man cannot marry outside the sub-caste nor within the section to which he belongs. He is also forbidden to marry a woman belonging to his mother's side, paternal or maternal grand-mother's side and Paternal or maternal great grand-mother's side⁴.

To marry a *Lambada* girl, the groom has to offer the bride a young bull and at least Rs. 25/- as dowry. The marriage ceremonies last at least for six months. The groom has to spend this period at the bride's residence. He has to offer cigars and tobacco leaves to the visitors to the bride's home, and in the evening toddy (palm wine) to the bride's father after consuming some for himself. During this period of six months, he has to drape himself with a five metre long red blanket. When *Tanda* heads visit the bride's family, the groom has to remain standing, draped in the blanket and can sit only when advised to do so. Through out the period, the bride's family offers him with a variety of delicious food, and also dry coconut soaked in ghee and mixed with jaggery, so as to ensure that his attention towards the bride and her parents does not waver⁵.

In ancient period Securing a divorce is quite easy among the *Lambadas*. When

differences of opinion crop-up among the couple, the marriage does not long last. Just like any other tribe, divorces are rampant even among the *Lambadas*. Right from the day one of certain marriage, the community plays spoilsport. Disputes arise around consumption of toddy and arrack. In matters of reciprocation of gifts, the community is invariably involved. If either the man or the woman is divorcing his/her spouse, they are not forced to pay for the expenditure incurred during the marriage. But will have to pay a penalty of *Sakyar Saat, Ghungater Pachchees* – an amount at Rs. 60/- per each rupee of witness, besides Rs. 25/- towards the cost of the veil of a married woman. Over and above this, they will have to bear the expenditure incurred by the community, besides the penalties imposed by the community head. The *Sakyar* rupee has great value among the *Lambadas*. Hence, during community settlements, the *Dhadis* take this rupee with great reverence.

The *Sakyar* rupee is given at the time when the gathering eats jaggery – *Golkavajanna* – in the presence of all. The *Navi* moves in an anti-clockwise direction and gives it over. The same is done in a clockwise direction at the time of engagement. The *Sakyar* rupee is given in the presence of the heads of various near by *Tandas*. If it is the woman who is seeking divorce, her parents try to counsel her; yet if she insists on going ahead, they leave her to her own fate. In such cases of extreme obstinacy on the part of the woman or man, she/he will have to bear all the penalties that are imposed. There are cases where the woman elopes with another man since she dislikes her husband. In such cases, it is customary on the part of the second husband to pay a certain amount to the first. An essay titled *Lambada Tegalo Vivaham, Vidakulu* (Marriages and Separations among the *Lambada* tribes) refers to a *Lambada* woman Gangi, who it seems, sought nearly six divorces.⁶

Widow re-marriages, called *Bang Karer* or *Suko Atochataero*, have been in practice right from the days of yore. The *Lambadas* had the tradition of getting their widowed daughters married again. During those olden days, if the husbands are martyred in *Battles*, their widows ended their lives by burning themselves on the husband's funeral pyre. Such women are known

as *Satis*. There are many such women in every family of the *Lambadas*. They are revered with great respect. A young woman leads a horrible life after the demise of her husband. To ensure that his nephews and nieces are not orphaned, and to afford parental protection, the deceased husband's younger brothers must have married the widowed sisters-in-law⁷.

An investigation of the when and why of the origin of widow remarriages in the *Lambada* society reveals a strong narrative. During the ancient times, Rana Kanji was martyred in a *Battle*. His wife was too young when he died. Moreover, she was the daughter-in-law of a reputed clan, and unfortunately she had lost her husband. The *Lambada* elders deliberated on this matter and decided that she is too young to suffer widowhood. To ensure that the woman of the clan remains within, they have permitted Shekmal, the brother of Rana Kanji, to marry her.

An analysis of the above historic event reveals that the *Lambada* elders did not let the young girl's life wither, and that their hearts melted at the very thought of widowhood at such tender age. Thus they have initiated widow remarriages within the clan. Instead of letting the daughter-in-law of the family become the wife of another man, the elders seemed to have requested her brother-in-law to accept her as his wife. Henceforth, the younger brother marrying the wife of his deceased brother has become a custom.

According to anthropologists, some societies have made it a social right for the brother to marry his deceased brother's wife. Such marriages are known as *Devara Nyayam*. This tradition is prevalent among the *Khasa* tribe living in Himalayan regions. *Devara Nyayam* is of two types – if the elder brother marries his younger brother's widow it is *Jyeshtha Devara Nyayam* and if the younger brother marries his elder brother's widow, it is *Kanishtha Devara Nyayam*. At present, the latter tradition is prevalent among the *Lambadas*. If the deceased man does not have any younger brothers, and the widow marries another man outside the family, he has to pay a certain amount to the deceased man's family as decided by the elders, besides bearing the expenditure towards hosting a feast for the leadership of the *Tanda*⁸.

It is permissible among the *Lambadas* for a man to marry his elder brother's widow. But according to Hindu tradition, the sister-in-law is deemed to be next to mother. However, among the *Lambadas*, the wife of a younger brother is considered like a daughter for the elder brother, hence such marriages are not acceptable.

The tradition of younger brother marrying his elder brother's wife is, therefore, in vogue since ages. The *Lambadas*, therefore, follow the tradition and the younger brother takes care of his brother's wife and children. As barred by the custom, the elder brother does not marry his younger brother's widow but treats her as his daughter. If he happens to be lascivious and satiates his lust in such a relationship, he is ridiculed as *Bodinchoddu*, i.e., one who sleeps with his younger brother's wife. The rituals associated with widow remarriages are a little different from the usual marriage rituals. The widow is first transformed into a *Muttayiduva*, i.e., she is given a *Ghagari* and *Chudo* to wear, and is then decorated as a bride. The couple is seated together; they are given a sweetmeat made of rice flour, ghee and jaggery to feed each other. This culminates the marriage ritual. The left over sweet meat is distributed among the attendees. This event is known as *Bangkaren Ghalero*⁹.

Divorce among the *Lambadas*, during those olden days, was an easy affair. If either the man or the woman is no longer interested to continue married life, they could easily opt for a divorce, without even offering to bear the expenses incurred towards the marriage. However, they had to pay a penalty of *Sakyar Saath, Ghungater Pachchees* – an amount at Rs. 60/- per each rupee of witness, besides Rs. 25/- towards the cost of the veil of a married woman. Over and above this, they will have to bear the expenditure incurred by the community, besides the penalties imposed by the community head. Divorces were rampant during those days, but because of the increased percentage of literacy among them, and their transformation from pastoral life to urban and civilized life, there seems to be a decrease in the number of divorces. But, the divorces settled with in the *Tandas* witness the man being ordered to pay large sums to the woman by way of alimony. Of late, some of the educated *Lambadas* are approaching the courts of law seeking annulment of marriages. Hitherto, the

woman was not paid large sums by way of maintenance costs since it was the man who paid the Bride-price at the time of marriage. But, today aping the surrounding cultures, it is the bride who is paying dowry in lakhs and crores depending upon the family's affordability. In such marriages, if marital discord arises leading to divorces, the man is forced to pay double the amount of dowry that he had taken. However, in some of the *Tandas*, if the couple has marital discord, they live separately but do not seek divorces; such couples are small in number, though ¹⁰.

In the olden days polygamy was rampant among the *Lambadas*, but because of social awareness gained today, this social evil is largely reduced. They pray to various gods for a child, and if they already have a daughter, they seek a son, since he is deemed to continue the family's lineage. No matter the number of daughters they have, they still continue to bear children until a boy is delivered. One such instance can be seen in our *Tanda*, wherein a man had five daughters followed by two abortions, yet they had no son. The first delivery resulted in triplets, of which the two girls survived but the boy died on the third day of birth. There are men who convince their wives who bore them daughters and go on to marry another woman. They do not hesitate to divorce her if she refuses to allow him to marry again. This goes on to prove that the *Lambadas* give more importance to sons than daughters. The *Lambada* society accepts polygamy.

Within our *Tanda*, a couple could not beget any child for quite many years; the man ultimately convinced his wife and married her sister, who beget a child for him. Likewise, my father's elder brother Sri Boda Golya *Nayak* married three women, the younger brother Sri Boda Malu married two women, and my cousin *Sri Boda Mangya Nayak* had married four women. While some of the *Lambada* men resorted to polygamy for reasons of necessities, some others married multiple times to suppress their sexual urges, yet some others marry their elder brother's wife out of obligation to care for her and her children.

During my field study at Lingannapet *Tanda* in Gambiraopet *Mandal* of Sircilla district, I met a 60 year old individual named

Gangaram, who had married a 30 year old woman, since his wife had expired. This 30 year old woman had deserted her first husband to marry Gangaram. Such marriages, although not common these days, can be seen even today in the *Lambada* society. Here is another instance. About fifteen years ago a resident of our *Tanda* (Beriwada) died quite young due to a fall in a well. His wife was at that time pregnant. The leaders of the *Tanda* decided that the deceased person's younger brother shall marry the widow of his brother since she is too young and is about to become a mother and therefore performed their marriage in a temple¹¹.

It is clear that some ornaments indicate their marital status. There is no system of Mangalasutram among the *Lambadas* in Telangana. A married woman wears ornaments. Such as: *Devi, Bhuria, Haar, Hansali, Phulli, Bhaajuband, Kasotia, Matlee, Baliyaa, Chooder Baliyaa, Kasse, Chatki, Phetiya, Kaanchli, Tukri, Wankidi, Sonklvalo Haar* and *Laalderoharr*. The widow will never use the ornaments like *vankidi, anguthala, Tike, Chuderbalya, Gugri*. After remarriage she has to wear all ornaments with bridegroom.

If the deceased person is a man, his wife is given new clothes to wear. She is then accoutred like a *Muttayiduva*, and then all the symbols representing her marital status are divested from her. Henceforth, she cannot wear colourful clothes nor can she use flowers to deck her hair. Her brother-in-law (the deceased husband's younger brother) has to break the *Topali, Ghugari, Baliya* And *Vankad's* she used to wear till then. These ornaments after being removed from her are then tied to the bier.

If it is a husband who is dead, the wife is divested of all the objects that hitherto gave her the status of a *Muttayiduva* on the third day. On the day, all the *Muttayiduv*as in the hamlet give her a shower, braid her hair, apply vermilion mark (*Bottu*) on her forehead, and decorate her with flowers. After she is so bedecked, the widows take charge and first remove the

Ghugari (veil) from over her head, followed by the breaking of the bangles (*Chuder Baliya*), thus signifying the start of her widowhood. She is thenceforth, barred from wearing any ornaments or clothes that are usually worn by the *Muttayiduv*as. Instead of a *Ghugari*, she starts covering her head with a *Chotla*, a simple jacket (*Kali*), and a petticoat (*Petiya*), and a simple half-*Saree* like cloth to cover her chest (*Chantiya*). These clothes are first bought by the daughters for their widowed mother. All the gold and silver ornaments that the deceased father was wearing at the time of his death are distributed among the sons; if it is the mother has died, the daughters receive the ornaments belonging to the mother¹².

In the ancient times it is very easy the process to giving divorce in *Lambada* Community but today it is very difficult to take divorce after marriage. In the olden days the *tanda* leaders only after dispute, thorough discussion Leaders had to decide Divorce, But at Present for the purpose of Divorce process in Men and Women consulting approaching through the Courts only. Although in Ancient period when they come of age, of widows if they have Brother – in – law, the remarriage process will be complete with them only or any wife dies, or Husbands wife may dies are there they will have to marry with widow only. Several remarriages will be held in those days. At present these marriages are not appearing in *Lambada* tribes, as well as in those days polygamy was popular in this tribe Because at the young age any Husband dies, the particular women, cannot live as widow throughout in her life, that *tanda* leaders have to believe that, and or his Brother–in–law or any regular relative marriage process will be complete through turned married couple will see their children benefits and take responsibilities. But now a days polygamy is rarely appearing in this tribe. As it polygamy some are follows for lust, others are for widows children benefits this remarriage continued and also some of them follows this custom.

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DUBASHES RECORDED IN THE DIARY OF MUTHU VIJAYA
THIRUVENGADAM PILLAI (1794-1796) (Monograph in Tamil by Jayaseela
Stephen, Pondicherry, 1999)

K. Ilangoan

Introduction:

Dubash (dho-two, bash or basha, bashi-language) which means knowledge of two languages. He also played role of an interpreter, translator, supervisor, agent and mediator in trade and personal/official matters during 18th century.

When the European traders established trading activities during 17th century they had difficulty in conversing and to deal with the local people. Hence they sought the help of natives to communicate and made them as their assistant. Most of the Europeans i.e, English, French, Dutch and Portuguese who had to essentially need to interact with the regions where they wanted to establish their activities had to depend on these Dubashes. As explained the literal meaning of dubashes are multifaceted and they enacted as interpreter, translator, supervisor, agent and mediator in trade and personal/official matters. Not only they knew two or more languages some were even conversant one or more languages such as Dutch, Portuguese, German, Persian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Marathi languages. There were several dubashes, they predominantly belonged to Brahmin, chetti, pillai and nayaks. Most of the European had dubashes/assistants. Even Indian Princely State Rulers, Kings and other chiefs had one or more dubashes.

The type of work or negotiations they have done are varied from translation of conversation, interpreter, writing letters and other documents, dealing of business, collection of taxes, settlement of disputes among locals and between foreigners, arranging loan, finance between company, working as secretary, manager, banker, creditor, accountant as well as commercial brokers to the chief whom they were working and to the European companies like English/French East India Company, Dutch and Portuguese.

French Dubashes

The details of these dubashes are found in British and French records. In French they were spelt as 'daubachy' as seen in French documents. They were also referred as 'modeliar' a caste name and generally termed as commercial brokers. Mostly the term 'courtier' was used by the Compagnie des Indes(French East India Company) who is the senior local Tamil employee and designated as 'chef de malabars'. These so called dubashes played dual roll both as courtier to the company and between the local artisans, weavers and merchants as chef de malabars¹. The prominent among them were Anandarangapillai, Rangappa Thiruvengadam Pillai, Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam Pillai, Avadhanum Paupiah, Pachiappa Mudaliar, Muniya Pillai, Kanakappa Mudaliar, Neydavoyal Narayana Pillai, Manali

Muthu Krishna Mudaliar, Tottikalai Kesava Mudaliar, Vayalur Kulandaiveera Perumal Pillai^{2&3}, and European dubases such as Christian missionaries like Bartholmaus Ziegenbalg, Roberto de Nobili, Giuseppa Beschi and Christian Friedrich Schultz were also carried out role of dubashes³.

These dubashes played a significant role in the social history of South India and to the society where they lived. This paper analysis specifically about the dubashes narrated in the Diary of Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadampillai (1794-1796). In Pondicherry itself during French rule especially the family of Ananda Ranga Pillai, his son and grandson had written the diary consequently. The period of diary recorded is between 1794-1796 when Pondicherry was under British occupation for the second time. The French revolution also took place in France during this period.

The diaries of Pondicherry:

The spotlight on the dubashes and history of southern India during the 18th and 19th century was thrown out by Anandaranga Pillai, because it was due the translation of his diary from Tamil to English and published on the auspicious of the English rulers. The other three diaries which were later published had not been studied in detail. Hence as an attempt to show some more reading is now made of the history through the diary of Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam Pillai.

There are several aspects that could be looked into the daily writings of the diary with the language that was used, social aspect, religious activities, political affairs, customs, practice and systems existed at that time, business, trade, natural and geographical events, type of money dealings like advance borrowings, interest, loan etc.

A number of researches, articles and books have been released and seminars conducted on Anandaranga Pillai diary. The first four diaries mentioned above i.e, Ananda Ranga Pillai, Rangapa Thiruvengadam Pillai, Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam Pillai, Second Veeranayakar has been published and the last one the diary of Guruvappa Pillai is not found but a reference appears in the Anandarangapa Pillai diary. All three diarists are from the same

family spanning around 60 years. The fine streaming of diary events jotted down in the 18th Century throws light on the history of French India, the society of the yester years, customs, practices, trading, business etc., Still more studies could be done on the unexplored subjects. The essence of system of religions, customs and practices existed, role played by these dubases, administrative and legal system that prevailed, castes and community in 18th century can be felt when we read the diary. From this study of these dubashes the picture of 18th century social strata, education, customs and rituals followed, trade, business etc can also be visualized.

Diary of Rangapa Thiruvengadam Pillai:

The diary of Rangapa Thiruvengadam Pillai and his son Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam Pillai has been edited and published Shri S.Jayaseela Stephen. The present study is taken on the dubashes mentioned in the French colony of Puducherry.

Diary of Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam Pillai (1794-1796).

Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam Pillai is the son of Rangappa Thiruvengadam pillai born in 1777 and he has called as Vengadasam as pet name. His name has been mentioned in Paris documents as Vasaradarya Muthu Vijaya Tiruvengadam Pillai. French Governor Thembran has appointed him as Tamil leader after his father on 1st March 1791, when the English troops laid siege on Pondicherry. He helped and guarded the Governor and died in 1801. The period in which this diary was recorded is after the third Mysore war (1790-1792) where British under rule of East India Company gained more power for their colonization. The British then occupied Pondicherry for the second time from 23 August 1793 to 18th June 1817 for a period of 23 years. The diarist who was living during this period has written only for two years and only a short period of British administration is known. But it is known that migration and desertion of people from Pondicherry to other places took place since the English has demolished the buildings and entire town in ruins.

The Gist of the diary:

Elaborate details of judgement, orders passed by the court i.e, Chavadi, notices, public announcement of the authorities has been recorded in the diary. The clashes between Right and Left hand caste people, payment of tax for his inherited Sedarapet village income, getting permission for construction of house in the Puducherry town, death of Arcot Nawab Mohammed, death of Vijayanagar King, the cannonball villages of Puducherry taken over by the Cuddalore Collector, Temple festival celebration about the fire walking, Kolattam, houses auctioned for non payment of taxes and loans, announcement of French police Chief in French on 11th April 1795, Monsieur Fumeron shot himself dead by his two barrel gun for not paying the loan he borrowed from local chettis, Tanjore Amarsingh proceeding on pilgrimage to Kasi are some of the incidents registered in the diary. Another fact that has been recorded is that he has appointed an English men to teach English for him (15th Sept 1794) and could not continue because of his busy work.

The language spelt at the time of the diarist the names of the masters/chiefs Monsieur (Mister), Escotton (Esquadron), Maister (Major) etc, differs. These dubashes most of them are either picked up or appointed to the European masters who does not know the local language. The dubashes are well known persons in the Pondicherry and nearby local community and mostly from Pillai, Mudali and one Brahmin. They know Tamil, French or English. As said earlier they main task is to assist the masters in interacting with local people and to deal with their personal and business requirements. The details of the salary or any other kind of payment or remuneration paid to these dubashes are not known. But most of them have got their share by way considerable percentage of business dealings by arranging loans & interest, sale of products in textile trade and collection of taxes.

The dubashes enjoyed dignity, pride and the higher status in the society and they were also leaders of their respective community. It was also the responsibility to solve amicably the clashes, problem arising in the community and in their area. The qualification were mainly to know the languages of Tamil, French or

English and the ability to deal with their European masters requirements. The period of this diary from 11th August 1794 to 15 January 1796 which comes to 402 days most of the days the word dubashi is mentioned. This shows that there are a number of dubashes were working for their masters are well recorded.

Some important events documented in the diary

The significance of this diary is that tamil language with mixed words of French, English, Portuguese, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Hindustani is written in the diary and a list of glossary and word that is spelt has been given for guidance to read the diary. The 18th century tamil has slowly changed its face in a way with mixed words of above said languages. This shows the dominance of foreign rulers for the past few centuries and especially there are more foreign words mingled in French Puducherry than other parts of India. The system of collection tax, judicial system, punishment, announcement by tom tom are elaborated here. The diarist Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam has translated French to Tamil, Tamil to Arabic and Tamil to English as seen on date 06-01-1795. An advocate from Srilanka Kandy has visited Pondicherry and he was welcomed in the palanquin with drums, dance and fanfare on 23-09-1795. The diarist explains in detail that the information written in a letter which was received by another dubash Subbraya Mudali from Gudiyatham. about the incidence of flood that occurred on 24-12-1795 in Arcot, Gudiyatham, Chetpet and Chittoor where it washed away several houses, damaged trees, cattle and caused huge loss to crop and to the people. There is also information about the death of Nizam Ahamed Khan on 28-10-1794 and death of Karnataka Nawab Mohammed Ali Khan on 13-10-1795. Another recorded report is the Police Chief Bimron committed suicide by shooting with his two barrel gun since the lender has asked to repay the loan that he borrowed and didn't pay. Solar eclipse occurred on 10-01-1796 as was recorded in this diary. The celebrations of Gokulashtami, Bogi, Pongal, Pot breaking(uriyadi), New Year are documented in the diary.

Conclusion:

From 17th century until the transformation to the direct control of the British and only during the period of East India Company when the Europeans needed to establish their trade and business they appointed dubashes. In the beginning of 19th century the Company, when more problem arose with the dubashes the Europeans discontinued the assistance from them and directly dealt with entities. Hence the

dubashes disappeared from the scene. It is evident from the diary that the dubashes recorded in the Muthu Vijaya Thiruvengadam diary are prominently caste leaders and even the diarist itself has a strong binding on their religious faith dealt with the Right and Left hand caste feud and about their financial dealings such as collection of taxes, mediation, translation and interpretation for their masters are the main task they had carried out during the study period of this diary.

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THE CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN SCAVENGING: THE VIEWS FROM COLONIAL CALICUT

U.V. Jasriya Yoosof

“It is a perpetual source of wonder and amusement to see the unembarrassed care with which employment of a personal nature are carried on in the most crowded streets”¹

The above mentioned are the words of a traveller who came to India in the nineteenth century which provides an insight regarding the practice of open defecation during those times. Excretion is one among the basic characteristic of every living organisms and like any other aspect of the day to day life of the human beings, this one aspect also witnessed some sophisticated changes and ways from the oldest civilizations to the current living condition of humans due to their enlarged brain structure when compared to the other creatures. Majority of the population of India practiced the open defecation system before the introduction of toilets and the practice continues even today in some parts of the country. Open defecation can romantically viewed as a relationship with the nature as it involves the procedure of decomposing the waste produced in the living organisms from the consumption of natural products and the giving back of it to the nature to produce new products.²

Open defecation may have been the common culture in the rural areas but with the

starting up of towns new ways were needed for the disposal of human waste because the towns were very congested places when compared with the rural areas. Human waste is considered as a polluting object and with the urban agglomeration happened due to the inflow of population from rural to the urban milieu in search of good opportunities in matters of job resulted in the creation of many homeless people in the cities and they used streets and other places of public resort for defecation. This sudden increase in the demographic pattern may compel the rulers of the city to think about new ways for the disposal of human waste. We have some idea about the toilet system during the Indus period and a toilet case has been found at Harappa.³ The toilet jars used in the Harappan period were made of ivory, metal, pottery, stone etc and small toilet tables were also there which was specially designed for women.⁴

The knowledge and practice of toilet may have started during the Indus period but the institutionalisation of sweeping and scavenging as a profession seems to be of a recent origin. There is a reference in Koutilya's *Arthasasthra* regarding the prohibition of open defecation in the towns but it doesn't mention about the employment of scavengers for the disposal of

night soil.⁵ Old scriptures like the *Naradiya Samhita* mentions about fifteen duties of the slaves and the disposal of human excreta is one among them. The *VajasaneyiSamhita* attributes the above duty to the *Chandals* and the *Paulkasa* slaves.⁶ The Chinese traveller Hsuan Tsang who visited India during the time of Harsha mentions about the living condition of the untouchables such as scavengers. They lived outside the villages and when they entered the town, they need to announce their entry by shouting loudly so the other people can keep distance from them in order to not get polluted by their approach.⁷

During the British period, India has witnessed the outbreak of many epidemic diseases and the main task of the British administration in India was to safeguard the English population from these diseases. In the initial period they only cared about their habitation areas and viewed the so called 'black towns' as the main source of the diseases. The significant awareness happened in favour of the natives during the British period was that the "diseases respected no barrier between natives and Europeans".⁸ Hygienic practices were begun to be considered as a useful tactic in preventing the disease generation, distribution etc and the municipal bodies in various corners of the country gave ample amount of attention towards this. Scavenging as a profession has its birth in the history of modern India through the administration of civic bodies and the present paper is an attempt to understand the nature and mode of scavenging that existed in city of Calicut.

The time when there was no septic tank toilet as of today, the service of the scavengers was inevitable in an urban set up and the civic bodies were in charge to provide this basic amenity to the urban population. The local self government policy introduced by Lord Ripon strengthened the local bodies with the power and fund needed to implement the upkeep of the conservancy staff like the scavengers. But still the work done in this regard in the Calicut Municipality was not sufficient. It is reported that Calicut municipality had used incinerators and trenching grounds for the disposal of the night soil during 1914-1917. But the common practice was the use of trenching ground for the disposal of night soil and the number of

incinerator used in the municipality was insufficient. The collected night soil and other garbage were mixed up with saw dust and burned into ashes with the help of incinerator but the unavailability of saw dust was a problem in this method because saw dust was heavily used as a cooking medium by the people. There was also another method used in the incinerator which did not become common because of the use of comparatively expensive items such as Kerosene oil and Carbolic acid.⁹

Unresolved garbage and the night soil became serious problem in the streets of Calicut and it was causing a high threat to the wellbeing of the population. In Calicut town each sweeper had to attend seventy houses and this disparity in the required and actual number of sweepers needed in the town was causing the lack of hygiene.¹⁰ The private scavenging system was considered as the best way to tackle the diseases and introduced after the widespread influence of contagious diseases during the British period in India.¹¹ During 1943, sixty four families were doing the scavenging work in the Calicut municipality and only thirty families were provided with residential area by the municipality in lieu of one rupee of monthly rent payable to the municipality.¹² Scavenging lanes were situated in the town areas exclusively for the residential purpose of the scavengers.

Paraya, *Pulaya* and *chakliya* were the most important castes among the scavengers and the latter were the immigrant class of people from Tamil Nadu. They were also called as *Thotti Parayar* or *Pattana Parayar*.¹³ *Thotti* was the term used in the regional language to refer to the scavengers. Scavengers used to collect the night soil from the houses in buckets and transferred it to the hand carts. A hand cart would contain ten buckets of night soil and then it was deposited in the lorry parked near the present vegetable market or Ansari Park in Calicut town and its journey will end after reaching the night soil depot.¹⁴ Some days the system of scavenging in Calicut municipality starts when the scavenger clean the latrine in morning and carry it to the temporary place of deposit and the night soil would be there till the forenoon, then night soil lorries transfer it to the night soil depot known as *Njeliyanparambu*, 1.5 mile away from the city. The strong public

reaction against the dumping of night soil in a water course at Puthiyara resulted in the inauguration of a new trenching ground at Njeliyanparambu. It has an area of eleven acres during 1927 and a *maistry* was in charge of the trenching ground and the trenches were done by the *coolies*.¹⁵ The night soil deposited here and there in the town areas for a temporary purpose of storage was a continuous nuisance till the motor lorry collected it from there. It was a major concern from the part of public and they asked for either an altogether avoidance of such temporary deposit sites in the public places of resort or the deposit being made in certain selected places out of public view. The actual work time of the scavengers of the Municipality was from 5:30 in the morning to 7:30 in the evening without any proper lunch break.¹⁶ Apart from this they must also report during any emergency or if they made any mistake in the work done while cleaning the latrines.¹⁷

Calicut municipality levied one percentage of the annual rental value from buildings and half percentage of the annual rental value from land as the scavenging tax.¹⁸ As an example, the Fisheries training institute in Calicut paid rupees 3-6-0 as the quarterly scavenging fee to the municipality for the hostel building and rupees 3 for the institute during the year 1925. The scavenging fee for the hostel was paid by the inmates.¹⁹

Scavengers were the one section of people who were associated with the task of cleaning the waste of the town dwellers but at the same time they had dirty surroundings to live upon. The very hectic work schedule from early morning to late evening did not allow them to concentrate on their body or surrounding cleanliness. The essence of caste system is its attachment to the body, not the soul and thus giving importance to purity and pollution. Physical contact of the body with the disgusted things causes pollution and which can be removed by physical cleansing. It is important for the higher castes to protect the purity of their body and the creation of an unclean section of people was become inevitable to engage with the polluting materials.²⁰ In the case of the scavengers in Calicut also, there may have been a social segregation due to the nature of their work.

Generally, the people employed as scavengers were from the lowest strata of the caste hierarchy and the demeaning and defiling nature of their work may even increase the social distance they were faced earlier as part of their caste identity. Some kind of insight regarding this can be drawn from the inspection report of the Calicut municipality in the year 1927. The inspection report of the municipality was a routine after every three years in the Madras presidency and the inspection report of the Calicut municipality mentions that Calicut town was an area having strong caste prejudices and highlights the need to provide urgent housing infrastructure to every conservancy staff in the Calicut municipality.²¹ From this inference, it may be assumed that the scavengers who were not given housing by the municipality are facing problems in finding an accommodation due to the nature of their job and their caste.

Mulk Raj Anand in his work '*Untouchable*' depicts the inhuman treatment received by the scavengers from the high caste people. The protagonist Bakha, scavenger in the military barracks says; "They think we are mere dirt because we clean their dirt."²² Caste restrictions regarding the use of public wells, roads, entry to the temples etc. were even worse to the scavengers when compared with other backward castes. The *Untouchable* novel draws a scene where the scavenger informs his arrival by shouting while walking through the streets so that his approach may not pollute the 'pure people'. *Thottiyude Makan* (means 'son of a scavenger' in Malayalam) is a novel written by Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai. The novel gives us insights regarding the living conditions of the scavengers. In the novel, Municipal overseer and its President were exploiting the scavenging community due to their ignorance regarding their remuneration. The actual salary was never received by the scavengers and a major share of what they got was used for buying alcohol. The children were not given admission to the schools because of the caste prejudices and the first set of people wipe out due to the break out of an epidemic in a locality was the scavenging communities. The novel *ThottiyudeMakan* depicts a situation where the municipal overseer and president discussing the measures to be taken regarding the outbreak of a chronic small pox and they doesn't even

consider the scavengers as fellow human beings. Overseer does not make any step to vaccinate the scavengers and his view point is that the fever followed after vaccination will pause the scavenging work of the municipality. His plan is to fetch new scavengers from Tirunelveli to Kerala after all the existing scavengers died due to the epidemics.²³ Scavengers viewed these epidemics in connection with their religious belief also and during the outbreak, various offerings to their local deities were conducted to get rid of from it by appeasing these gods. Later on various working communities including the scavengers began to understand the power of their unity and began to form unions and organisations to make their appeals to the authority and thereby provided with their actual salary without any alteration to it by the intermediary officers.

Starting of the trade union movements in different parts of the country influenced the scavengers in Madras to form their trade unions and three thousand scavengers in the Madras Corporation under the Madras Scavengers Union went for a strike asking for hike in their pay.²⁴ Calicut also witnessed formation of a union among the scavengers under the banner of the *Harijan Seva Sangham*. The sangham conducted a survey regarding the condition of the scavengers and submitted the report to the municipality. The report tried to draw the attention of the municipality on the dangerous condition of the scavengers lane situated opposite to the woman's hospital, provision of casual leave, sick leave and provident fund etc, educational backwardness of the children of scavengers and to provide them with adequate housing. It also urged the municipality to stop the heinous practice of removing the night soil in bucket as head load. It stressed that no other administrative body in the world will promote such a disgusting practice.²⁵ Scavengers opted for many strikes and the municipal bodies began to give awareness to the town dwellers on the need to find permanent solution to the disposal of human waste and install permanent arrangements. After the independence also, private scavenging²⁶ existed and it ended in Malabar during the 1980s due to various strikes by the scavengers in different part of Malabar to get rid of this demeaning occupation.²⁷ When the private scavenging was abolished, the communities traditionally doing the scavenging

work began to work under the municipality as the sweepers and the cleaning staff. Today also the majority of the cleaning staff work in the Calicut municipality is from the earlier scavenging communities and the scavenging lanes in the earlier time are still in the town areas now. Some of the still existing colonies of the backward castes in the town were the scavenging lanes provided by the municipality to the scavenging communities for the residential purpose. The settlements opposite to the present EMS stadium in Calicut town, near the Nadakkavu bus stop and the Malayala Manorama office are some of the earlier scavenging lanes.

Scavenging as a practice can be seen in India before the advent of British but their rule in India ignited it to more institutionalised form and despite the 'civilizing mission' cry of the British administration, they officially employed scavengers in military cantonments and municipalities.²⁸ They did not provide technological innovations instead of manual scavenging and this institutionalisation of the scavenging led to the deepening of the already prevailed caste prejudices, notion of bodily purity and pollution, segregation of the lower castes etc into a more rigorous level. In Calicut town area people used the service of scavengers by paying the municipality a monthly scavenging fee and according to a notification issued by the Calicut municipality in 1932, it is compulsory for the owner of every building to construct the latrine. The latrine shall be situated in such a position for the easy access of the cleaning staff of the municipality and the municipality will levy a fine of rupees 50 from the owner of the building if he prevent any municipal staff or scavenger from conserving such places.²⁹ From this we can assume the importance given to the conservancy of the town by the Calicut municipality and any breach in it from the part of the owner of the property was a fineable offence. The service done by the scavengers or the conservancy staff was a great deal in this matter but due to the demeaning nature of the work they have done, they were secluded from a social life among the main beneficiaries of their service. They were confined to the scavenging lanes and these lanes were regarded as the filthiest place in the town. Here the town dwellers can't imagine their life

without the service of scavengers but that service itself was the reason of the privileged section to keep aloof from the scavenging lanes and the scavenging community of the town.

The continuous strikes by the scavenging communities and the introduction of the septic tank toilets in Calicut town ended the practice of scavenging in the town.

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THE AMERICAN BAPTIST TELUGU MISSIONARIES CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANDHRA PRADESH & TELANGANA

Dr. B. John Robert

The Missionaries had vigorously strived for the promotion of lower rung of the classes in the society and found the most fruitful field for their labours. There was formerly in deep seated prejudice against the admission of low caste

children in Public Schools, which sprang partly from the dislike of the well – to – do children to mix with low class panchanamas which includes the Madigas and Malas, etc.

The Christian Missionaries has established many Elementary Schools in all over the Telugu Mission Area with the hope of improving primary education and to make it attractive to the rural population. The lamentable backwardness in literacy was common to all communities. Rev. J.H. Brock had opened 82 schools in the Ongole area with enrollment of 1309 Pupils.

Education especially in Ongole field became a great asset to the evangelistic work. Those who wanted to become ministers right after their Baptism were given a six – week training course and were sent out as evangelists. The teachers training school for women were established at Bapatla, Ongole and Nellore. The training schools made possible the educational and economic advancement of the depressed people. Dr. Fishmen gives fascinating statistics on the growth of education.

He says that “by 1905 there were 635 day schools with 12,398 Pupils, 23 boarding schools with 1,761 Pupils, three high schools for boys with 824 Pupils, one high school for girls with 15 Pupils, one seminary with 105 students, one training schools for girls with 35 students and one college with 34 students.

The success of the educational mission was due not only to the Missionaries but also to the people who responded to the Missionaries.

The Missionaries had also paid great attention to improve the conditions of the criminal tribes. They also tried to bring them in the mainstream of social life. The Yerukalas, of whom there were 6,514 in 1921, were originally a nomadic tribe in the Nellore District. Donga (or thieving) Yerukulas who have no permanent place of residence had a tendency to lead a life of crime. The African Baptist Mission started a school at Kavali in connection with the Kavali criminal settlement. The school had done an excellent work for reclamation of the younger generation of the criminal tribes of Nellore District. In 1912 Rev. Bullard opened Yerukula settlement at Kavali with 20 Yerukula families. At one time the number of inmates came to 2,000 and there was also a branch settlement at Allur. The Christian Missionaries had also laid great stress on vocational education. They taught a trade or handicraft

which would help them to eke out their livelihood. John H. Reissner aptly said that one of the out standing features of organized Christianity within the few decades was its increasing awareness and interest in rural life.

Medical Work:

The medical work of the American Baptist Mission was begun at Ramapatnam in 1890. first a dispensary was maintained. The most noticeable feature about the South Indian Village life was the low standard of health maintained by the people. It was often assailed by epidemics. The Christian Mission finds its sanction and compelling motive in the very nature of God, which is revealed in Jesus Christ – as redeeming love. It is for this ministry to bear witness to a distinctive conception of God of the world and of human life. It must show compassionate concern for every human being seeking to restore and maintain health within him and to lead him to build up an enduring Christian character. As such it is inescapable obligation of the Church to provide the medical service that will meet the needs of the people and foster within them the ideas of unselfish service. The Church cannot and will not separate itself from the issue of health.

The territorial extent of the area in which the Gospel preaching extended is called the Mission field. The American Baptist Telugu Mission is an evangelistic enterprise. It has been worked out the Telugu field by the sincere efforts of the pioneer Missionaries among the outcaste pariah tribe i.e., Madigas and Malas. It was an experiment which yielded tremendous results in a period of one century. History shows that evolution takes a good many centuries in any phase of movement to reach its desired effect. The Missionaries knowingly or in knowingly in an abrupt manner without any agenda or constitution plunged into the evangelistic work. They applied their endeavour to evangelize the rustic downtrodden. They learnt many things by doing in a pragmatic way. Their purpose was to preach the Gospel and of the recipients was to get out of their traditional backwardness. These two aspects desirably produced the present developed American Baptist Telugu Mission.

The historical perspective of the American Baptist Telugu Mission presents in a distinct

form, the origin and establishment, the evolution of the Mission fields the evangelistic work of the Missionaries along with humanitarian perspectives of educational work, medical work and relief work. The perspective also describes the aims and objective of the American Baptist Telugu Missionary movement. It also aids to it the brief histories of the Missionaries of the Telugu Baptist Mission.

Of all the denominational Missions working in the Telugu country, the Baptist denomination has done wonderfully well in raising a large number of leaders who can be depended upon. They have been instilled with the principles of honesty, sacrifice and duty from the very beginning by the distinguished lives of the Baptist Missionaries. The Missionaries of this mission have done this one thing more than any other thing. They have produced leaders by the hundreds and thousands. The fact that a great majority of responsible places in the Methodist, Wesleyan, Mennonite and other Missions were filled by the leaders from the Baptist denomination is the proof of overflow of leadership.

This system of organization was in existence up to 1965. The name American Baptist Telugu Mission was changed to the Samavesam of Telugu Baptist Churches. The new nomenclature "Samavesam of Telugu Baptist Churches" came into being in 1963, but it became official in 1965 when the new Constitution was submitted to the Registrar's Office. Some changes were made in the erstwhile constitution and bye-laws to suit the changed circumstances.

BOARDING SCHOOLS

The schools were not only the agencies of the educational work referred to here, but also the centers of all community service. In this connection a boarding school in the mission could be described as the power house of the whole enterprise, and a source of supplies. Such boarding schools were established in many District centre where there were mission stations. A significant social change took place in the boarding school.

A significant social change took place in the boarding school. The learning situation in the village life is replaced by the compound life

which exerts stranger educational influence than family and community life. The discipline of the classroom is more strict and the dormitory is carefully regulated in the interests of meeting the needs of a large group of small children for food, shelter, recreation and health care with the greatest possible economy in effect and material and with the least possible friction. Under such strict control in an environment completely removed from family life and traditional occupational atmosphere much of village superstition and awkwardness disappeared. In fact youth educated in this manner were so completely isolated from such influences for long period that they were astonishingly ignorant of Hindu religious practices. Classroom education loomed large in this life and points over to higher institutions of similar kind. Instruction was very formal and bookish and seldom related to daily life and needs of the compound, even much less of the village. As these schools were vital for the success of the evangelistic work, the missionaries best gave great attention upon the successful functioning of these schools. The Missionaries have given the best encouragement for the children of the Christian converts, by giving financial help in the high school education several High schools for boys and girls were established in many Mission stations and the orphanages were attached to them. Hundreds and thousands of Christian students and come up through these schools. They poverty had never come in their way to prevent them from education. There are other high schools namely, the boys high school, Ongole: The Coles Ackerman Memorial boys High School, Nellore the Girls High School Nellore: The Hird High School Narasaraopet and the A.B.M High Schools at Bapthla and Kavali.

These schools are as prominent as the Kurnool High School. All are orphanage attached schools. Many of the best educated Christian men and women and passed through the portals of these high schools. The Christian Boys and girls of other casts in these places received their education by paying low fees. The money they spent away the money and used up other benefits they lapsed into their pristine degradation. The missionaries were however, conations in keeping the minds of the converts. The missionaries therefore, began opening schools as a drive against illiteracy.

These schools later developed into vocational centers to help the people in earning a respectable and dependable livelihood. Services of teachers, doctors, social workers, nurses were engaged. An awakening was felt in the villages, and the oppressed were becoming conscious and thinking individuals. The sincere and dedicated services of the missionaries were frequently hampered by adverse conditions that prevailed in villages.

Coles had long been involved in the extensive educational programmes. The mission pioneers had done a great work in the education of women, on tastes, and tribal groups in all stages of education. The American Baptist Telugu Mission Educational institutions were well provided with a dedicated band of staff, and pleasant atmosphere which was congenial for learning and training for future life both in secular and sacred fields. The educational programmes of the Telugu Mission geared up the improvement of social life and preparing the taught to become valuable citizens of the Mission.

KANDUKUR – 1893

Kandukur is a small village about 50 miles north – west of Ramapatnam. Rev. Wheeler Boggess and his wife worked in the field from starting in 1893 to 1914 for three terms. The Boggesses arrived in Kandukur in 1893 and began their evangelistic work. A Mission bungalow was erected during 1893-1894. Rev. Boggess was a strict believer in the policy of self – support. He openly announced his doctrine in the churches in 1897 and followed it through out the period of his service in the field. Dr. Ferguson was in charge of the field from 1899 to 1901 during the absence of the Boggesses. Seventy-six converts were baptized during 1900 by Ferguson. The Boggesses returned to Kandukur in 1901 and resumed their work. Social and economic problems could not be ignored if the missionaries were to preach the Gospel to a people who were socially down-trodden and economically deprived. These problems demanded attention as much as spiritual issues.

So the A.B.T.M. established an organized system through which the Socio-economic needs of the needy people in Andhra Pradesh were met with. They met the socio-economic

need of the people by providing education to boys and girls, extending medical care, emergency relief, agricultural assistance, starting orphanages and societies such as Christian Endeavour Society and other methods.

When the American Baptist Telugu Missionaries started their work in 1836 in the Telugu area the social and economic condition of the lower caste people was deplorable due to illiteracy and poor economic background. The society was very rigid with caste distinctions. As per as the lower classes were concerned their economic condition was disappointing. The situation was caused due to the failure of the rains and also the famines that followed as a result. So the Missionaries involved themselves in the upliftment programmes ever since.

The low-caste people who were converted by the American Baptist Missionaries, were originally traditional leather workers of the village community. They had the traditional productive relationships and the system of reciprocal duties and services. Their main duty was the tanning of hides and the manufacture of rule leather articles. They bent the thappets (Trumpet) at the village festivals and ceremonies. They worked as yetis to carry the news and announce news by tom-tom in the villages. They took some parts of their family use. They performed many other subsidiary services for the smooth functioning of the village community. They worked as labourers on long term basis.

SECUNDERABAD – 1875

Secunderabad is within five miles from Hyderabad. It was once a British cantonment with largest British troops in India. Rev. W. Campbell and his wife were sent to Secunderabad to open a new Mission Station. They reached Secunderabad in 1875 and stayed in a travelers bungalow. Campbell held Sunday service in the bungalow itself, and Mrs. Campbell started a Sunday school too. Campbell baptized three converts from a family in December, 1876. He arranged regular English prayer meetings for soldiers. A bungalow was secured in 1878. In 1881 a building adjoining the bungalow was purchased and converted into Chapel – cum – School House. The Campbell left for America in 1881 due to ill-health and returned in 1882.

Mr. and Mrs. Newcomb came to Secunderabad in July, 1884 to assist the Campbells. But they went to Cumbum in the same year to look after the work of the field in the absence of Dr. W.B. Boggs. Campbell opened Nalgonda. The Campbells were forced to leave for America due to the continued illness of Mrs. Campbell in 1888. Mr. R. Maplesden was transferred to Secunderabad from Ongole, to relieve the Campbells in March, 1888. The Secunderabad field was divided and a second station was started at Bolaram assigning W.E. Hopkins to the new station. After a few years of fruitless efforts Bolaram station was closed. The Secunderabad field suffered from frequent changes among the Missionaries and among the soldiers as well. Dr. W.B. Boggs who had been working at Secunderabad for four years, was called as the Principal of Theological Seminary at Ramapatnam in 1899. Mr. Hopkins was succeeded by F.H. Levering. Miss Kathrine French, Miss Mary D. Faye and Miss Sussie were all designated to Secunderabad during the period. The Leverings were transferred to Madras in 1910. Mr. and Mrs. A.M. Boggs who were already in Secunderabad assumed the charge of the field. Miss M.E. Morrow and Miss French looked after the educational work. The Leverings again returned to Secunderabad and continued their work. Miss F.F. Hollis joined them in 1913. Mr. and Mrs. Marsh were transferred to Secunderabad. They arrived on April 1, 1921. the Leverings left on April 6, for Kotagiri on the Nilagiri Hills and they retired there.

The Marshes left for America in 1921. Mr. Rutherford was assigned to the Secunderabad field. Miss Hollis continued her service in the field. The co-educational station school was converted into girls school. Miss Hollis started a kindergarten in 1825. A Church was organized with 83 Christians. Rev. C.R. Marsh and his wife were the station missionaries in 1929. The special Commission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society visited Secunderabad on January 13, 1929. The Kurtzs were the Station Missionaries in 1932. The annual Deccan Association meeting was held in March, Deccan Association. He was also the manger of the Baptist Missionary Review. These were nine primary schools with 132 boys and 35 girls. Five men teachers and six women teachers were working in those schools during 1935.

The A.B. Missionaries explored a new mission station in the Nizam Dominions at Secunderabad. It was also the first mission station in the Deccan area.

HANUMAKONDA – 1879

Hanumakonda is a town in the Nizam Dominions situated between the rivers the Godavari and Krishna. It is 86 miles north – east of Secunderabad and four and half miles from Warangal. Mr. and Mrs. Loughridge arrived in Hanumakonda on January 9, 1879. After a year's work among the people Loughridge baptized his first convert. A Church was organized in Hanumakonda on January 4, 1880. A day school was also opened. Mrs. Loughridge took care of the school and also work among the women. A.A. Newhall joined Mr. Loughridge in February, 1883. While Mr. Loughridge was busy with the construction of the bungalow Newhall toured the field and preached the gospel. Mr. Loughridge returned to American in 1884 leaving Newhall incharge of the work. Newhall married Miss Menke in 1884. Miss Bortha Menke joined her sister Mrs. Newhall at Hanumakonda. They worked among the girls and the women in the field.

Rev. J. Stuart Timpany a medical missionary was designated to Hanumakonda in 1896. He started a hospital as The Victoria Memorial Hospital. Dr. Timpany attracted both Hindus and Muslims apart from outcaste Christians.

Miss Wagner who was transferred to Hanumakonda in 1901 worked in the nurse training school up to 1904. Then she went on furlough and she had not returned. The Timpanys left for America in 1905. Handing over charge to Rev. J. Wiens and returned in 1907. Miss Anna Linker joined the work in Hanumakonda in 1907. Rev. Charles Rutherford and his wife were transferred to Hanumakonda in 1910 for the field work, but his wife died in 1911. Rutherford continued his work after the death of his wife. He baptized many people in the field. A new boarding school was opened. He returned home with his little daughter in 1913. Rev. B.J. Rockwood succeeded him but stayed only two years. He was transferred to Kurnool in 1915 as Principal of the high School.

Timpany established and carried on two branch dispensaries one at Cumbum and the other at Jangaon, where, over 5,000 patients were treated in 1914. When the Timpanys went on furlough in 1915 Rev. Jesse W. Stanger, M.D., and his wife were transferred from Nellore to Hanumakonda. There was at first a slight falling off in the attendance at the hospital but in the second year he had the largest attendance on record. Mrs. Stanger worked among the women and the children. She supervised the station schools and the Bible and Zenana work. The Timpanys returned in 1917 and the Stengers were transferred to the Clough Memorial Hospital, Ongole. Mr. and Mrs. Rutherford, the second wife, returned to Hanumakonda and relieved Dr. Timpany of his field work. The Preston Institute was started in Hanumakonda in 1919 by Rutherford in memory of his first wife Mrs. Rutherford. Later on it was transferred to Jangaon.

In 1922 the Station Missionaries were the Timpanys. The Home Mission Society organized the Church in the field and supported their pastor also. Many caste people freely invited the Christian preachers to their homes. The Mulsim parda women admitted the Christian nurses into their houses to treat them. The manleys came to Hanumakonda to attend the medical work. The Penners continued their gospel work. There were five organized churches with 786 Christians. The construction of the Church at Hanumakonda was continued.

One hundred and Seventy – Nine converts were baptized in Warangal during 1926. The station School was continued in spite of the budget cut. The Missionaries shot many cruel beasts of the forests which hunted the villages. Mrs. Manley and Miss Gulban started child welfare centers in three villages. The Hanumakonda field association was organized in 1928. It began to manage field affairs and paid the salaries of the workers from the local income.

Rev. C. Rutherford was in charge of the field work in 1931. Miss. H.L. Stoudenmire took care of the women's and theological education were needed. So schools of different kinds were established in the fields. To meet the needs of health and hygiene, dispensaries, health centers, hospitals and nurse's training schools were provided in the fields. Economic development

and unemployment problem demanded industrial schools and settlements and increasing of the village schools. In this way the evolution of the fields took many turnings. In course of time the small beginnings of the Mission in one or two stations expanded into 28 Mission fields. Each Mission field with expanded into 28 Mission fields. Each Mission field with a Mission Station situated in the crucial place has worked on mostly for the full scope of its expansion. In this chapter an attempt has been made to trace the history of the main Mission fields with special reference to their beginning and the services rendered by the leading Missionaries in spreading the religion and starting educational and medical institutions.

NELLORE – 1840

Nellore Mission Station was founded on February 26, 1840 by Rev. Samuel S. Day, the first Baptist Missionary. Since it was the first station the geographical extent was unbounded. It was then called the 'Lone Star'. Day started the Gospel work from Nellore staying in a rented house. In 1841 an eight acre land was purchased from the Government near the Grand Trunk Road and a Mission House and Chapel were built in the site. A girl's school was also started there by Mrs. Day. It was the first girl's school in the Mission. After a year and seven months the first convert Venkappa was baptized by Day.

The Nellore field comprised the then Nellore Taluk North of river Penna, all of the Taluks South and a portion of Guduru and Rapur taluks. The town of Nellore, 107 miles North of Madras, is the headquarters of Nellore District. The area of Nellore was about 800 square miles. Nellore Church was organized on October 12, 1844. Rev. Van Hussen and his wife who arrived in Nellore on March 21, 1840, worked as Assistant Missionaries to Day. After a period the Hussens went on furlough in October 1845 due to ill-health. The Days also left for America in December, 1845 due to ill-health, leaving the station to the incharge of Eurasian Preachers in 1846.

JEWETT

Rev. Day singly returned to Nellore along with Lyaan Jewett and his wife on February 16, 1849. The under cultivation. The children in the

schools worked to have their clothes and rise the grain in the fields for their food. These schools also received no financial support from the Mission. The government recognized the boarding school in consideration of the wonderful service of the Staits. 78 pupils were in the school. It was admitted to grant – in – aid by the government. The Staits retired in May, 1932.

Five Christian native men and three Christian native women and one non-Christian men worked in three primary schools with 74 boys and 34 girls during 1935. There was also one grammar school with 18 boys and 4 girls in the Udayagiri field. Rev. J.F. Burditt was the first missionary who started the Udayagiri field with grant missionary zeal and the Staits were the longstanding Missionaries who brought the development of the field to a climax. Mrs. and Dr. M. Grant Stait was awarded Kaiser – I – Hind Gold Medal for two times.

KURNOOL – 1875

Kurnool is situated on the banks of river Tungabhadra about 160 miles west of Ongole. Clough and D.H. Drake visited Kurnool in 1875 and baptized 26 converts on December 1, 1875. Thus the Kurnool field came into existence. Drake began the evangelistic work in August, 1876 and baptized twenty – two converts. A church was organized in Kurnool on December 23, 1877. Another church was also organized in Atmakur on the following Suncay. Guravaiah was appointed as the pastor of Atmakur Church. Drake went on furlough in 1879.

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Rev. F.E. Morgan and his wife worked in the Kurnool field from 1879 to 1885. Morgan constructed the Mission House in 1882 with the grant of Rs. 5,000/- received from the Mission. Forty – Seven converts were baptized during 1882. Rev. E.E Sillima Succeeded the Morgans in 1885 and left the field in 1888 due to ill-health. G.N. Thomssen worked in the field from 1892 to 1895. Dr. Rogers Memorial Gospel Hall was erected in 1892 to 1895. Dr. Rogers Memorial Gospel Hall was erected in 1893. W.A. Stanton and his wife took charge of the Kurnool field in January, 1895. The Stantons worked in the field up to 1932 with some interruptions due to the furloughs and transfers. The Kurnool field was divided into Kurnool and Nandyal division was handed over to Dr. Stenger evangelistic and educational work. Medical work was taken care of by J.C. Camran, M.D., and Nurse Training School, by Miss Sadie Robbins. Rev. Rutherford took over the charge of Hanumakonda field in addition to the work of Jangnon in 1932. One Hindered Thirty Two converts were baptized in the Hanumakonda field. Two chapel school houses one at Doshnpet and the other at Paidapalli centers were dedicated. This was the second Mission Station of the A.B.T.M. in the Telangana.

The Missionaries in their attempts to uplift the socio-economic condition of the depressed classes, educated the people and provided them with job after completion of their education. They extended their help through institutions and through relief measures

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THE ROLE OF DALIT LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL AWAKENING MOVEMENTS IN HYDERABAD STATE: A STUDY

Dr. P. Krishna

Introduction

The roots of Dalit movement in the present day Telangana lied in Hyderabad during the early decades of twentieth century. Hyderabad State witnessed a radicalized autonomous and urban based Dalit movement. It was during this period, 1906-46, that Dalit leaders rebelled against the servile status within a feudalized agrarian economy; their segregation and lack of access to social and civic amenities by caste-Hindus and caste ideology that conferred an inhuman status to the Dalits (Omvedt, Gail 1995:43-52). The Dalit leadership expressed the new-found solidarity among the lower communities and their determination to struggle to escape the hereditary fixation of occupation and appropriate the emerging form of newer power structures (Omvedt, Gail: *ibid*).

The Dalit movement ideologically fought for structural changes in the society. It also sought to organize the Dalit masses for

achieving socio-economic and political equality. In view of growing democratization, their increasing importance and their involvement with various political circles, Dalits were naturally inclined to build up organizational strength for achieving political power for their progress. As a result they established their own organizations to put forth their political demands. Thus, the Dalit liberation movement in Hyderabad established several organizations through which they organized Dalits to strike squarely at the decaying practice of untouchability (Patankar, Bharat & Gail Omvedt 1979: 409-24).

Moreover, the colonial rule witnessed the emergence of a new force in the Nizam's dominion. The increasing evidence of the growing consciousness of the outcaste groups, culminated into proliferation of organizations throughout the region. Soon after the Madras government accepted appeals of Dalits to be called with their regional name prefixing Adi,

i.e., Adi-Andhra, Adi-Dravida, etc., the Manya Sangam, established in 1911 by Bhagya Reddy Varma was renamed Adi-Hindu Social Set-vice League in 1922.

One of the significant developments of the period in the Nizam's dominion that was to reproduce crucial repercussions during the post-colonial phase was the divide between the Malas the Madigas. The inability of leaders to overcome their prejudices, lack of a comprehensive policy to cement the widening gulf between the two communities hampered the development of the Dalit moment (Chinna Rao, Yagati, 2003: 23-24). This paper focuses mainly on the leadership of Bhagyareddy verma, Arige Ramaswamy and B.S. Venkatrao

Bhagyareddy Verma

Bhagya Reddy Varma (1888-1939) laid the foundation of the Dalit movement in the region. He was actively associated with the caste-Hindu organizations especially the *Brahma Samaj*, which were to have a decisive impact on his own ideology and agenda of action. Yet his organizations maintained an autonomous outcaste identity in juxtaposing to the caste- Hindu organizations that were keen to incorporate outcastes within their fold of influence. He worked against many evil things by organising people under organisations and conferences. Some of them are listed below:

Jagan Mitra Mandali. In fact, The Dalit movement in Hyderabad dates back to 1906, when Madari Bhagya founded an organization called the *Jagan Mitra Mandali* which involved Madigas and Malas, and started telling stories by 'Hari Katha' (popular folklore). In 1910, he started to educate Dalit children from his own expense. In a short span of time he was able to run 25 centres with 2000 students. He arranged regular *Harikatha Kalakshepams* during or at the end of which Bhagya Varma spoke eloquently, telling the Dalits that they were the real and original inhabitants of the country and that the others have migrated from central Asia for their livelihood and that the main cause of their backwardness was their ignorance and illiteracy.

Buddha Movement (1912): Jagan Mitra Mandali members gave due recognition to Buddha's movement against the Vedic dharma,

the Varna system, and offering animals to appease deities, and preached vegetarianism. BuddhaJayanti was celebrated every year on Vaisakhi poonima day. Later, Bhagya Varma formed Manya Sangham to eradicate social evils.

Panchayat court system: In 1919 a meeting held with *Jangamulu, Dasulu, Mulnavasi*, for the **Adi Hindu** beneficial program. The purpose of this event is to resolve the internal issues in Dalit community; he insisted the panchayat court system to be rebuilt.

Adi Hindu Hand skills exhibition: In 1925 Adi Hindu Hand skills exhibition was held to showcase the dalits skills to the world. Bhagya Reddy also campaigned on many social issues like Child Marriage, Black Magic, Women Education, Alcohol prohibition etc. His work was spread to neighbouring states Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Andhra, from their as well people joined voices and followed the revolution.

Adi-Hindu Social Service League: Soon after the Madras government accepted appeals of Dalits to be called with their regional name prefixing Adi, i.e., **Adi-Andhra, Adi-Dravida**, etc., the Manya Sangam, established in 1911 by Bhagya Reddy Varma which was renamed as **Adi-Hindu Social Service League** in 1922.

In 1931, on the eve of the Second Round Table conference, a special political session of the (Ninth) *All-India Adi-Hindu Conference* was held at Lucknow. Bhagya Reddy Varma presided over this conference in which representatives from all-over India participated. The most significant resolution of the conference was recognition of Dr B R Ambedkar as the sole and true representative to speak on behalf of 9 crore of Adi-Hindus (Untouchables) in India, a resolution which was passed unanimously (Bharat Patankar and Gail Omvedt, pp. 409-424).

Devadasi Movement. Reddy had launched a movement against *devadasi pratha*, forcing the Nizam to declare it a crime. Moreover, During the Telangana Movement in 2017, the students of Telangana region renamed the G. M. C. Balayogi Athletic Stadium at Gachibowli as Bhagya Reddy Varma Stadium.

Arigay Ramaswamy (1885-1973)

Arigay Ramaswamy (1885-1973) is also one of the most influential leaders and social activists who stood at the centre of Dalit activities in Hyderabad State and Andhra regions. He formed and advocated the rights of Untouchables under many different banners. Some of them are as follows:

Suneetha Bala Samajam: Arigay Ramaswamy founded Suneetha Bala Samajam, and carried on his activities in Kummonaguda, a locality in Secunderabad, where he lived. He exhorted his brothers to abandon liquor and eradicate the Jogini system and preached against animal sacrifice and child marriage. Though Ramaswamy had faith in Achal Siddanth and Brahma Samaj, he firmly believed that Dalits were separate from Hindus.

Arundhatiya Association: Recognising the backwardness of the Madiga, he formed the Arundhatiya Association for their welfare. It seems to be that there were conflicts between Arigeramaswamy and his contemporary leaders. For instance, Ramaswamy married a Madiga boy with a Mala girl, which was opposed by the community members.

Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha in 1922: He formed an Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha in 1922, with Konda Venkataswamy as president and J. Papayya and Arigay Ramaswamy as vice-presidents and J. Papayya as its secretary. Bhagya Memorial Girls High School at Esamia Bazar, Koti, Hyderabad, and Telangana, which he started in 1913, is still functioning.

B.S. Venkatrao

The year 1922 saw the emergence of another great Dalit leader, B. S. Venkat Rao in Telangana Dalit history. In this year B. S. Venkat Rao with the co-operation of Madari Govindarajulu and Madari Venkataswamy started an organisation under the name. **The Adi-Dravida Sangam** in Bangaru Basti, Gasmandy.

The Adi-Dravida Sangam. This organisation was an imitation of the Adi-Dravida Sangam of Madras Presidency. Its main objective was the removal of Devadasi system which was rampant in Bangaru Basti"

Adi-Hindu Mahasabha: In 1927 B. S. Venkat Rao formed the Adi-Hindu Mahasabha along with C. S. Ethirajan, K. Ramaswamy, Arigay Ramaswamy and others, and tried to bring a new awakening among Dalit masses.

Adi-Hindu Library: Adi Hindu Library was established by Venkatrao and he also extended financial help for the opening of a Library and Reading Room which was called "Adi-Hindu Library." Worker of the community regularly met at the library to discuss their difficulties confronting them P. R. Venkataswamy. 1955. p. 49.

In 1936, B. S. Venkat Rao led the delegation to the *Maharashtra Asprishya Youth's Conference* at Pune. This conference was presided over by N. Shivaraj and addressed by Dr. Ambedkar (Ibid: 51). Influenced by the speeches of Maharashtra Dalit leaders, they organized the youth league of Ambedkarites with Venkata Rao as president and Venkataswamy as secretary. Its aims were to organize the youth to support Ambedkar in leading the untouchables out of the Hindu fold, to enlighten the people of the troubles of Hinduism and to organize a dynamic campaign of social economic disabilities and deprivations (Ibid., Pp. 80-101).

Conclusion

The role of Dalit leadership is inevitable. In fact, 1920s and 30s witnessed factional struggles among the Dalits. By the later part of 1930s, Hyderabad Dalit politics was marked by competitive struggles. Divisions in the movement, the founding of rival Adi-Hindu organizations and rival reform caste-panchayats produced occasional physical confrontations and fights between factions during 1930s. B. S. Venkatarao had difference with Arigay Ramaswamy and later with Subbaiah. Bhagya Reddy Varma was condemned by rival organizations for being partial to the cause of Malas and creating fissiparous tendencies within the movement. The Arundatiya Mathunga Sabha and the Arundatiya Mahasabha became the organizations of the Madigas who put forth their demands independently of the other communities.

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KAKATIYA FORTS IN UNITED KARIMNAGAR DISTRICT – ANALYSIS

Kundur Sudhakar

The rule of the Kakatiyas inaugurated a new era in the history of Andhradesa. They ruled the regions inhabited by the Telugu people from about A.D.1000 to 1157 as feudatories of Western Chalukyas and from A.D. 1158 to 1323 as independent rulers. As independent rulers, they succeeded in their endeavour to unify the Telugu country extending from Bastar (Chhattisgarh) in the north to Kanchipuram in the south and from Bidar in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. The Kakatiya rulers not only tried to bring all the Telugu regions under one umbrella but also to strengthen the feeling of oneness among the people by glorifying their cultural heritage. The Kakatiya kingdom was regarded as one of the most powerful kingdoms of medieval India owing to its powerful military establishment. The rulers, following the tradition, gave much importance to the construction of impregnable forts in the strategic points and fully equipped them with armaments, soldiers, cavalry, elephants, food stock and medicines including the very rare things and were kept under the

able supervision of *dandanayakas*. Especially, their construction technology attracted the attention of the art critics and engineers of modern times.

Among all the forts of this period, the one that was built in the capital city was considered as the core of the defence mechanism. In the early years of their rule, Anmakonda served as their capital. Garuda Beta, or Beta I was the earliest member who settled in Anumakonda. In the ninth century epigraphical records, we can see its name mentioned as Armakonda and gradually it took the form of 'Anmakonda'¹. This ancient town since the Rashtrakuta times, besides being a Jaina centre, continued to be the capital of the Kakatiyas till Rudra became independent. The remains of an old fort, the temples in the fort complex such as Siddhesvara temple, Padmakshi temple, the Thousand Pillared temple, Prasanna Kesava temple, the Betesvara and Proleswara shrines etc. can be seen even today. After becoming an independent ruler, Rudradeva felt it necessary to carve out a more formidable fort to meet the

needs of his capital. Thus came into existence the wonderful fort of Orugallu, the details of which can be discussed in the succeeding pages.

The Kakatiyas, in course of time occupied some other forts which were built by the previous rulers who ruled Andhradesa before 11th century A.D. and carved out some others aided by the natural formation and availability of the material. Thus the entire territory inhabited by the Telugu people right from Bastar in the north to Kanchipuram in the south and from Bidar in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east came into the hands of the Kakatiyas. The territory around each fort was kept under the supervision of a *Mandalesvara* or *Senapati*, who was regarded as the ruler in charge of the territory around the fort, but subordinate to Mahamandalesvara (the King). Each and every Mandalesvara vied with others in developing the region under his jurisdiction socially, economically and culturally. As a result of it, the fort city became a centre of multifaceted glory. Thus the study of forts with their categorisation and significance in the political, socio-economic and cultural milieu becomes an interesting study. The present study is an attempt to focus on this aspect with the help of all the available historical sources.

Veligandula Fort

Veligandula (now known as Elgandul) in Karimnagar district lying on the Kamareddy road, about 10 kms to the west of Karimnagar town ((Bahudhanyapura and later from the days of the Kakatiyas, it came to be called as Veligandula. The first available record at this place is dated S'1124 (A.D.1202)² belongs to Chaunda Peggada of Malyala family, who was a subordinate of Kakatiya Ganapatideva. Throughout the rule of the Kakatiyas, it played a key role in protecting the kingdom from the aggressions of the Seunas of Devagiri. After the rule of the Kakatiyas and the Musunuri nayakas, the fort went into the hands of the Padmanayakas. Kandana was the governor of Velugandula fort during the Padmanayaka rule.

After the Bahmanis, Elgandula came under Quli QutubulMulk, the founder of the Qutubshahi dynasty. During the rule of Ibrahim Qutubshah (A.D. 1550-1580), the governor of Elgandul fort was Jagadeva Rao. He revolted

against the qutubshahis, but was defeated and driven away. The rebel leader fled to Vijayanagar and later to Berar. With the misunderstanding that Ramaraya gave shelter to Jagadeva Rao united all the Bahmani kingdoms which led to the battle of Rakasi-Tangadi. When the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb conquered the fort of Golconda in A.D., 1687, Elgandula also went into the hands of the Mughals.

When the Asaf Jahis came to power in A.D. 1724, Elgandula came under their control. Amin Khan became the first governor of this fort. The successive governors of this fort were: Muqarrab Khan, Fakir Munwar Khan, Ibrahim Khan Dhonsa, Ehtesham Jung and Bahadur Khan. During the rule of Mir Mahaboob Ali Khan, the Nizam VI, the political headquarters was shifted from Elgandul to Karimnagar in A.D. 1905³.

Thus the fort of Elgandul played an important role in the political and military history of the Telugu country from the Kakatiya period to the Asafjahi period. The Brindavan tank in the eastern side of the fort gate, the temples of Nilakanthesvara and Narasimha, lying on the fort, and mosque built in the later period, attract the attention of the tourists.

Ramagiri Fort

The Ramagiri fort, which is 65 kilometres north-east of modern Karimnagar, is an impregnable hill-fort built in stone with several bastions containing a very vast area of several square kilometres on the hill. It played an important role from the early times to the period of Asafshahis. The fort is identified as surrounded by many Satavahana sites, which reveals the fact that Ramagiri might have been a stronghold of defence for the Satavahana rulers. Some historians believe that the mud fortification was built by the Satavahana rulers. After them many dynasties ruled this region and many extensions were added to the vast area of the fort⁴. Gundaraja of Manthani and Edaraja of Ramagundam, the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, were defeated by Kakatiya Prola II, who captured the fort of Ramagiri along with its out-posts i.e., Manthani and Ramagundam. It was an important stronghold of the Kakatiyas till their sudden fall in A.D. 1323. It was under the control of Samanta Bhoja, the Kakatiya

feudatory of Sabbi Sayira mandalam, who successfully occupied Kamchi for Ganapatideva. According to the literary sources, Prataparudra was first taken to Ramagiri fort as the captive of Ulugh Khan, but the idea of imprisoning in the Ramagiri fort was withdrawn by the Prince of Delhi with the fear that local uprisings would take place in favour of Prataparudra.

After the Kakatiyas, Musunuri Kapaya Nayaka, who liberated the Telangana region from the Delhi Sultans, strengthened the fort of Ramagiri along with its out-posts. During the rule of Anavota Nayaka, the Padmanayaka ruler appointed Muppa Bhupala as the governor of Ramagiri fort. The Bahmani Sultan Ahmad Shah occupied this fort in A.D. 1433. Sultan Quli Qutbshah occupied it defeating the Berari forces. An inscription datable to A.D. 1556 belonging to the period of qutbshahis reveals that a Nayaka namely Tumminayaka built the entrance gate of the fort (perhaps renovated), the expenses of which were imposed on the local people⁵. In 1656, Abdullah Qutbshah, being defeated by the Mughal forces, gave his daughter in marriage to Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb along with Ramagiri fort as marriage dowry and thus the fort went into the hands of the Mughals.

Still we can see the ruined walls, bastions, temples, mosques, tombs, wells and gardens on the hill. The local people identify the buildings on the hill as Prataparudruni Kota, *Asvasala*, *Gajasala*, *Bhojanasala*, *Cerasala*, royal court, secret passages, narrow paths, guns, canons, canon-balls, etc. The relics of various structures such as *Citrakota*, *Tratikota*, *Nimmakota* and wells such as *Topubavi*, *Nallakayya-bavi*, *Pasarubavi*, *Haribavi*, *Acchammabavi*, *Ammagaribavi* and *Saptadwaras* (seven gateways) are spread over in the hill

Thus the fort of Ramagiri played a strategic role in the history of medieval Deccan and it was developed and expanded by different rulers both Hindu and Muslim, giving space to different architectural structures. This vast hill-fort complex, if made accessible to the visitors, will become a great tourist destination.

Pratapagiri Fort

It is situated at about 120 kms north-east of Karimnagar and very near to Veligandula

and Manthani or Mantrakuta. An undated Telugu inscription, which records the construction of the fort by one Muccha Nayaka, and refers to the titles such as *Cholarajya Sthapanacarya*, *Pandya-manu-vibhala*, *Dayagaja Kesari*, *Ari-Raya-gaja-kesari* and *Teluguraya*⁶. While the last two titles were usually borne by the Kakatiya rulers, the others indicate the southern expeditions and achievements of Prataparudra II. The fort was named after him as it was built on his advice and direction and the care taken by him in its construction. Hence on the basis of the information given in the inscription, it can be assumed that it was built by Muccha Nayaka on the instructions of Prataparudra after his southern expeditions in A.D. 1318. It is a hill fort built in stone. As it is located in a thick forest, it can be treated as a *Vanadurga*, and also can be identified as *Vana-giri-durga*, a *giridurga* located in a thick forest. As it was a strategic fort, the Bahmani Sultans, the Padmanayaka rulers and the qutbshahis might have made use of it as a defensive fort.

Mulangur Fort

Mulangur fort, situated to the south-east of Karimnagar at a distance of about 30 kilometres. It is another formidable fort built during the reign of Prataparudra II. It was constructed by Oragiri Moggaraju, the Mandalika of the place and the subordinate of Prataparudra. It is constructed on a granite hill and the inscription found available on a boulder informs us that the fort had two gateways. It can be grasped that it was an outpost lying on the way to Orugallu fort from Veligandula fort. The relics of this fort such as walls, gates, bastions, sculptural panels, etc. can be found on the hill even today.

Jagityala Fort

Jagityala, situated to the north of Elgandula at a distance of 50 kms. Polasa lying in the vicinity of Jagityala, had a glorious past dating back to 11th and 12th centuries A.D. when it was the capital of the Polavasa chiefs, who ruled contemporaneous with the early Kakatiyas of Anumakonda.

The Polavasa chiefs ruled over this region with their capital at Polasa as evidenced by the pillar inscription dated A.D. 1108 lying in the courtyard of the Paulastyesvara temple of

Polasa. After Medaraja I, his son Jaggadeva (A.D.1110-1116) became the ruler. He was a valiant soldier and was victorious in 21 battles. It may be presumed that the same Jaggadeva might have founded this village in the neighbourhood of his capital Polasa to commemorate one of his victories after his name as Jaggadevala (*ala* means a colony or habitation of the Brahmins) which had gradually turned into Jagadala, Jagatyala and eventually as Jagityala⁷.

Later, the Kakatiyas might have developed it as a fort town, but those structures were destroyed during the Bahmani attacks. Jagadala Mummadi ruled it for sometime as the governor of the Kakatiyas. The Pakala Lake was constructed by him. Now we can see a strong fort built during the Asafjahi period. The Kakatiyas identified the perennial water resource and selected the site for the construction of this fort. As the fort is built with a very big tank of Kandlapalli village, the water

in the deep moat never gets dried up even during the summer season. Perhaps, this is the only fort seen in the Deccan with a moat always containing water in it.

Nagunuru Fort

Situated at about 8 kms to the north of Karimnagar town, Nagunuru was a prominent centre of political and religious activities for about four centuries under the Chalukyas of Vemulavada. Western Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Kakatiyas of Warangal. In the inscriptions, the village is mentioned as Nagunuru. In the village can be seen the remnants of a mud fort around it and the traces of which can be noticed even today. All the splendour and glory of the village have vanished and today, we can see only the Kakatiyan temples, which were once attached to the fort and which are very important for their architectural and sculptural wealth. These temples belong to 12th and 13th centuries A.D., exhibiting the sculptural beauty of the Kakatiya artists.

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PHILANTHROPIC DONATIONS TO TEMPLES AND OTHERS UNDER QUTB SHAHI RULE – BRIEF STUDY

Mangth Maloth

Qutub Shahi of Golconda kingdom ruled all Andhra desa for nearly 170 years well knit administrative system by maintaining harmony and equality. They united all Telugu speaking people into an umbrella from A.d 1518 to 1687. The dictionary meaning of the word 'harmony' is peace and friendship'. The harmony is otherwise known as (synonym) toleration.

Regarding the toleration, it is recognition of right of others in religious matters, or liberty to uphold one's religious beliefs and forms of worship without any interference. In its widest sense it means much more than this and amounts to even-handed treatment in all

respects, covering not only religious freedom and liberty of conscience but also recognition of right of enjoining privileges of all kinds without regard to religious differences and without making invidious discrimination between the rulers and the ruled or between one class and another. It will be a negation of toleration if a person is granted freedom of thought and worship but is not admitted to those privileges to which his fellow-beings are, or rather if he is subjected to such gross inequalities as have often been experienced by the people of the countries under foreign domination. It was toleration in the widest and not limited sense that the Muslim rulers of India granted to their

subjects of all classes and creeds. They enjoyed not only liberty of thought and freedom of worship, but also admitted them to all powers and privileges, which they themselves enjoyed. They behaved as Indian national kings, completely identified themselves with the interests of their subjects and worked for their social, cultural and economic development. Under them, the Hindus enjoyed equal status with the sons of the ruling race and occupied the highest offices in the State next only to that of the king.

The Golconda kingdom under Qutb Shahi rule in Deccan was also similar to above-mentioned statement. They always worked for the welfare of the Hindus; they protected their lives and properties. The Hindus enjoyed equal status, rights and liberty as that of their Muslim brethren under the Qutb Shahi rule.

Hindu Charities

The religious institutions of the period were also great social welfare and charitable organization. Many a time, they also acted as agents for executing the charities of the rich and pious members of the society. Charity, which is of a comprehensive nature, was expressed in different ways depending upon the capacity and the convenience of the donors. The usual form of charity was to give villages, lands, grains, money and other items of property for maintaining religious and educational institutions and for providing shelter, food and water to the needy persons free of cost.

Thus, the religious institutions provided an outlet to the charitable urge of people and enabled them to extend their charity to the needy members of the society.

One of the important charities conducted through the Hindu temples, irrespective of their religious affiliations, is to provide food and shelter to the needy. This service was conducted through the establishment of feeding shelters known variously as *Satramu*, *Bhoga Satramu*, *Anna – Satramu*, *Ambali – Satramu*, *Ramanujakutam*, etc. The feeding – houses, where free lodging and boarding facilities were provided to the general travelers and pilgrims, though specifically endowed by donors, were attached to the temple and managed by them.

Most of the temple feeding houses were normally, meant to serve the pilgrims and the general travelers irrespective of caste and creed. These feeding choultries were maintained by the temple usually with the proceeds of the villages, lands, taxes, etc. granted, by the pious donors, as permanent endowments, especially for that purpose. These feeding houses, though attached to the temples and were under the general supervision of the temple authorities, had their own organization consisting of the functionaries like managers, men for supplying various items, cooks, etc. The Qutb Shahi government also granted lands to run the trustees in the kingdom. We have an example of an inscription dated A.D. 1530 at Kondapally of Bezwada Taluq, Krishna District, by Qutb-ul-Mulk deals with the grant of 26 places of land (*Stalamulu*) each to Kavuru and Kidrabad to maintain the trust house of a temple (not known)¹.

The Qutb Shahis and their chiefs also granted aghararas to the Brahmins. One Lal Khan presented Uppunutula village as an agharara to three Brahmins for the religious merits of Mohammed Quli². Mir Mohammed Sayeed, the Mirjumla of Golconda granted Madhurapura in the Krishna district as an agharara to a Brahmin for having performed the *Sarvato mukha Yagna* at the instances of Mangalagiri Pantulu³. Sultan Abdullah granted a plot of land as *inam* to one Appa konda, belonging to a village situated in the subha of Hyderabad⁴.

Besides, there are also cases of Muslims granting villages for the up keep of chowtries, digging wells and constructing sluices for the benefit of the people and bestowing other kinds of charities for the merit of themselves and their king. It is understood that from above instances, after consolidating their power, the Qutb Shahi's did not hesitate to patronize the religious and charitable institutions of their subjects for placating their good will. Hence according to A.M.Siddiqui, "Abul Hasan's name is sung in ballads on ceremonial occasions and to solemnize wedding rites in Muslim homes and is revered as a *Rishi* in Hindu homes"⁵.

The temple got patronage from the benevolent Qutb Shahi rulers as they consolidated their rule; they found it expedient

to adopt a policy of toleration, and even of encouragement to Hinduism and the Hindu subjects. No doubt, we notice the cases of destruction of temples and construction of mosques in their places but they were few and on the other hand, there are several cases of kings and their subordinates donating liberally for temples.

Kollampudi village inscription of Narsaraopet Taluq, Guntur District by Kollampudi Singaraju deals with the construction of Nilakanthesvara temple for merit for his parents in A.D.1565⁶. Another Eepu village inscription of Vinukonda Taluq, Prakasham District mentions that one Chennappa, donated Kesaripalakuchela land to meet the expenditure of Alladanatha temple's *Dasami* festival for every year. This inscription dated A.D.1574⁷.

Besides an inscription from Jagarlamudi village, Tenali Taluq, Guntur District of the period of Mohammed Quli registers donation of the land for the maintenance of Sri Sangamesvara temple⁸. And another inscription found at the temple in Simhachalam village, Visakhapatnam Mandal records the grant by Sarvappa Asvarayudu, who donated Narava village lands for the maintenance of Simhadri Narasimha Swamy temple, in A.D.1604⁹.

An inscription found at Macherla village, Guntur Madal registers the grant of a land by Ramadaka Rama Chandrudu, for the maintenance of Chennakesava Swami temple, in A.D.1619¹⁰. Another inscription of Kuvvam village, Chengalpattu District (T.N) deals with the donation of banana tope of Lepakshi village, Hindupur Taluq Ananthapur District¹¹ to Tervikkolesvara Swamy temple for its maintenance, in A.D.1670. An inscription registers the grant of land by the local Reddies and Karunams for the maintenance of Santa Nandesvara Swami temple of the same village¹².

A *farman* (18th February 1684) of Abul Hasan Tanashah, confirms the award of *jagir* assignment to Bhadrachalam temple and Bramaramba Mallesvara Swamy temple situated on the banks of Godavari and Krishna rivers respectively resounds the magnanimity of his heart. Bhadrachalam temple owes its origin to Gopanna (Ramadasu) whose famous story

reveals the construction of the temple, his imprisonment in Golconda and his release. Tanashah had endowed three villages, Bhadrachalam, Palvancha and Sankaragiri Patti for the maintenance of the temple. It was founded in March 1652. Abul Hasan Tanashah on the occasion of *Sri Rama Navami* started the practice of sending *Mutyalatalambralu* every year. The three villages, Bhogavaram, Cherukuru and Veerannapatnam were endowed to Bramaramba Mallesvara Swamy Temple of Srisailam for its maintenance, which is situated on the bank of Krishana¹³. Some Muslim officials were appointed as custodians for the supervision of the temple administration. This system was continued upto Nizam government¹⁴.

Some of the temples were repaired and some Hindus got donations from the Qutb Shahi government. It is confirmed by an inscription found at Jugutti village, Tanuku Taluq, East Godavari District by the order of Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah, that one Somesvarudu and his aunty Laccamma arranged to renovate the temple and consecrated *Arcaka* idol of Lord Vasuki Ravi Somalingam in A.D.1583¹⁵. Another example is that Abdullah Qutb Shah granted a field as *Amaram* in the village of Cundi, situated in Kandukuri Sima, to a Hindu person belonging to the Valmiki caste in order that "he may keep in good repair the temples in our Sima"¹⁶.

Asvarao, a general of Mohammed Quli, donated Srikurmam to the temple of Kurmanatha under the orders of the king¹⁷. Hasan Beg, the son of the Sultan, ordered the construction of a sluice and stone steps to the tank attached to the temple at Palivela, East Godavari District, besides planting a palmyra grove¹⁸.

We have an interesting example of stipend in cash by the Qutb Shahi government to temples in the State. *Tareeq-e-zafra* refers to Rs. 64,925 was allocated for the temples in the State as stipend for the year A.D.1685-1686¹⁹ and it might have been continued for the year of A.D.1686-1687 also.

Not only temples, but also *Agraharas* were granted to Brahmins by the rulers and their subordinates. As mentioned earlier, one Lal Khan presented Uppunutula village as an

Agrahara to three Brahmins for the religious merit of Mohammed Quli *Padsayaningar*²⁰. Mir Jumla Amir Mohammed Sayyed Nawab granted Madhurapura in the Krishna District as an *Agrahara* to a Brahmin for having performed the *Sarvatomukha Yajna* at the instance of Mangalagiri Pantulu²¹. Sultan Abdullah granted a plot of land as *Inam* to Appakonda, belonging to a village situated in the Subah of Hyderabad²².

There are also cases of Muslims granting villages for the upkeep of choultries, digging wells and constructing sluices for the benefit of the people and bestowing other kinds of charities for the merit of themselves and their king. The maintenance of water sheds, where drinking water was provided free of cost to the thirsty people, through the agency of the Hindu temple, was an absolute necessity during the period is evident by a number of references in the contemporary inscriptions. To perpetuate this charity, the donors entrusted their management to the temples by making a permanent land or monetary endowment for the purpose.

Some of the donors who instituted watershed service through the temple also made provision for the planting and raising of trees (like *haritaharam* programme at presently), probably, intended to give shade to the people who came for water. In addition to this, Qutb Shahis and their subordinates arranged to dig wells to cater to the needs of drinking water in the kingdom to get merits and sacred benefits. We have some inscription examples that Eepuru Village inscription of Tenali Taluq, Guntur District deals with the well for drinking water to said village people, which dug out by Mokhasai Agashiram Saheb in A.D. 1668²³. Another inscription of Ghanpur village of Vanaparathi Taluq, Mahabubnagar District says one Malik, son of Yar Ali dug out a well for drinking water to the village people in A.D. 1528 during the period of Qutb-ul-Mulk²⁴.

Besides, a member of the royal family, ordered the construction of a sluice and stone steps to the tank attached to the temple at Palivelpula, East Godavari District besides planting a palmyra grove²⁵. Another inscription of Sanigaram village of Husnabad Taluq, Karimnagar District by Syed Muzaffar, a local

chief by the order of Abdullah Qutb Shah had constructed a dam on Peddacheruvu in A.D. 1664 and 540 *Hons* were spent for this construction²⁶.

The above inscriptions and farmans inform us of Qutb Shah's secular attitude towards charities of both Muslims and Hindus in their kingdom in 16th and 17th centuries. The above inscriptions and *farmans* prove that the Qutb Shahis encouraged the temple constructions and their maintenance by donating land grants and etc.

In the words of A.M. Siddiqui "All the Qutb Shahi kings were tolerant, humane and just, their guiding principle was benevolence. They treated their Hindu subjects as liberally as they did the Muslim community. They even went to the extent of declaring Tuesday as a week holiday and assigned *Jagir* and large tracts of arable lands for the upkeep of Hindu temples and for the performance of religious ceremonies thereof". Further, he also describes, "Abul Hasan's name is sung in ballads on ceremonial occasions and to solemnize wedding rites in Muslim homes and is revered as a *Rishi* in Hindu homes"²⁷.

According to Methwold, who was a contemporary English official of the East India Company, religion is here (Golconda kingdom) free and no man's conscience oppressed with ceremony or observance²⁸. Hence, it can be understood that one can (irrespective of caste and creed) go anywhere in the kingdom without fear and obstacles.

Nelaturi Venkataramanaiah puts regarding Sultan Quli "the policy which he adopted in his relations with his Hindu subjects was based on two fundamental principles namely, tolerance in religious matters and lack of discrimination in the exercise of political rights... (the Qutb Shahi Sultans) believed that it was expedient to allow a large measure of freedom to the Hindus who formed the bulk of the people, subject to their rule, so that they might establish their power on firm and lasting foundations. This fact perhaps explains why they condemned the acts of intolerance perpetrated occasionally by some of their over-zealous subordinates"²⁹.

The same author writes elsewhere "of all the Muslim dynasties that ruled India, the Qutb

Shahis of Golconda were the most enlightened. True, they plundered and destroyed Hindu temples in the enemy's territory during the course of invasions, but within their own dominions, the Hindus enjoyed a measure of religious freedom, not known in other Muslim kingdoms. Nor did the Qutb Shahs show discrimination in appointments to public service on grounds of religion. The Hindus and Mohammedans were equally eligible to all posts including the highest under the government. They never regarded themselves as alien conquerors; superior to the people over whom they held sway. They were of course, Muslims but, like their subjects, they were Andhras³⁰. From the above statements, we can conclude

that the kings of Golconda never forced their Hindu subjects into Islam. In addition, some of the Hindus appear to have taken to conversion into Islam by their own choice.

During the rule of the Qutb Shahis, there was a close interaction between the Hindu and Muslim people. The Muslim government of the Qutb Shahis liberally promoted the various aspects of culture like education, literature, music, dance, art and architecture. The Qutb Shahi rulers and their subordinate nobles liberally encouraged not only the Muslim but also the Hindu scholars and artists. Because of that, there was a synthesis of both Islamic and Hindu cultures.

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ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF MUSLIMS IN TELANGANA

Dr. Md. Sharif

INTRODUCTION

In Telangana economy, Muslim community occupied a prominent place. They engaged both in the agriculture and industrial sector in the State. They contributed for the development of the nation as well as the State. Muslims actively participated in the industrial sector when compared with the agriculture.

Most of the Muslims were settled in different parts of the State particularly in towns. Most of the people migrated from villages to towns for the employment and education of their children. However, in Telangana, agriculture is one of the best sectors for all the sections.

MUSLIMS IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Contrary to the popular belief reinforced by uninformed journalists, Muslims-even in Hindustan and the Deccan regions- live, by and large in rural areas of the country. It is only comparatively that they are more urban than the Hindus. As a rural community, the Muslim peasantry is the largest segment in the Muslim community in the country. Not all Muslims living in the rural areas are agriculturalists. A large number are artisans and menial who do participate in agricultural activities during the busy portion of agriculture season and occasionally they own land which they cultivate but their main occupation is non-agricultural. Like other segments of Muslim society, the Muslim peasantry also falls into different categories according to the size of land holding, the area of habitation, and the general characteristics of the agricultural growth of those areas since independence. So far as one can generalize about a group so vast and dispersed, it does not seem that the economic conditions of the Muslim peasantry has improved greatly during the last four decades or so over and above the general improvement that may have accrued to the group as a result of the general rise in the prices of agricultural commodities and the price of land.¹

The Muslim peasantry, which is concentrated, by and large, in the rice-growing areas² where traditional agriculture still dominates did not, thus have the situational advantage that has brought economic prosperity to the areas located in the green revolution zones, and its economic condition has, therefore, remained largely unaffected. Moreover, the Muslim peasantry in the States of Andhra Pradesh (include Telangana), Maharashtra and Karnataka inhabits semi-arid districts in the region of Telangana and the Rayalaseema, Marathwada and the Hyderabad Karnataka of the erstwhile Nizams Dominion that are historically subject to famine conditions. Unless a radical advance is made in tank irrigation system on a breakthrough materializes in the rice cultivation, no improvement can be expected in the lot of the peasantry in rice cultivation areas -Muslim or otherwise.³ The details of the distribution of

persons by occupation in rural India is as follows

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY INDUSTRY GROUPS

It is felt that narrating the meaning of Labour, Employment and Wages is relevant to understand the contents contained in this chapter. Labour includes both physical and mental work undertaken for some monetary reward. In this way, workers working in factories, services of doctors, advocates, ministers, officers, teachers etc., are all included in labour. According to S.E. Thomas, "Labour connotes all human efforts of body or mind which are undertaken in the expectation of reward." Any physical or mental work which is not undertaken for getting income, but simply to attain pleasure or happiness, is not labour. Employment can be expressed in number of people working or in total working hours. A mixed measure is the number of hours divided by standard working hours to give a full-time equivalence to jobs. Wages are defined to include all remuneration in monetary terms and also payable more or less regularly in each pay period to workers as compensation for work done during the accounting year. The skilled and un-skilled labour participates in primary sector in rural Telangana.⁴ Particularly the agriculture sector dominates in the rural areas. Even today nearly 85 percent of the labour in rural area directly and indirectly participates in agriculture sector.

In the case of rural male workers, the share of agriculture is 66 percent. This percentage is highest among Hindus at 67 percent and lowest among Muslims at 47percent. The percentage share of workers depend on agriculture percent in the case of other Minorities. Thus, for rural male workers belong to all Muslims, both agriculture and non-agriculture are the principal sources of income while for all Hindus; agriculture is the primary source of income.⁵ In the case of rural female, the share of workers depend on agriculture is higher than that of male across all religions especially other Minorities and all Hindus. The details of the male work participation rate in Telangana State during 2011-12 details as follows

Table : Male work participation rates in Telangana **2011-12**

District	Hindus			Muslims			All		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Adilabad	55.3	56.7	51.0	50.3	52.3	48.8	54.7	56.3	50.4
Nizamabad	55.6	55.9	53.8	50.7	53.7	48.1	54.7	55.7	51.6
Karimnagar	56.2	57.0	53.3	51.3	54.9	49.3	55.8	56.9	52.6
Medak	55.7	55.8	55.1	50.6	52.5	48.0	55.0	55.8	53.4
Hyderabad	56.5	--	56.5	46.5	--	46.5	51.8	--	51.8
Ranga Reddy	55.9	55.6	56.1	50.8	53.3	50.1	51.1	55.3	55.0
Mahaboobnagar	56.0	56.6	51.6	52.4	55.1	49.1	55.6	56.4	50.9
Nalgonda	55.6	56.3	52.3	54.3	57.2	51.1	55.5	56.3	52.1
Warangal	54.9	56.0	51.7	51.5	55.0	49.6	54.6	55.9	51.3
Khammam	57.9	58.9	54.3	55.4	58.2	52.8	57.7	58.9	54.0
Telangana	55.9	56.6	54.6	49.6	54.4	48.0	55.0	56.4	52.8

Source: Census of India, 2011. Andhra Pradesh, Part XII-B, Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh.

The above table reveals that the male work participation rate both the Hindu and Muslim in different areas of Telangana in 2011-12. In rural area both the Hindu and Muslim work rate is almost all same i.e. the 50 percent above. But in case of the urban area the Muslim work rate is less than 50 percent except Ranga Reddy, Nalgonda and Khammam. The overall work rate is more in rural than the urban area in

Telangana. The total male work rate is 55 percent in TelanganaP The female also engaged in rural and urban works. In total population of the Telangana half of the female force were actively participated both the agricultural and non-agricultural sector both in the rural and urban areas. The details of the female work force participation in Telangana in 2011-12 is as follows.

Table : Female work participation rate in Telangana **2011-12**

District	Hindus			Muslims			All		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Adilabad	44.2	51.6	20.0	22.7	36.3	14.2	41.9	50.6	18.8
Nizamabad	48.2	52.1	29.5	23.4	34.8	13.3	44.3	50.4	23.7
Karimnagar	45.1	50.7	25.3	24.2	37.0	16.7	43.6	50.2	23.9
Medak	42.6	48.0	22.1	20.7	28.1	10.8	40.0	46.3	19.9
Hyderabad	22.8	--	22.8	14.0	--	14.0	19.1	--	19.1
Ranga Reddy	28.7	44.5	21.1	17.4	30.8	13.9	27.2	43.3	20.4
Mahaboobnagar	48.9	52.1	26.0	27.4	37.2	14.7	47.1	51.2	23.3
Nalgonda	45.4	50.0	23.3	26.3	39.4	12.1	44.3	49.6	21.8
Warangal	43.9	51.8	21.0	21.3	38.4	11.7	42.5	51.3	19.9
Khammam	44.3	51.0	19.9	26.4	40.1	13.2	43.2	50.6	19.2
Telangana	41.4	50.5	22.4	19.3	34.9	13.8	38.4	49.6	20.4

Source: Census of India 2011. Andhra Pradesh, Part XII-B, Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh.

The above table reveals the households migration from Telangana villages and towns, Andhra Pradesh villages and towns. Muslims from villages of Telangana 38.7 percent migrated to other places whereas from towns 33.5 percent migrated. From Andhra Pradesh the Muslim migrants percentage from villages is 17.2 whereas from city is 10.6 percent. Most of the people migrated from villages to town for better employment and education opportunities etc. The Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Backward classes especially from Telangana Villages migrated to town and their percentages are 72.0, 93J and 65.8 respectively.⁶

In Telangana districts, like Karimnagar, Warangal, Nizamabad, Nalgonda and Hyderabad migrants are more than other districts. From these district Muslims migrated to Gulf countries. Particularly Karimnagar district Muslims migrated from their native place to Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, Sharja, Oman and Mascot etc. The Gulf countries provided employment opportunity to this community. The Indian migrants engaged in different sector like hotel, petrol pumps, vegetable markets, meat shops and industries.⁷

Seeking employment is the major cause for the Muslim to migrate. Around 86.2 percent of the migrated Muslim household did so to get employment. 5.8 percent of the migration happened because of protection system. Only 5.4 percent migration happens because of better

education facility to their children in comparison to 11.3 percent of migration in case of Hindu community for the same purpose. Only 2.5 percent of the migration happens due to business, family problems, tenant problems etc. The survey also found that 3.3 percent of the Households with members working in the Gulf Countries among Muslims in the State. The Scheduled Castes 87.5, Scheduled Tribes 94.1, Other Backward Class 84.7, Hindus 84.4 and other 92.5 were migrated for employment purpose. Overall, 2.4 percent of the households in Telangana have at least one members working in Gulf Countries.

In June 2014, an estimated 700 people from Telangana were stranded in Iraq, which was witnessing a war for control of the nation. Most of them were from Karimnagar, Nizamabad and Adilabad districts. The situation revealed irregularities in migration, as out of the 700, around 694 were illegal emigrants with Emigration Clearance as they crossed over to Iraq after travelling to Kuwait on work permit. More than 1,000 youth and middle-aged men left for Gulf countries from Indalwai, once infested with Maoists due to large scale unemployment. Most of them had migrated to Kuwait in search of jobs, while others have also left for Sharjah, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and Yemen. Apparently, they were lured by some "agents" from Mumbai who promised them nice jobs with fat salaries⁸

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TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE *MUTHUVAN* LIFE-WORLD: AGRICULTURE, FOOD HABITS AND MEDICINE

Muhsina Noohu

INTRODUCTION

The mainstay of the Muthuvan economy in Idukki, before the time of extension of the control of the outside world over it was primitive subsistence agriculture of the 'slash and burn' type. This slash and burn method continued for a

long time among the *Muthuvans*, though the duration of the fallow period got progressively reduced, even after the juxtaposing of the settled agriculture of the low-land people in the high ranges. Traditionally, land in the wider sense of the term formed the pivot of the *Muthuvan*

economy in general. However the question of who owned the lands did not arise among the *Muthuvans* so long as the land was commonly owned. After they reached the stage of 'slash-and-burn' agriculture, each family within a tribe used to be allocated an area by the headman according to its needs and ability to cultivate.¹ That plot was cultivated for the subsistence of the family.

Due to the penetration of various forces of modernity and the pressure of market forces, the traditional monoculture of *Muthuvans* which consisted of cultivation of coarse cereals such as ragi, cholam, etc., were subsisted by diversified agriculture with commercial crops resulting in crop-mix in *Muthuvan* cultivation. Ragi, the staple crop of cultivation of *Muthuvans* as mention by Edger Thurston, still continues to occupy the major share of the crop acreage at many settlements.² At the same time, other food crops like rice and tapioca which were not used by them in the past are now cultivated at an increased rate. This reflects a sign of change in the traditional food habits of the *Muthuvans* which regard to food grains.³

They cultivate orange, mango, and lemon in some areas. Guava is a common fruit found in almost all the *kudi*. Along with agriculture *Muthuvans* collect the wild tubers and honey from the forest. They also collect *rudraksha* and *kunthirikkam* which is also known as *thelli* in *Muthuvan* language from the forest and sell it through the Girijan society. *Muthuvans* rear goats and chicken. But, they use neither the milk nor the egg; they believe goat milk is for goat kids and keep the eggs for breeding. *Muthuvans* eat the meat of goat and chicken. Very rarely, do they use milk and that too is used for children. However, in Marayoor area those who have cattle, use its milk. There is a *kudi* in *Edamlakudi* named *Kavakkattukudi*, where they rear cows but never use its milk. They believe goat milk is for goat kids and keep the eggs for breeding. *Muthuvans* eat the meat of goat and chicken.⁴ Very rarely, do they use milk and that too is used for children.

They use the cow dung as manure and for flooring. Their food timing vary depending on their work. They usually go to work by early morning and are in the field up to evening. *Muthuvans* often drink black tea without sugar.

They eat twice a day that is around 8 am in the morning and 7 pm in the evening and drink black tea several times a day. Traditionally, the staple food of the *Muthuvans* was finger millet. Their daily menu includes rice and finger millet. The place of their *Katli* or *koranggatti*, a gruel prepared from finger millet has now been taken over by rice meals. Government of Kerala provides 22 kg of rice in a month for per kg. This has brought drastic changes in their food habit. They prepare either *sambar* or *adaka*, a curry prepared out of a green vegetable and mainly use pulses like yellow gram and red gram. *Muthuvans* rarely use vegetables and mainly use pulses like yellow gram and red gram. Most of the households do not keep sugar, though some of the households keep Jaggery.

Chinnar Wild life Sanctuary is the home of approximately 758 *Muthuvans* who live within the 90 sq.kms area of the Sanctuary. They have been living in the region for centuries, practicing shifting agriculture, hunting wild life and gathering variety of products from the wild habitats. Since the declaration of the area as Sanctuary in 1984 these tribes have been asked to cultivate crops only in the area allotted to them resulting in the enforced change from the 'slash and burn' to the short rotation shifting cultivation in the area allotted to them.⁵

The mixed crop cultivation in *Muthuvan* settlement is an enforced sedentary form of cultivation with a short period. Finger millet (Eleusine Coran Cana), Maize (Zea Mays), pigeon pea (Cajanus Cajan) and chilli are common in almost all plots while lady's finger, sweet potato (Ipomoea Batatas) are also seen in many plots.

Recently, many families in Chinnar-Marayoor region started cultivation of lemon grass (Cymbopogon flexuosus Wats) for commercial purposes. The lemongrass cultivation in Chinnar region shows that this new crop allowed the *Muthuvan* farmers to become more productive and economically efficient using lands with infertile soil not suitable for mixed food crop cultivation. Therefore, the lemongrass cultivation may be considered as a sub-system adapted to micro-environmental variation and economically efficient one. It may be also be pointed out here that among different sub-system, of the land use system of the Chinnar region nowadays more emphasis is

placed on lemongrass cultivation. Because of this, it appears that there is less interest among farmers on other subsystems such as hunting and gathering. It is also seen that the *Muthuvans* have now turned their attention to cultivation of high value crops such as cardamom, are canut, pepper, lemongrass, etc., with a considerable degree of inter-regional variations. For example, the settlements of Edamalakudy cultivate cardamom as their main source of income, while the *Muthuvans* of Adimali cultivate pepper in large quantity.⁶ These changes in the agriculture products, crop-diversification, modes of production, etc., have taken place in imitation of the cropping pattern of the market-conscious immigrant non-tribal farmers and planters, who introduced in their newly acquired lands of high ranges, crop-diversification appropriate to the market demand and the agro-climatic conditions.

Another plausible reason is the economic compulsions arising out of the new situation in the '*Muthuvan* region' having close proximity with the 'non-tribal sector' and the former has no existence independent of the latter, one such economic compulsion was the prevalence of the debt credit nexus forcing the *Muthuvans* farmer to cultivate the kind of crops preferable to the non-tribal creditor. Thus the imitative tendency and economic compulsion played their part in the adoption of new cropping pattern, production of high value crops, which are the indicators of modernity in the sphere of economy and land relations.

The introduction of modern medicine has multiple impacts on the *Muthuvan* community in general and the ethno medical system in particular. The allopathic medicinal aid and medicinal practices came to the doorsteps of the *Muthuvans* during the plantation period itself. The allopathic medicine is a new system of medicine and all its methods and concepts of etiology were alien to the *Muthuvans*. At the initial stages of its introduction, the *Muthuvans* never bothered to avail its facilities. They thought that modern medicine was not ideal for their culture and it could not able to treat their illness.⁷ At the early stages of the introduction of modern medicine it was a period of non-contact between the community and modern medicine. Some of them even feared to approach the modern medicinal practitioners. During this time they continued the use of ethno medicine for the

illness afflicting them. Because of the withdrawal of the *Muthuvans*, modern medicine could not do anything worthwhile for the health care of the *Muthuvans* in its initial period of introduction in the *Muthuvans* areas.

However, with the passage of time the *Muthuvans* started availing the facilities of modern medicine. The efforts of the medical personnel, the awareness programmes, education of the youths, increased mobility, close association and contact with non-tribal immigrants etc., influenced the way of thinking of the *Muthuvans* and persuaded them to experience modern medicine. Initially, the use of modern medicine by a small percentage of the people especially the younger generation, who were mainly working as wage labourers in the plantations, evoked a rebellious attitude among the rest of the community.⁸ Often the elders and traditional medicine men (Vathy) ridiculed the people who used modern medicine, which in their opinion would bring the wrath of Gods and ancestral spirits. Modern medicine was thus judged as anti-cultural and useless.

In the area of general health, it is observed that there is a growing pattern of treatment-seeking behaviour from the part of *Muthuvans* especially among the men going for wage labour outside. If they suffer fever or chest pain, they will treat themselves with their traditional medicine. If they are sick for many days, they cannot go for work and it affects their financial status and enjoyment of other activities like celebration of festivals they resort to allopathic medicines for a fast cure.⁹ The men consume foreign liquor, which is a new element that has entered into their life from outside. They believe alcohol has some medical potency to cure diseases. *Muthuvans* prefer injections rather than tablets for fever and other diseases. They believe that the injection works faster than tablets.

Nowadays one of the important external agencies that had influenced the health system and culture of *Muthuvans* is the Department of Health, which through their interventions promoted by government initiatives and projects, viz., medical camps, vaccination programmes, distribution of medicines and injections, etc. has impacted tribal culture and their curative care process. Most of the *Muthuvan* settlements are in the remote and in accessible places. Health

Department provides sufficient funds to the District Hospital and Community Health Centres for providing free treatment including medicines and laboratory tests to all tribal patients. Health camps have been the major health intervention introduced in to *Muthuvans* life. In the medical camps the doctors give medicines and vaccinations to children and pregnant women. Now the impression of *Muthuvans* on vaccination is that, 'This medicine will protect our children from all the illness'. The health department allows *Anganwadi* workers to keep some medicines for common ailments like fever, cough, diarrhoea, and also for body pain. They supply it to the needy. All these initiatives had resulted in the increase of dependence on modern medicine among *Muthuvans*. Now, the number of *Muthuvans* taking medical treatment has increased whereas earlier there were no cases of hospital admission.

In the case of illness, *Muthuvans* first think of local healers who are available in the *kudi* or nearby *kudi*. To treat any disease they first apply their knowledge of ethno medicines and in addition to this, they take allopathic medicines available in the *kudi*. If they are not cured, then they decide to go to the hospital. Some individuals in the *Muthuvan kudi* are experts in treating jaundice, skin diseases and problems related to eyes. They do not reveal those medicines to the fellow *Muthuvans*. They believe by sharing the contents of medicine to others it may lose its effectiveness.¹⁰ Their ancestors who passed the knowledge to them strictly warned them not to tell anyone. But restricting the knowledge to a limited number of people will slowly erase that wisdom from the *kudi* and may be after one or two generations such valuable treasures of knowledge may disappear totally. *Muthuvan* people of Adimali region now started keeping allopathic medicines within their houses and use them during emergencies.

Modern medicine brought in many changes in sexual and reproductive health practices of the *Muthuvan*. One of the points of this paper is how 'modernity' and modern medicine affect sexual and reproductive health practices of *Muthuvan* women and how do they interpret the role of contemporary practices in their life along with the struggle for preserving their traditional medicine. Reproductive and sexual health practices are the areas where the

push and pull of modernity are observed. *Muthuvan* women do not know their exact delivery date since they never note down their last menstrual date so the accurate calculation is not possible regarding the date of delivery. It is observed that in the *kudis* after the expected time as per their calculation pregnant women could wait till the pain actually starts. Special care for pregnant women, like intake of iron tablets, is unheard of in their traditional life.¹¹ Hospital deliveries are a recent occurrence in the *Kudi* and even now the hospital deliveries are very few. Most of women who go from the *kudi* to the outside hospital for delivery had Caesarean session. In all cases, the reason was no sign of delivery after the due date. The due date is decided by the doctor through a scanning process in the third trimester. It may be in some cases a few days or a few weeks later. In cases which reach the hospital, the doctor decides the due date and if delivery does not occur even after one or two days, they take the baby out surgically.

Mala-D is subjected to diversification in term of its original purpose and practical use and is popular among ordinary *Muthuvan* women. Their typical mode of usage of Mala-D is always in tune with cultural convenience. The Health Department introduced Mala-D among *Muthuvans* in the mid 1990's as a birth control measure.¹² When the women started using it for menstrual control both men and older women vehemently opposed this trend, but gradually they do support the use of Mala-D in private spaces. The *Muthuvan* women are hardworking and have a major role in the household and agricultural works. If they go to stay in *Valaymapura* during their menstrual dates, it became difficult for men and older women to handle the household and agricultural works. Therefore husbands silently support the use of Mala-D for preventing menstruation. The introduction of modern medicine and usage of these contraceptives pills are new threats to the *Muthuvan* community itself.¹³ The excessive use of these contraceptive causes increased rate of infertility and ovarian cancer among the *Muthuvan* women. The excessive use of contraceptives and the decrease in the birth rate in *Muthuvan* settlements are indicators of the negative effect of modern medicine.¹⁴ They re-conceptualised and reconfigured the world in which they live, in terms of reproductive and

sexual health practices without upsetting their traditional cultural domains regarding pregnancy and child birth. However, to a certain extent the interventions of modernity disturbed the tribal scenario.

CONCLUSION

Even though modern medicine has gradually come to stay among the tribes and it is now accepted along with ethno-medicine, the latter is still strong in the *Muthuvan* world of illness and cure. In the present age of modernity the common man may be tempted to presume that modern medicine has taken over ethno-medicine and is the sole agent of health care of *Muthuvan* world too. But such an assumption would be far from reality. The acceptance of modern medicine does not mean that *Muthuvans* have lost all their faith in their own ethno medicinal system. The *Muthuvans* are not ready to give up their beliefs and practices regarding the causes and cure of diseases in its pure form. However the activities of the government and private agencies have changes in the modes of

treatment in the *Muthuvan* world of rigid customs and tradition.

Like most other tribal groups, the activities of *Muthuvans* remained restricted to their isolated geographical and physical space for a long period of time. Prior to the arrival of the European planters and settlers from the low land, in the Western Ghats region, the *Muthuvan* work-force was dependent on agriculture as self-cultivators. The subsequent displacement of the *Muthuvans* from their lands, resulted in a high proportion of them being reduced to the status of agricultural laborers. The migration which started gradually among the *Muthuvans* is characterised by 'pull' factors. Outmigration promised high income and an attraction of modern ways of life. It is evident that the migration of small and marginal farmers helped them to supplement the meagre agricultural income from their land. The *Muthuvans* wish to hang on to their tribal base and migrate repeatedly and varying duration, either to the same urban areas or plantations or to different ones. It can be termed as circulatory migration.

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KALAI GNAR M. KARUNANIDHI — A CHAMPION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RESERVATION POLICY

Dr. H. Munavarjan & K. Sabapathy

Introduction

The entire country has accepted that the concept of Social Justice originated from Tamil Nadu. "Social Justice" is an elixir propounded by the Dravidian Movement for the advancement of the downtrodden and oppressed population of Tamil Nadu belonging to Backward Classes, Most Backward Classes,

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Eminent leaders like Pitty Theagarayar, Dr.T.M. Nair, Dr.C. Natesanar, Thiru S. Muthiah Mudaliar, Thanthai Periyar and Perarignar Anna had to wage a relentless war to achieve the objectives of Social Justice and finally during the era of Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi won the battle.

Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi (03.06.1924 – 07.08.2018)

The life history of Muthuvel Karunanidhi is also a history of Tamil Nadu politics. A five-time Chief Minister, and the longest serving legislator, winning 13 terms in the Assembly and not losing even once, Karunanidhi was the engineer of many of the progressive measures adopted by the State since Independence. As the leader of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, an offshoot of the rationalist social reform movement, the Dravidar Kazhagam, he was an influential figure at both State and national levels, whether in or out of power. He excelled as both administrator and organiser, adopting different styles, but always displaying a clinical efficiency while interacting with bureaucrats and party workers.

He was born on 3 June 1924 into a poor family from an extremely marginalized backward caste; He was a key participant in events that radically shaped the nature of politics in Tamil Nadu. In an interview on 16 February 1965, a correspondent of *Pravda*, the official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, asked Karunanidhi about the goals of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). Karunanidhi responded that the goals were social justice in society, rationalism in culture, socialism in economy, and democracy in politics.¹ the route to achieve these goals, he said, was via the parliament.

M.S.S. Pandian writes that the politics of the DMK was built around two major ideological planks. The first was caste-based social justice; the second, Tamil identity. The politics of social justice took the form of a critique of caste hierarchy and Brahminism coupled with continuous improvisations in the reservation of government jobs and seats in educational institutions for the lower castes.

Social Justice through Reservation

Karunanidhi appointed a Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of A.N. Sattanathan with the retired district judges Chinnappan and Jamal Hussain as members to give recommendations to improve the welfare of the backward class people.² The commission submitted its report in 1970 and pointed out the following facts:

1. Some forward castes as "small minor groups" were similar that of backward classes in all respects and that they should be included in the list of 'backward classes' to get the benefit given to the under-privileged. And most of the caste representatives urged before the Commission for inclusion of their castes in the scheduled castes list as their lot in every respect were as bad as that of any Scheduled Caste.
2. The Commission has taken the term 'caste' as the unit to identify the backward classes because the M.L.As, M.Ps. Chairmen of Municipalities and Presents of Panchayats are all identified only by their castes.
3. The Commission asked that the Government's policy on reservation to backward classes should be at least 25 per cent in educational institutions.
4. The most important recommendation of the Commission was that "Most Backward Classes" as a group should be taken into consideration for separate reservation because they have no or a little progress in education and particularly in the field of Engineering and Medical education. The Commission collected the statistical data of the 'Most Backward Classes' and aptly pinned its recommendation.³

Karunanidhi government have examined the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission and the high level committee very carefully and have decided to increase the existing reservation for Backward Classes from 25 per cent to 31 per cent and for Scheduled Castes and tribes from 16 per cent to 18 per cent where reservation is provided by the state Government for the above classes.⁴

All India Anna D.M.K. succeeded the D.M.K. Government and it included many more communities in the list of backward classes. The Central Government passed an order that those who were getting an annual income of Rs.9,000 and below and belong to one of the backward communities are alone eligible to get the benefits meant for Backward Classes.

The Chief Minister Marudur Gopalan Ramachandran introduced the economic criterion in making reservations for the

Backward Classes. By an order⁵ of his government fixed Rs. 9,000/- as annual income limit for the socially and educationally Backward Classes to get the advantage of reservation. The people rejected the party, AIADMK in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections. Immediately MGR convened an All Party Leaders' meeting on 21st January 1980.⁶ Major participants representing various political parties expressed their views against the action of the government.

M.G. Ramachandran came forward to restore justice to the 'socially and educationally' backward sections of the society. His government issued G.O.⁷ to abolishing the notorious Rs. 9000 order based on economic criterion. M.G. Ramachandran government passed another order.⁸ It raised the reservation quota of the Backward Classes from 31 to 50 per cent. The total reservation reached during his period is: 50 + 18 = 68 per cent.

When Karunanidhi became Chief Minister for the third time in 1989, he passed a G.O.⁹ considering the reasonable nature of the demand. It declared that from out of 50 per cent reservation available for Backward Classes, 20 per cent should be reserved for the Most Backward Classes and denotified communities. Later his government allotted one per cent reservation separately to the Scheduled Tribes. So now the reservation scheme in Tamil Nadu is 69 per cent.

He welcomed the implementation of the Madal Commission at a time when the north saw huge protests against the same. By passing a unanimous resolution in the assembly in support of V.P. Singh, he made the Mandal commission implementation a moment of

jubilation in the state. Likewise, in 2007, the DMK also provided 3.5% quota each for Muslims and Christians within the BC share of 30%. Christians found this compartment restrictive for students and job aspirants, as they stood to gain more if there was no Christian quota. This quota was withdrawn, but the BC-Muslim category of reservation is being successfully implemented in Tamil Nadu.¹⁰

In 2009, Karunanidhi introduced the Tamil Nadu Arunthathiyars (Special Reservation of seats in Educational Institutions including Private Educational Institutions and of appointments or posts in the Services under the State within the Reservation for the Scheduled Castes) Act to ensure representation for the most marginalized among the Scheduled Castes, providing them a sub-quota of 3% within the SC quota. When taunted by the AIADMK for being a "minority government" during the 2006-2011 tenure, Karunanidhi responded that, his government for the minorities.

Conclusion:

An ardent and foremost follower of Periyar and Perarignar, Kalaigarnar M. Karunanidhi's selfless and tireless service and dauntless struggles for social justice for the people of Tamil Nadu in particular and to the Indian nation in general for a long incredible period of 80 years. There is no other leader in recent history who stands in comparison to Kalaigarnar be it for political acumen, principle, ready wit, dauntless courage, determination, quick perception, preparedness, struggle, creativity, sympathy, eloquence and the like. For championing the cause of social justice he is called the Champion of Social Justice.

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SOCIAL CONCERN OF DANCERS IN MYSORE STATE DURING COLONIAL REGIME

Nagaraja Kadlbalu

Introduction

Since ancient time, though there was a strong relationship between dance and temple, social reformers of 19th century declared that dancers, losing their morality were responsible for not only societal degradation, but also dangerous for day to day life. Therefore, they requested the government to arrest them using the law of the land. As a result, ill practices (like prostitution) was abolished. (Here I am talking about lower caste dancers (Courtesans) not upper caste women). Did this abolition increase the state of morality? Was not it a great disturbance to art of dance? How this effected on Indian culture will be studied here.

How Courtesans become Devadasis

Getting the importance of dance, devadasi community developed in 8th or 9th century AD. These were specially sacrificed for god. Their main duty was to blow air to god and dance in the procession. They brought importance to temple activities with their romanticism and artistic character. The characteristic features of a dancer can be identified from the statue available in Mahenjadaro. Though the names of the Ganikeyas are found in 'Arthashastra' but the names of devadasis are not mentioned. As this tradition is seen in the kingdom of Ujjaini, the same can also be observed in Kalidsas' Meghaduta. It is mentioned even in the 'Bhavishya purana'. Kalhana has also spoken about the presence of this tradition in his work 'Rajatarhangini'. There were 500 dancers in Somanatha temple. Altekar has mentioned in his work 'Woman in Hindu Civilisation' that there were 500 servants in the temple of Tanjore. In Southern India devadasis were called 'Murali, Jogathi, Nayakini, Kalavanthi, Basavi, Devali Jogathi, Matangi and Sharani'. As music and dance were learnt by devadasis, the women of higher community did not practise them. Dance and other entertainments were conducted for British's. Sometimes the British's conducted their entertainment programmes. In the first half of 18th century the British's considered dance and smoking hukka were common.

"There were beautiful dancers in Tipoo Sultan's palace. Their eyes, legs, body and other parts of their bodies attracted the people. They were attractive in their thin waists. They were usually 16 and 17 years old. As soon as they got aged, they were sent back to their villages. They took refuge in temples. Their romanticism filled the treasury of the government and Brahman's. Dance programmes were usually conducted for the guests who came from either the British govt or the officers from any kingdom to honour them. In 1893 when Duke of Edinborouh and the prince Albert Edwards visited India, dance programmes were conducted, besides a dancer named Lakshmi was introduced to the king at Rayapura station in Madras. Nobody went against this act.

From this incident it is proved that dance was an integral part of life. There was no much opposition for it. In every temple there were devadasis meant for dance. These devadasis had sexual relationship with married men, these men did not consider it a mistake. The wives and children of these men had to put up with this relationship. This was not taken seriously. M. Chidanandamurthy opines that they were a part of the Rangabhoga (stage luxury). 'Dance and songs before the deities were considered stage luxuries. During 1800AD the devadasis who were patronised by the kings in Tanjore lost it and had to lead beggar's life. For example, Muddupalani in Andhrapradesh became poverty stricken due to lack of the king's patronage.

In 1892, House of Commons called a meeting and formed a committee to look into the practice of prostitution and its vastness and how far we were successful to stop the diseases caused due to this practice. To report this, a sub-committee was formed. As a result, it was reported that the spread of prostitution was due to British's encouragement and an appropriate support was coming from various other sources. In April 1892 The Indian social reformer reported "In larger cities like Madras I am afraid of the general opinion that a man is not worth

his opinion of what he does not attach himself to a dancing. In this report even the flower of Hindu Society and increasing array of distinguished graduates does not smell sweet in Madras." The Indian Social Reformer also supported this. A purifying unit in Lahore also helped this and others supported for this fight.

Speaking about the protest against the dance, 'Karnataka Prakashika' a daily newspaper argued that the movement which wanted to eradicate bad behaviour in people should be going slowly. This dance form should be continued until a new form of entertainment came into practice and this also gave some time to devadasis to become good people and came to the mainstream of life. Otherwise this brought in some bad effects by making the viceroy and the British officers attend this kind of dance programmes for entertainment. In 1893 social reformers along with Christian priests gave a requisition to Viceroy lord Lance down not to invite dancers to any social programmes, allow and encourage such activities. The Viceroy replied, "I witnessed these dance programmes two or three times, but I did not find any immoral thing in it. As they are leaving India they cannot answer."

'The Indian Social Reformer' a daily newspaper from Mumbai, answered that the dancers had not exhibited any sexually related things and it was not necessary for viceroys to attend such programmes as they were devadasis. In 1882 the protest against the dance was started in Madras. Social reformers promised that they would eradicate this profession.

This movement did not take much time to spread to Mysore. Many youngsters encouraged this movement. D.V. Gundappa who encouraged this tied a black colour thread to others as a sign of protest. (D.V. Gundappa, Jnyapaka Shale (Memorable Art School), part-1, page no.22-24). But, later he felt that the promise he had made was wrong and there was nothing wrong in witnessing such dance.

When asked K. Subbaraya who had recently joined civil service exam about the dance, he said that the protest was against the courtesans who were selling their body through music and dance.

Literary Association of Mysore and Bengaluru under the leadership of M. Venkatakrishnaiah called a meeting and discussed the problem created by the prostitutes. The members of the Literary Union requested people not to go to brothels. Under the presidency of H.J.Baba, govt. secretary, it was discussed whether brothels should be closed legally or to stop taking the public opinion. Inaugurating the meeting P.Singacharya cautioned that the number of dancers was decreasing according to the Mularai dept. B. Ramaswamy Iyar said that encouraging women education would be the solution for the problem, instead of using law. He also said that dance programmes should not be conducted in houses. Other members thought of alternative entertainment programmes in case it was stopped. Devadasis were meant for dance. They were respectable under the patronage of kings. They felt very bad about the sorry state of the dance. They also agreed that their moral life was degraded.

Having seen no professional security the dancers decided to have a unity among them forgetting their personal as well as professional differences. They decided to work for the art by collecting one fourth of their earning from everyone. After reaching a certain stage they wanted to spend their collected money on their children's education, music and painting. But, on the contrary, the girls from Ballari which belonged to Madras presidency then gave an application in black and white saying that they wanted to remain as courtesans. The application reads, "Our parents are dead. We want to continue our life as courtesans. We do not want to be in the cage of married life. Therefore, we are going according to our tradition."

Arkat Sreenivasaiah, the head of the Mularai headed the institution to work hard. In 1892 it was planned to stop such activities in the temples which belonged to mularai. Mysore government stopped taphe that was going to take place in Nandeeshwaraswami celebrations on Nandidurga. In 1899 it was stopped even in Sreekanteshwara temple in Nanjanagudu. But the government continued to give pension to devadasis. After their death it stopped appointing devadasis in their places.

'Gejjepuje', a traditional programme was usually conducted in temples belonged to Mularai dept. On that day an adult girl who went through this programme was handed over to her husband. Though gejjepuje was related to dance, Mysore government ordered to stop it cruelly thinking that they were courtesans. Nalvadi Krishnaraja wodeyar gave an order to stop conducting Gejjepuje in temples. Following Mysore, many other neighbouring states abolished devadasi system. In 1930 this system was abolished in Thiruvankur. Everybody admired this act. Praising the act of Mysore, 'Vruthanta Patrike' suggested to the government to look after the families of devadasis and provide employment opportunities to the children of those devadasis in place of their profession.

Contribution of Dancers

The novel 'Naster', written by Hassan Shah in 1790 is the available work that first created awareness about Taaphe. It means the pain we get after losing one's love. Khanam John is the heroine of this novel. She was meant for entertaining the British officers of East India Company. It is originally written in Parsi. It has been recently translated by a gnanapeeta awardee Kuratalam Hyder in the name 'Natchgirl'. This novel displays the attitude of the British officers, environment for dance and introduces their life. This novel which was written 200 hundred years ago tells us about life of the dancers in lucknow city. Now it is available.

Another novel 'Umarao Jhon Aad', which was published in 1899, tells us about Umarao Jhon Aad's life in lucknow. The novel 'Devadasi', written by K. Sreenivasan (Kasthuri) is related to South Madras. Though it shows a real life story of a devadasi named Meena, she married a common man and led a respectable life. The novel 'Gejjepuje', written by M.K. Indira is known to all.

According to Monier Williams, "Dasis drive a profitable trade under the sanction of religion and some courtesans have been known to amass enormous fortunes not do they think it in consistant with their method of making money to spend it in works of piety. Here and

there Indian bridges and other useful public works owe their existence to the liberality of this frail sisterhood."

The large tank at Channarapatna in Mysore district was built by two dancing girls. Gohar John was the daughter of Malik John of Kolkotha. She was a poetess and courtesans. She belonged to Armenian community, European father. She was a well performed Kathak dancer. She knew many languages. She participated in Indian National Congress. She used to sing Tagore's poems in her own style. The first recorded voice of H.M.V. Hindustani music is hers. Having visited Mysore many times she sang Kailasam's 'Namthipparalli' song in Urdu style.

Finally, those who know about Nagaratnamma may also know about her education, talent in music. She got constructed a tomb for Tyagaraja in Tiruvayur. Music lovers of this place even today never forget her wonderful service she rendered in music. This is a great pride for Mysore. She was very courageous. She tried her best to get published the book 'Radhika Sathpanam', by Andra poetess Muddupalani. We have to praise her valour she had shown when the British government banned Palani's book. This book was reprinted after India's independence.

Conclusion

Social reformers worked hard to bring in morality in the society. The question whether the prohibition of the dance could bring any reformation in upbringing morality in the society remained. The act of reformation regarding the dance even in the reformers never be the same in the long run. Those who learnt dance and music were not all devadasis. The government's attempt to stop the dance would not give expected results. This abolition of devadasis' dance by the government destroyed the very art of this dance as well as it could not bring any moral change in the society.

As a saying goes, '*argument leads to who is right, but discussion leads to what is right*', the reformers gave importance to argument rather than discussion. Therefore, the dance lost its stand in the society. We have taken a century to bring it back to its original place.

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MANNATH PADMANABHEN : ACRITIQUE

Omali Aloysius

Introduction

Mannath padmanabhen pillai is hailed as one of the leading figure of Kerala renaissance. Born to a higher caste Nair woman- Though viewed as sudra by Namboothiri Brahmins- and Namboothiri Brahmin father as a result of inhuman concubinage system-Sambhandham- then practised by Nairs of Kerala-where the offspring of such Pratiloma union did not have the right to inherit property of his father- he fought against irrational and regressive customs practiced by the Nair community and sympathized with the movements of the lower castes in Kerala pertaining to some of the aspects of their social empowerment. But when we look at his attitude towards movements for political empowerment of lower castes and minorities I found it rather regressive and reactionary, especially Attitude of Nair service society towards Abstention movement and the role played by him during struggle for responsible government. My paper is an attempt to make a critical appraisal of progressive as well as reactionary strands in the life and thoughts of Mannam.

Mannath Padmanabhen as Reformer-An overview

Mannath padmanabhen was born on 2nd January 1878 in ordinary Nair family to Easwaran Namboothiri and Mannath veetil Parvathi Amma. In 1910 Mannam became the secretary of the Karayogam at Perunna. It was the beginning of his Public Life. He along with some other leading nairs took the initiative to form Nair Samudhaya Bhrithya Janasangham

on 31st October 1914 which later to become Nair service society. It became a tool in the hands of Mannath padmanabhen in his struggle to reform Nair community. He fought against the irrational customs and blind faiths prevalent among the nairs of the time. He wanted to abolish Marumakkathayam and Joint family systems, Raised voice against Namboothiri sambandhams, Talikettu kalyanam...etc, Objected the policy of Tiruvitamcore govt. of giving government jobs to Paradesi Brahmins excluding the native nairs, He was vocal against the provisions in the Travancore penal code which exempted Brahmins from Death punishments, told the nairs that they need to observe Pula only for 10 days as done by Brahmins... Mannam strived hard to break the barriers of caste prevalent among the various sub castes of Nairs and wanted to unite Nair community. He advised the nairs to relinquish caste name tags attached to them like Panikker, Pillai, Nair, Kuruppu etc...¹

His reformist Zeal was not confined to Nair community. He raised voice against the practice of Untouchability in Kerala. He supported the rights of the people of the lower castes to enter the public streets and Temples. He lead Legendary Savarna Jatha (March of the Higher castes) with 120 Upper caste Hindus starting from open ground closer to Vaikom boat jetty to Thiruvananthapuram expressing solidarity to the demands of Vaikom satyagrahis who were fighting for the right of the lower castes to enter public streets closer to Vaikom Temple². He was also actively involved

in the Guruvayoor Temple entry satyagraha as the member of the organizing committee and strived hard to win the support of the higher caste nair community members in favour of the entry of the lower castes into the Guruvayoor Temple. Nair service society in its constitution declares that it is aimed to work for the welfare and progress of the Nair community, without hurting the sentiments of other communities. This Provision shows the tolerant attitude of Mannath Padmanabhen and other leading Nair leaders towards other communities who were behind the creation of Nair service society. Under the initiative of Mannath Padmanabhan 'Harijanodharanam'(Empowerment of Harijans) also became an agenda of Nair service society. In a letter to Changanassery Parameswaran Pillai, Then President of Nss, He writes about his efforts to start a hostel for Nair students and a special school for pulaya children.³ Thus we have seen Mannath Padmanabhen was certainly a man ahead of his times, I did not want to repeat all the minute details of the activities of the Mannath Padmanabhen as a reformist leader because the objective of this paper is also to look at the other side of the spectrum.

Critique

Later decades of 19TH century witnessed resurgence of oppressed communities in the Land of Kerala. Rise of the lower castes especially those of the Ezhavas till then subjugated by the higher castes created irritants to conservative sections among the nairs. Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam- For all practical purposes an Ezhava organization though in theory otherwise-was founded on 15th of 1903 by the followers of Sree Narayana Guru with his blessings. Expansion of the activities of Sndp and the awakening of the Ezhavas was responsible for a Nair response in the form of Nair service society and subsequent efforts at Nair empowerment, reform and revival. According to P.K.Parameswaran Nair neglect and contempt experienced from the Ezhava brethren who till then had shown respect and submission to the Nairs was one of the primary moving factors behind the formation of Changanacherry Taluk NSS Union.⁴ The formation of Nair Service society, inspite of liberal claims of its founders, sowed the seeds of caste antagonism in Kerala.

By the 1930's lower castes and minorities began to raise voice for political rights. Provisions of constitutional reforms announced by Travancore government in 1932 were far behind their expectations. It retained Property criteria at a higher level leading to wider gap between the number of higher and lower caste members in the proposed popular assembly. Share of the Religious minorities in the Assembly also fell below their proportion in the population of Travancore. To fight against this injustice Representatives of the Christian, Muslim and Ezhava communities assembled at L.M.S hall in Thiruvananthapuram on 17thDecember 1932 and formed All Travancore joint political congress. Representatives of the discontented communities again assembled at L.M.S hall on 5th of January 1933 and took historic decision to start abstention movement. They exhorted the members of the respective communities to abstain from the elections to the legislative assembly and council which will be held according the provisions of new reform law. Massive public meetings and demonstrations were organized to spread the message of abstention across the state. Abstention movement unleashed waves of communalism throughout the state of Travancore with higher caste Hindus on one side and lower caste Hindus and religious minorities on the other. In 9th of November 1933 joint political congress submitted a representation to the Dewan under the leadership of N.V.Joseph. Excerpts from the representation reveal how far abstentionists were motivated by a deep passion to bring an end to Nair hegemony in the state.⁵

"The gist of the contention of the 'abstentionists' was whether it was fair that forty lakhs of citizen's would secure only thirty seats while eight lakhs of citizens could get as many as twenty five seats in the legislature"⁶

In these circumstances Nairs were duty bound to protect their ageold privileged position in the Travancore.⁷ The Nair service society which had been the creation of Mannath Padmanabhen and nair radicals joined hands with the government to tarnish the abstention movement.⁸ Higher caste nairs tried to portray this movement as a Christian conspiracy against Hindus of Travancore. Hindu communal organization's like Hindu mission and Nair

dominated nationalist party tried its best to incite communal passions to weaken this movement. Ezhavas and nairs engaged in a series of tongue fight in this period. According to Christian leader K.T Thomas primary target of nairs was Christians. In the Nair conference held at Thiruvananthapuram they hailed Hindu raja of Travancore as the great king of nairs, they alleged Christians are foreigners and they should be expelled from this kingdom. Nairs who are the lords of the kingdom and who belong to the same community of the king should emulate the policy of Hitler towards Jews in Germany while dealing with Christians of Travancore.⁹ In the Nair conference held at konni, Malloor k.Govindapillai vehemently criticized Ezhavas alliance with Christians and Muslims; he said it was against the laws of nature.¹⁰ In these turbulent times Mannath Padmanabhen tried to bring in conciliation between Nairs and Ezhavas with the hope of drifting them away from the alliance with religious minorities. While attending the inaugural function of S.n.d.p shakha mandiram (branch office) in the same place great Nair leader Mannath padmanabhen made an emotional appeal to Nairs and Ezhavas to forget the past misdeeds and to strive for Nair-ezhava unity.¹¹

Finally Travancore government bow before the popular pressure exerted upon it by the abstentionists. By 1935 a public service commissioner was appointed to ensure proportional representation to various communities in Travancore. High court judge G.D Nox was appointed as first public service commissioner. In the same year Nair brigade was reconstituted with a historic decision to admit any eligible person in Travancore to its cadres irrespective of caste and creed.¹² Government passed an order on 16 august 1936 to extend the franchise for the assembly to everyone who paid one rupee or more as tax, based on the recommendations of eleven member franchise and delimitation committee headed by E.Subramania iyer. It decided to delimit the constituencies and appointed Nilakanta aiyer as special officer for preparing the voter's list. Lowering of property criteria for eligibility to vote from RS.5 to RS.1 increased percentage of eligible voters out of total population from 3% to 12%. Temple entry proclamation on 12th of November 1936 is

viewed as an indirect outcome of abstention movement. Higher caste Hindu dominated Travancore government was trying to break away Ezhavas and other Avarna Hindus from their alliance with non-Hindus. Nair communal organizations were thinking of launching a counter agitation to halt implementation of new administrative and constitutional reforms when they found that government is yielding to the pressure exerted by Ezhava, Christian and muslim communal groups. A deputation of Nair vigilance committee which included M.k Govinda Pillai, R.k Krishna Pillai, A.Thanu Pillai, A.S.Damodaran Asan, K.Kunjukrishna Pillai and Puthupally S.Krishnapillai submitted a memorial to the new Dewan Sir. C.P. Ramaswami aiyer on 7 November, 1936 outlining their opposition regarding the new reforms announced by the government. He advised the nairs not to abstain from elections directly or indirectly but give the reforms a fair trial because if the scheme were to be scrapped, a recrudescence of all that had happened would follow.¹³ Since C.P Ramaswami aiyer was considered as a well-wisher of Nair community by its members they lent ear to his advice and dropped their plans, if any, to sabotage new reforms by a Nair agitation.

Members of the joint political congress and a section of progressive higher caste nairs realized that indefinite communal rivalry for a handful of government offices or representation in the legislature would lead them nowhere and will only sustain the autocracy of the Dewan and ruling class, and they now decided to form a secular political organization to fight for the establishment of responsible government in Travancore based on universal adult suffrage. In February 1938. The joint political congress transformed itself into a new organization called The Travancore state congress with Pattom. A.Thanupillai as its first president. C.Kesavan, T.M Varghese and other prominent leaders of the joint political congress emerged as leaders of the state congress also.¹⁴ It now decided to launch direct action to achieve its declared goal of responsible government in Travancore. Travancore was now passing through one of the turbulent phase in its history. Threatened by the rising tide of popular anger, government withdrew the ban on the state congress and the youth league, also released all the leaders from prison. But the autocratic state administration

under sir C.P continued its repressive policy and devoted all the energies at its disposal to stifle the progress of popular movement. He insisted on the withdrawal of the memorial presented to the maharaja as a condition precedent to the conduct of any negotiations between the government and the state congress on the subject of constitutional reforms in Travancore.¹⁵ At this critical juncture Mahatma Gandhi interfered and advised Travancore state congress to withdraw the memorial as a conciliatory step. These proposals from Gandhiji lead to hot debate within rank and file of state congress. Finally state working committee of congress after lot of hesitation, decided to withdraw the memorial according to the wishes of Gandhiji. This controversial decision created a split in the state congress. Radical progressive elements left the organization and later on crystallized in the form of communist party. The struggle for responsible government temporarily came to a halt.

Hindu communalists and their organizations were trying to portray this agitation for responsible government as a Christian conspiracy to oust Hindu's from power. Travancore government under Dewan sir C.P Ramaswami aiyer tried his best to incite upper caste Hindu communal sentiments. He could convince a section of nairs that responsible government based on universal adult suffrage, if put in place, Christians will dominate the politics in the state in the place of nairs, since total population of Christians (1604475) is double that of Hindu upper caste nairs (868441). The resolution passed by national convention of Hindu mahasabha held at Nagpur in 1939 alleged that responsible government agitation in Travancore is an attempt by the Christians to establish their dominance in the state.¹⁶ Hindu Mahasabha leader V.D.Savarkar visited Travancore following the request by C.P and made speeches in various places of Travancore. Nair service society fell prey to the divisive tactics of the Diwan sir C.P.V.D Savarkar was invited to preside over the Hindu conference held at Changanachery on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of N.S.S and conference took the decision to form a federation of Hindu communal organizations in the state. A committee was formed for this purpose¹⁷.

Mannam, Thuppan Namboodirippad, P.C Adichan and Ramachandrabhas were its members. Mannathu padmanabhen thus became a tool in the hands of the Autocratic reactionary regime of Travancore under sir C.P. Nair service society interpreted responsible government "as rule by the Christians instead of the Hindu king".¹⁸ With the blessings of Dewan C.P Hindu communal organizations like Hindu raja bhakta sangham¹⁹ and Hindu royalist group were organized to counter struggle for responsible government. Rajyasevasurandhra V.S.Subrahmaniam was the founding president of Hindu rajabhaktasangham.²⁰ C.P could win the support of a section of royalist leaders from different communities including even a few from backward caste and religious minorities. Mannath Padmanabhen played a major role in the formation of pro-government organization 'The Travancore state people's league' on 13 April 1938 at Changanacherry with a view to make propaganda against all anti-government movements and for maintaining peace in the country. A series of propaganda meetings all over the state were planned. C.M Joseph was elected as the convenor and the committee consisted of members from all major castes and religious groups in central Travancore. Other than Mannath padmanabhen pillai, Asan bava rowther, Tariath kunju thomman and N.V Joseph were the prominent members of the new party.²¹ Along with it Nair service society took the initiative to form Travancore national congress another pro-government organization which also included a few royalists from other communities.²² Other than Mannath padmanabha pillai, Kottoor Kunju Krishnapillai, K.G. Parameswaran Pillai, Kadavoor Madhavan Pillai were the founders of this organization. Here again Mannathu Padmanabha pillai appears on the wrong side of the spectrum and acts as vanguard of the reactionaries. Leaders of the T.N.C - kainikkara padmanabha pillai, Kottoor kunjukrishnapillai and Ezhava community member K.P.Kayyalakkal-visited Gandhiji on May 13-14, 1939. They tried to convince him that Travancore state congress is actually an organization of the Christian communalists and T.N.C is the organization of genuine nationalists. They alleged that Travancore state congress is formed with an intention to destroy Hinduism and few Nair leaders like Pattom thanupillai is a cover up to

hide the Christian nature of organization. But their perverted arguments could not impress Gandhiji.²³ Thus we have seen royalist elements in the Travancore state were trying to use communal organizations and its leaders like Mannath Padmanabhan and Nair service society as tools to weaken the struggle for democratic rights.

Large section of Nair service society stood firm behind the Hindu monarchy of Travancore as I stated before and remained staunch opponent of movement for democracy though it cannot claim to be a representative of all the nairs in the state. Annual conference of society held on 1938 May, at kidangoor in kottayam passed resolutions in support of the Monarchy and told nairs not to join state congress²⁴. Nss schools alone defied the repeated boycott calls issued by the state congress agitators and remained open during the period of responsible government agitation.²⁵ Nair service society erected a statue in honour of Sir C.P in front of legislative assembly building on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday celebrations. It was unveiled by His Highness Chithira tirunal on 8th of November 1939.²⁶

In March 1944 Travancore government dissolved the legislature and decided to notify the elections in July. Dewan C.P was trying to play communal card again in this election. The Nair service society and the S.N.D.P yogam, two prominent Hindu caste organizations were united under the initiative and encouragement of Dewan C.P Ramaswami aiyer, to oppose the state congress in the election.²⁷ Now secular progressive forces in the state decided to form a united front to resist forces of communalism created and nurtured by autocratic government, with a hidden motive to preserve its monopoly over power. The leaders of the state congress joined hands with leaders of the radical section like M.N Govindan nair and P.T.Punnoose- who were active in the first phase of struggle for responsible government as leaders of Travancore state congress, and later on had parted ways with it, after the decision to withdraw memorial-they agreed to render mutual help to fight the communal forces in electoral politics and to empower the hands of progressive forces in the state.²⁸ The state congress was able to contest only in nineteen seats, but eleven of their candidates were declared elected to the assembly.²⁹ It was a

severe blow to communal forces and their perpetrators in the state.

Year 1945 witnessed a communal conflagration when Dewan C.P announced his new education policy which was intended to nationalize more than two thousand private schools in the state. Since overwhelming majority of private schools was run by Christian management, Christian Clergy and Christian communal organizations were against this move. Like other Hindu communal and caste associations like Hindu mahasabha and S.N.D.P, N.S.S also welcomed the decision of the government. It also expressed its willingness to hand over schools run by them to government. New education policy was part of divide and rule strategy of Dewan. He wanted to turn Various Hindu communities and their organizations against Christians and efforts were made to form an alliance of Brahmins, Nairs and Ezhavas against Christians.³⁰ Unfortunately Mannath padmanabhen and N.S.S again became a tool in the hands of reactionary regime.

By 1940's Class consciousness began to encroach upon the space of Caste consciousness among the people of Kerala. Like S.N.D.P, N.S.S leadership was also losing ground among the ordinary members of the community. In Thiruvananthapuram where nairs were a dominant community Travancore national congress –The Nair dominant royalist party- could not convene even a single meeting.³¹ In 1938, initially N.S.S leadership was planning to conduct Annual conference for that year at Cherthala and wished to declare their open support for the Monarchy and Dewan C.P at the venue. But many of the nairs in Cherthala were against C.P and were reluctant to eulogize him. So they were forced to shift the venue to some other place and finally chose kidangoor in kottayam as per the request received from Meenachil taluq karayoga unions.³² We have seen that in Nair dominant regions like Thiruvananthapuram and to some extent in Cherthala N.S.S found it difficult to woo its ordinary members towards its royalist line. But in Christian dominant regions like kidangoor in pala where nairs were hostile to Travancore state congress and responsible government agitation, Nair service society could convince members of its community that

responsible government means 'Reign of Christians in the place of Hindu Raja' and it is something to be opposed.³³

A dramatic turning point in the life of Mannam came with the Proclamation of idea of Independent Travancore by Sir C.P. It prompted him to reverse his policy of political reaction, who till then had been a royalist to the core. He now took the membership of the Travancore state congress and metamorphosed to a democratic patriot. He condemned the 'idea of creation of Independent Travancore after the lapse of British paramountcy', in his muthukulam speech, and later on devoted all his energies to oppose Independent Travancore movement, and to bring in responsible government in the state³⁴. He was sentenced to two years of imprisonment by the Travancore administration- but before long, movement could accomplish its task well before the completion his jail term³⁵. In the statement before his arrest, he refuted the statement of the Dewan which claimed majority of the people support the declaration of Independence. In response to it, Mannam stated that ninety nine per cent of the people are against Independence and challenged Dewan to conduct a referendum, he said that, he feels surprised that Sir C.P. Ramaswami aiyer, who was not prepared to shed even a drop of sweat for that cause of Indian freedom but endeavoured all along to secure the goodwill and support of governors and viceroys to rise up in official ladder, is attacking the Indian national congress. He added, had it not been for the efforts of the Indian national congress to secure Independence of India, the native state rulers would have remained as slaves. Will it be possible for Sir C.P. Ramaswami aiyer, he asks, to declare the Independence of Travancore, if the British lingered here.....³⁶

In another interesting development of long term implications, Annual meeting of the N.s.s held on 13th of August 1946 decided to refrain it from direct involvement in the politics in future and gave permission to its members to join state congress as individuals, reversing its age old policy against joining it.³⁷

1940's witnessed the spread of communist movement across Kerala transcending caste and religious barriers. Class

consciousness began to challenge consciousness on caste. Growing Class associations began to undermine the grip of caste associations on peasants, workers and agricultural labourers. In 1957 First Popularly elected Communist Government came to power in Kerala under the leadership of E.M.S. Namboothirippad. Reactionary strands of thought dormant in the life and thoughts of Mannam could be gleaned from his attitude towards the constitutionally elected Communist Government. He and Nair Service Society played a major role in the Liberation struggle, intended to topple this government. Even the idea of Liberation struggle, itself, was first mooted by 'Akhila kerala nair pratinidhi sammelanam' held at Perunna on 8th of March 1959. On this occasion Mannath Padmanabhen delivered a fiery speech in favour of Liberation struggle to oust communists from power.³⁸

He raised the slogan of Nayareezhava aikyam (Unity of Nairs and Ezhavas-i.e. Unity of higher caste nairs and lower caste Ezhavas). At a time he succeeded in forging an alliance with S.N.D.P under its leader R.Shanker, but it remained a short-lived one. His efforts in this regard were the earliest attempt in the history of post Independent Kerala for Hindu polarisation. Indirectly it sowed the seeds of Hindu Communalism.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Sri Mannath Padmanabhen was a man far ahead of the times and a social revolutionary. His selfless efforts to reform and rejuvenate the Nair Community should be appreciated. He sympathized and expressed solidarity towards Movements to end untouchability and social discrimination against lower castes in Kerala, and played a leading role in winning the support of higher caste nairs for such movements. But in the sphere of politics his policies were rather regressive and reactionary-excluding his stance against the idea of Independent Travancore-. Like any other caste association Nair service society too cannot escape the blame for prevailing caste antagonism in the state. Opposition to Abstention movement and responsible government agitation strengthened the hands of communal and reactionary forces in the state of

Travancore at that time. Leading role played by him in the Liberation struggle and subsequent dismissal of Communist government by the Central government using Article 356 lead to the revival and growth of casteist and

communal elements in the politics of Kerala. His clarion call for Nair-Ezhava Unity sowed the seeds of Hindu Communalism in post Independent Kerala-Though for which he alone was not responsible.

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SOCIAL HISTORY AND IDENTITY OF THE STATE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

Peddolla Gangareddy

Introduction

The political developments after Harshavardhan, about whom you have read in the last chapter, can be best understood if we divide the period from AD 750 to AD 1200 in two parts (a) AD 750–AD 1000; (b) AD 1000–

AD 1200. The first phase was marked by the growth of three important political powers in India. These were Gurjara Pratiharas in north India, Palas in eastern India and Rashtrakutas in South India. These powers were constantly fighting with each other with a aim to set up

their control on Gangetic region in northern India. This armed conflict among these three powers is known as 'Tripartite struggle'. In the second phase we notice the break up of these powers. It resulted in the rise of many smaller kingdoms all over the country.

For example, in northern India, the disintegration of the Pratihara empire brought to the forefront various Rajput states under the control of different Rajput dynasties such as the Chahamanas (Chauhans), Chandellas, Paramaras, etc. These were the states which fought and resisted the Turkish attacks from northwest India led by Mahmud Ghaznavi and Mohammad Ghori in the 11th and 12th centuries but had to yield ultimately as they failed to stand unitedly against the invaders. Let us now trace briefly the history of the three powers we have mentioned above. The Gurjara Pratihara dynasty was founded by Nagabhata I in the region of Malwa in the eighth century. He belonged to a Rajput clan. Later one of his successors, Vatsaraja extended his rule over to a large part of North India and made Kannauj in western Uttar Pradesh his capital. Vatsaraja's policy of expansion brought him in conflict with Dharmapala, the Pala King of Bengal and Bihar. Soon, the Rashtrakuta king Dhruva from south India jumped into the fight. And thus began what is known as 'Tripartite Struggle' i.e. struggle among three powers. It continued for about the next hundred and fifty years under various succeeding kings with ups and downs. The Gurjara-Pratiharas, however, could continue to maintain their hold over Kannauj till the last. One of the important kings of this dynasty was Mihira Bhoja (ninth century). He was highly praised by an Arabian scholar Sulaiman for keeping his empire safe from robbers.

Identity of the Princely States

In eastern India, Pala dynasty was founded by Gopala (8th century). As the names of all the succeeding kings ended with 'Pala' this dynasty came to be known as the 'Pala' dynasty. The son and grandson of Gopala, viz; Dharmapala and Devapala greatly extended the power and prestige of the Pala dynasty. Though their expansion towards west was checked by the Pratiharas, the Palas continued to rule over Bihar and Bengal for nearly four centuries with a small break. The Pala kings were the followers of Buddhism. They greatly promoted

this religion by making monasteries (*viharas*) and temples in eastern India. Dharmapala is known to have founded the famous Vikramashila university near Bhagalpur in Bihar. Like Nalanda university, it attracted students from all parts of India and also from Tibet. Many Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan at this monastery. The most celebrated name associated with Vikramashila University was that of Atisha Dipankara who was greatly respected in Tibet. In south, Dantidurga was the founder of the dynasty called, Rashtrakuta dynasty (8th AD). The capital of the Rashtrakutas was Manyakheta or Malkhed near Sholapur. It was under the king Dhruva that the Rashtrakutas turned towards north India in a bid to control Kannauj, then the imperial city. And as mentioned above, it led to the beginning of 'Tripartite struggle'. One of the important kings of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was Krishna I. He built the famous Kailasha temple at Ellora (near Aurangabad, Maharashtra). It is dedicated to Lord Shiva and is monolithic i.e. made of one single piece of rock. The Arab accounts inform us that the Rashtrakutas were quite friendly with the Arab traders who visited their empire. These traders were allowed to build mosques and follow their religion without any hindrance. It testifies to the liberal attitude of the Rashtrakuta kings and also to their desire to draw economic benefit from the growing sea trade conducted by the Arabs at that time.

In South India, the Chola Kings founded a mighty empire during AD 1000–AD 1200. The relationship between these Cholas, called the "Imperial Cholas" with the earlier Cholas mentioned in the Sangam literature is not clear. The Cholas came to power after overthrowing the authority of the Pallavas in South India. The founder of the Chola dynasty was Vijayalaya (9th century AD) but the real architects of the glory of the dynasty were Rajaraja I (AD 985–AD 1014) and his son Rajendra I (AD 1014–AD 1044). During the heyday of the Chola empire, it extended from R.Tungabhadra (a tributary of R.Krishna) in north to Kanya Kumari in south. The Chola Kings made a successful use of their navy and conquered not only Maldives and Lakshadweep Islands but also Sri Lanka. They also defeated the kings of Malaya and Java and Sumatra. One of the greatest contributions of Rajaraja I was the construction of the famous temple known as Rajarajeshwara

or Brihadesvara temple, dedicated to Shiva at Tanjore. He also ordered a survey of land for better collection of land revenue in his empire. The rule of his son, Rajendra I was even more dazzling. He carried his arms up to Ganga in Bengal after defeating the Pala King, Mahipala. To commemorate this victory he founded a new capital called 'Gangaikondacholapuram' and acquired for himself the title "Gangai-konda" (conqueror of Ganga). He was a great patron of learning and was known as Pandita-chola. The last important Chola king was Kullotunga (AD 1070–1122 AD). Under him the Chola empire started disintegrating and shrunk to much smaller area. The above account will make you understand that though there were frequent inter regional clashes, cultural growth was also taking place side by side. In fact, the emergence of big political powers brought about a relative stability in different regions. It led to the developments of distinct cultural patterns related to art, architecture and literature within each of these regions. We shall discuss these patterns slightly later in this lesson.

State and Its Identity

The state structure in this period has often been described as "decentralized" political system. What is 'decentralized' polity? It is a system in which there is of course a king as the main authority at the top, but he shares his rule with other small chiefs called feudatories or the *samantas*. You may wonder who these *samantas* were. Well the term '*Samanta*' basically refers to a king who has been defeated but his kingdom has been restored to him but with the condition that he will continue to accept the over lordship of the conquering king and also pay regular tribute to him in cash or kind. He may also be asked to help with military assistance in times of need. As these chiefs enjoyed freedom of administration over their regions they were quite powerful. Surely you can guess that these chiefs could always be a threat to the overlord, and no wonder whenever there was a weak king at the top, they would assert their independence leading to the break up of the empire. And precisely it was what happened during the last days of Pratihara empire as mentioned above.

Another aspect the decentralized polity was characterized by the practice of making

land grants to Brahmanas and others. This practice was initiated by the Satavahanas kings in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, but after the Gupta period it had become a normal practice all over the country. Now land grants came to made not only to religious persons and institutions but to state officials as well. Why did it so happen? It is suggested that one of the reasons for the increase in land grants during this period, was the decline in trade and, therefore the shortage of coined money to pay to the officials and others for their services. The shortage of coined money in the post-Gupta period is indicated by the absence of the presence of coins in the archeological finds. The land granted to the donee (the receiver of grant) was tax free, i.e., the donee did not pay any tax to the state and used the produce and income on it for his personal benefit. The donee was also free from any interference by his king or his officials in managing the land donated to him. Thus, these donees converted the lands granted to them into independent islands of authority with no or little central control.

In the Chola kingdom in South India, the structure of administration was slightly different. Here at the village level, a great amount of autonomy was enjoyed by the local people. They looked after their administration with the help of self elected local bodies. Two types of village assemblies are mentioned in the records. These were known as Sabha and Ur. Sabha was the assembly in the villages which were inhabited predominantly by the brahmanas, whereas Ur was in the non brahmanical settlements. These assemblies looked after the local public works, tax collection, temple management etc., with the help of the members elected through a procedure set by the villagers. It was a unique feature of the Chola administration as it represented a harmonious balance between the central authority and the local self-government.

Social, Economic and Historical Changes

The early medieval period was also marked by many social and economic changes. Socially, an important phenomenon of this period was the proliferation or increase in the number of castes. How did it happen? One of the reason for it was the inclusion of newer groups into brahmanical society. It is suggested

that as the number of land grants increased, new areas were brought under cultivation. It made local tribal people leave hunting as their main profession and take up agriculture. They were then transformed into peasants, and assimilated in society as sudras. The land grants in fact resulted in movement and migration of Brahmanas to different internal areas where they were able to introduce and enforce their brahmanical social values. The land grants also led to the increase in the number of Kayastha class. The Kayasthas were basically scribes and they specialized in drafting and writing land grant documents. Naturally, with increase in the number of land grants their importance also increased. But the most important feature of this period was the rise of a new class of people called the Rajputs, such as Chahamanas, Paramaras, Pratiharas, Chandellas etc. Some historians believe that they were the descendants of various groups of foreign invaders such as Sakas, Kushanas, Hunas etc, who had been coming to India from northwest during different times of history. These people gradually settled down in the region of Rajasthan and, after intermingling with the Indian society, emerged as a warrior class.

There are others who treat them as a part of the Kshatriya varna of the brahmanical system. But today many scholars see a connection between the rise of Rajput class and the extension of agriculture activities in Rajasthan. It is pointed out that with the spread of land grants there was an increase in the number of agriculture settlements. As a result, many local chiefs came to acquire enough financial and political power to set up an independent authority. In order to acquire

legitimacy and authenticity to their newly acquired position in the eyes of their subjects, they invited brahmanas from Gangetic and other regions to perform for them royal rituals and ceremonies, and in return gave them land and other things as fee, i.e. dakshina. They also made brahmanas write about their illustrious ancestry linking them with lord Rama (of the solar race) and lord Krishna (of the lunar race) to claim a dignified position of a warrior class.

Conclusion

Indians were never such people to stay at home. They have been moving out from ancient time to different parts of the world for trade and other activities. As far as the Indian contact with Southeast Asia is concerned, it appears to be as old as fifth century B.C. Jatakas the Buddhist texts belonging to this period refer to Indians visiting Suvarnavipa (island of gold), which is identified with Java. Such early contacts with Southeast Asia are confirmed by the recent archeological finds of pearls and ornaments of agate and carnelian, the semi-precious stones of Indian origin from the coastal sites in Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, etc. These finds belong to as far back as first century BC. According to the Chinese traditions, the first kingdom in South east Asia was founded at Funan (Cambodia) in the fourth century AD by a brahman known as Kaundinya who had come from India and had married the local princess. However, Indian and Southeast Asian contacts became closer from 5th century AD onwards when inscriptions in Sanskrit language start appearing in many areas. It reached its peak during AD 800–AD 1300 when many kings and dynasties with Indian names emerge all over Southeast Asia.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE LAST NIZAM'S OF HYDERABAD (1911-48)

Pothana

Princely states which formed 45% of the land and 24% of the population of India occupy an important place in our country. The growth of Modernity and nationalism in the autocratic Princely States was rather slow and painstaking when compared to British India. It has been generally known that the great body of the people live in rural areas. The occupation of agriculture makes it necessary for the people to live in villages. Even now, land continues to be the main source of national income and the land owning classes command great political influence. Anywhere in the country or in any country the pattern of social and political structure is decisively influenced by the pattern of land ownership and power structure of society. The present paper deals with the socio-economic and cultural conditions that existed under last Nizam's of Hyderabad i.e. between 1911-48.

Rural life: Generally, the villages were situated in the uncultivated lands and rocky plains. The houses were mostly made up of mud with red country-tile roofs. Groups of houses encircled by large tamarind, mango, neem and other large shady trees, giving the village a picturesque appearance. There were no proper streets and roads within the village, but narrow crooked lanes formed by the land left out between the houses. There was always a *chavidi*, a place for travellers to stop for rest and the village headman used it as their office, an *ashurkhana*, a place of worship were constructed and public wells were also dug. There were quite a number of private owned wells for drinking water and for the use of household purposes. Surrounding inhabited area was usually the village grazing ground.

Joint Family system was the backbone of the then society. Child marriages helped a lot in strengthening the bonds of joint families. Telangana village was self-reliant, tranquil and relatively autonomous community had undergone radical change. The people were simple and mutually dependant with their natural ways of life, belief systems, crafts, arts, occupations, values and entertainments. The oppressed classes, *dhengs*, *mangs* etc, in

almost all the villages had their huts, away from the main village, in a more neglected and dirty quarters known as the *Dherwara* or *Mangwara* of the village.¹ The history and culture of our country did not begin with the class, religion or caste order. It may be noted that Benjamin Franklin opined that making of tools in the starting point of human culture. In the context of India this ramified into caste order.

The caste society took the shape of a hierarchical order of a ladder of five rungs. This order spread its tentacles into all fields of life, and began to determine the direct social, political, economic, cultural and philosophical spheres. The village people who could intermingle eat together and sleep together was treated as one caste. This led to the stagnation in the self-sufficient rural economy till the East India Company took command of our country's destiny. Though the East India Company effected, in its own interest, many changes in economic and judicial spheres, it could not bring about any change in the age old caste system. Strangely the Christian Institutions that set foot on this soil through the East Indian Company contracted the local caste cancer.

The caste system is not unknown to the Telangana region in Nizam's State. It would not be appropriate to discuss the caste system without discussing the nature of the structure of the Telangana village.² In Telangana society was divided into so many castes, sub-castes and tribes. The ruling class rather upheld and strengthened the caste system. The Reddy and Velama caste occupied a predominant position in Telangana. As for Government records most of the landlords, jagirdars, and deshmukhs belonged to these castes. But they did not exempt their fellow caste people from *vetti* who are economically poor. Another important social evil was Untouchability, the concept of pollution plays a crucial role in maintaining, the required distance between castes. A high caste man should not touch a low man, accept cooked food and water³ from him.

Each caste has a culture which is to some extent autonomous, there were differences only in decorations, speech, customs, manners, rituals and ways of life. The higher caste women wore gold ornaments and other variable ornaments. They kept their hair always combed while the lower caste woman wore coarse material and other gold items. The speech of the higher castes was refined while that of the lower castes was rugged. Traditionally, the lower castes were prohibited from wearing on good dress, ornaments and follow the customs of the higher castes and the offenders were punished by the village panchayat.⁴

The caste relations have become anachronistic and the system as a whole became serious impediment to any progress. The caste system provided a solid ground for the *jagirdars* to contract the forced labour from peasants in the name of tradition and custom. The *Vetti* system in Telangana was an all pervasive social phenomenon affecting all classes of people. It was not limited to any section. The *Begari* or *Vetti* was a major evil prevalent in almost all the villages of Telangana. There were two manifestations of this cruel system i.e. *Vetti madigas* and *Balutdars*. They rendered various types of services to the village community. *digas* varied from family to family in the villages. There were *vettimadigas* in almost all the villages in Telangana. The second type of *vettipani* was undertaken by the people called *Balutdars*, Cobblers, Barbers, Washerman, Blacksmith etc.⁵ Caste system has stood as a corner stone in the exploitation of working class.

The *Zamindars* who held huge landholdings used this caste system as a protective shield to strengthen their position. All these landlords, who depend on use of force and violence, belong to the dominating castes. It may also be noted that *Zamindars* boasted of their caste and area of land in their possession. It reveals that there is an indisputable relation between power and caste.⁶ It will be seen that caste was created only to subdue and suppress the drudging class who tilled the fields and provided food to people. Caste functioned only as a handmaid for the rulers for exploiting. It never functioned as an enlightening agent to awaken the dormant people.⁷

If we observe the structure of the Telangana village, the village will be found / classified into categories like Productive Caste or Agricultural Community, *Handicrafts community*, services castes and the fourth group can be called the leisured or usurping. Very often this fourth group comprises the priest, the trader (*vysya*), village officer (*Karnam*), Police patel, Mali Patel and the Lord (*Dora*). As we have already seen the practice of receiving *Inams* was in vogue in the reign of Nawabs. The classes helped the rulers protect the state and strength in the administration. All the village officers were sub-servient subordinates to *Dora*. They kept the working classes ignorant of the statutory benefits they could get in the self sufficient village order, and concerned for themselves 75% of the lands with the connivance of the revenue officialdom. It may be noted here that these usurpers did not have any knowledge of agricultural field. Maybe it is this situation that popularized the saying in the Telangana rural society that "one with the bull is dull, and one with the head has no bull." Consequentially the leisured group with the tacit abetment of the authorities usurped the lands that were not theirs and acquired supervisory status since 1907. This marks the beginning of the modern era of neo-landlords. This forms the basis of the shaping of economic relations of agriculture in modern times. This order has gained in strength even after India's gaining freedom and continues to be so – the leisured class rules the roost, enjoying the produce of the sweat of the working class.⁸

Many people under various designations like the *Deshmukhs*, *Deshpandes*, *Desai*, *Makhtadar*, *Banjardar*, *Jagirdar*, *Patel* and *Patwari* used to conduct and control revenue administration in the Nizam state. They were addressed as *Dora*. The *Brahmin*, *Reddis*, *Velamas* along side the Muslims enjoyed the privileges of these positions. They were the representatives of the heartless and hardened landlord order. A few of them conducted their affairs residing in towns and few others in villages with a *gadi* (fortress)⁹ as the centre of their administration.

These peasants in Telangana village do not have sufficient lands to cultivate and hence take up other professions or become agricultural labourers. The small landholders

used to take on lease a little more land and cultivate. They used to hire the service of other poor people on daily wages. The lives of these daily wage earners were always sad and miserable. Even the small land holders resorted to borrowing. In spite of their longing for education, poverty did not grant them even the sight of the precincts of the school. The children were almost half naked and suffered from poverty.

Caste system was very deep rooted in Telangana villages. The people led their lives in accordance with the tradition yet they were unable to escape the social and economic exploitation because of the repressive policies followed by the rulers. In fact Nizam's State was an area of darkness. All the poor had to serve the *Dora* according to their castes. Patel *Patwari* and the officers visiting the villages¹⁰ not even the suckling babies mothers were spared. Their trouble were compounded by the inconceivable types of taxes they were forced to pay on different occasions *Tottepannu* (birth tax), *Shadipatte* (marriage tax), *Budidapannu* (death tax), ¹¹*Thirthemaditepannu* (pilgrim tax), *Rokatipannu* (grinding tax)¹² and the list is endless with many unconstitutional collections. Extraction of taxes was considered a sign of the authority. Added to these there were "*nazranas*" to offer to the Nizam. On some pretext or the other the *Zamindars*, *Jagirdars*, *Deshpandes* and other village officers sucked like leeches the blood of the people. There was exploitation in the name of grain interest (*naagu*) and interest loans.

The Brahmins was occupied the top place during the later vedic period continued to hanker for the same even in the period of Nizam with their priestly knowledge and skills of writing horoscopes. No religious rituals could be thought of without their supervisory participation. Surprisingly, even the priestly class could not escape from the exploiting clutches of the *Dora*; the Brahmin women had to stitch deaf plates for the use of the *Dora's* family. The Vysyas, belong to the trading class also suffered exploitation in a disguised form. It was incumbent on them to maintain records of yields of the crops of the *Dora* at the thrashing floor and send the grains to the *Dora's* granaries.

The agriculturist, productive castes like Reddies, Velamas, and Kapus hire the services of the labour class and castes of different types and pay a part of the produce as remuneration and many time free of cost. Similarly, the service castes used to receive a part of the produce instead of money for their labor and played their role in the collective self supporting villages. These productive castes also were not exempt from bonded labour. During the beginning of the monsoon they had to plough with their own ploughs the *Dora's* fields and the sowing work. They had to offer the flowers and fruits grown in their gardens free to the *Dora* first. The self supporting economic order of the village has established inseparable relationship with the service castes. The *Doras* have created a situation where they cannot but serve them as sub human bonded labourers.

Dress and Food:

The ordinary form of dress for majority of villages was the short cotton '*dhoti*' for men and cotton '*saree*' for women. Apart from the cotton '*dhoti*' men used cotton turbans on their heads.¹³ The peasants ate the cheapest varieties of food grains out of his produce. The food of the common people of Telangana consisted chiefly of cakes of jowar & bajra and boiled millets known as *Ambali* (gruel). This was supplemented by drinking water or butter milk along with chillies, onion and salt, occasionally, they consumed rice and a few vegetables. The intoxicant toddy was popular in Telangana among the majority of castes.

Marriage System:

The Outstanding feature of the marriage relations is its Universality. Religious beliefs and social opinion confine to press as many as possible and as early as possible into the responsibilities of the married life.

There were certain restrictions imposed in the selections of the bride and bridegrooms. The marriages in between children of fraternal and maternal, having some gotrams and same house names were banned.¹⁴ The marriages between fraternal cousins, which was introduced by the Arabs and the marriages between cross cousins were allowed. In Telangana area and in the South India the marriages between the children of maternal

origin and counter maternal were most common. The marriages between uncles and nieces were also common especially. Thus, the male selected his partner from a limited route which is blood related. Remarriages are also in vogue in primitive society. In certain societies, the widows were not allowed to have remarriages and child marriages were more frequent. In higher castes, marriages are celebrated in the house of the bride but in lower caste in the bridegrooms house.

Status of Women:

The status of women was very low due to various social conditions, i.e. religious customs, superstitions etc. the traditional social customs and restrictions made them lose their identity and let them helpless. The traditional society of that time approved child marriages and polygamy women were beaten mercilessly and after get scolded deliberately by the males. Their chastity of low caste women was at the mercy of the feudal lords women folk were dependent on the male head of the family and played silent, self-effacing and secondary roles serving the family and community. The women and their children were employed in the castle of the Dora not only to perform all sorts of domestic works but also to look after all the needs of the entire family of the Dora.¹⁵ The majority of women were engaged in the agricultural operation for their livelihood.

The peasant women spun linen for the feudal lords and their children were engaged in fruit picking and leaf gathering in the woods for their master's household.¹⁶ The most horrible exploitation in feudal society was presenting the girls as slaves to the Doras. The beautiful girls were, either forcibly or by paying nominal amounts were taken by the landlords. The slave girls were sent as gifts to the in-laws houses after marriage of land lord's daughter.¹⁷

The village landlords, Jagirdars, desh mukhs, desh pandes also followed polygamy as a symbol of greatness. The purdah system was practiced by the Muslims and Hindus of higher castes as well as some middle class people.³⁶ The working class and oppressed class woman did not follow this system. Women from higher castes whenever they were traveling on bullock carts or the meena or pallaki various colors curtains on two

sides of the cart were hanged. They were not allowed to see other male persons except people like goldsmith, washerman, the potter etc, and they never came before their son-in-law's and never talked to them.

In the Hyderabad state there was almost illiteracy among females. In the villages lack of schools, orthodox ideas among Hindu families, early marriages and Parada system were stumbling blocks in the way of women education in the Telengana. Some higher caste woman studied in their own houses. The Muslims had a much larger proportion of women sitting behind curtain or in *zenana* schools (girls) which were available only in the capital. The Government provided the education facilities only for Muslim women. But no such facility for provided for Hindu women particularly middle class and lower class women in the Telengana area.¹⁸

In Telengana, one of the social evils was "Devadasi system". This has been in practice since ninth and tenth century A.D.¹⁹ The main motto behind was that these girls had to serve and enrich the temples as the centres of the ancient Hindu culture and fine arts. Few of the girls were exclusively dedicated to look after the temple with a view to render service to the God till their death by remaining unmarried. Hence, the term "dedication of girls" was widely used instead of devadasi.²⁰ In 1946, the Telangana peoples struggle had reached its zenith. They fought against social evils in Telangana. Women were generally believed subordinate and inferior to man in society.

Education:

Hyderabad (Nizam) state was very backward in education and literacy. The culture and the language of the over whelming majority of the people were suppressed by the Muslim rulers. The natural desire for education and preservation of culture and development of their own mother-tongue got inevitably linked up with the struggle against the Nizam's rule.²¹

The total percentage of literature in the state was only 4.8% of these; the percentage of literature among the non-Urdu speaking people was 3.3% though they constituted nearly 89% of the total population. The state Governments policy of making Urdu as the medium of

instruction in educational institutions was greatly responsible for the educational backwardness among the non-Urdu speaking people. Text books for produced in Urdu. Each district as a High school but Taluq centres did not have even a middle school. Both in khalsa and jagir villages a primary school could be spotted with great difficulty. Even well populated villages in jagirs were not provided with schools. This had an adverse effect on the masses who remained educationally backward. According to 1941 census the number of educated Muslims per thousands was 59 while that of Hindus was 23.8. Many different rules and regulations were enforced by the

Government with regard to the starting of private schools.²²

People suffered a lot under the despotic rule of paigahs, native rulers and jagirdars. The magisterial, revenue and police officials, who ruled tyrannically in the absence of their overloads, were absolutely corrupt. When the native rulers and jagirdars visited their place once or twice a year, the people had to offer them nazaranas. *The Jagirdars and Paigahs* lavishly spent on their personal luxury, but nothing was spent on education of the people. Samsthanams and Jagirs were no less bad from the administrative and educational point of view²³.

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WOMEN LEADERS IN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS A CASE STUDY OF ARUTLA KAMALA DEVI'S ROLE IN TELANGANA ARMED STRUGGLE

Puppala Varalaximi

INTRODUCTION

Women played an active role in all important movements in the world. In Russian revolution, Chinese revolution, Telangana Armed Struggle and Srikakulam revolt in

Andhra and in many other revolts, women participated very actively and in responsible manner. Women never kept themselves aloof from the movements of liberation. It is a known fact that so many women sacrificed their lives in

the struggle for freedom. Women were equal to men in all spheres of life but they discriminated by the society in the past. All these discriminations were erased in the struggle especially in our freedom movement.

Women intensely practical and what she learns she put into use. Swiftly she is awakening now and reclaiming her ancient power. And movements for social reform will never sweep the country until she takes hold of them. There have been many prominent women who have distinguished themselves in political, literary and artistic fields in our country. Samyukta the daughter of Jayachandra of Kanauj, Rani Padmini of Mewar, Tara Bai of the Solanki Tribe, Rani Durgawati of Kalinga (MP), Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Rani Rudramadevi of Kakatiya, Rani Gangadevi of Vijayanagar, Rani Umayamma of Travancore etc. Are some names that came to mind readily.

There were many others over the centuries who have risen above their social turmoil and restrictions and have shown brightly with their power in their chosen field. More recently, Sarojini Naidu, an ardent and dynamic was also a poet, idealist and a politician entered drastically in the arena of Indian women. Indira Gandhi a historic legend ruled the political scene to the country.

The Indian freedom movement has generated many other noteworthy women leaders. Similarly Telangana Armed struggle also witnessed number of women leaders who fought with the then rulers on different grounds like for land, wages, against atrocities, liberation etc. Noted women were Atchamma of parsapalli village, Suryapat taluq, Banala Lingamma of shilpakunta village of Pusalapally Lambadi thanda, Yerramma, Lingamma, Venkamma, Papakka Koya women, Ailamma of palakurthi, Boodemma a koya women of Bendalapadu, Konda Lachakka, Venkatamma of koya women, Padigapati Nagamma, Savitramma, Tirupathamma of Chintalapalem, comrade Ramulamma of Cherukupally, Nalgond taluq, Chakilam Lalithamma of Suryapet etc., who participated in Telangana Armed Struggle.

At local level, women played an active role in Telangana Armed Struggle. There were many incidents, where women participated in the struggle. In the village administration also

women lead very actively. Sometimes, women worked as members in the local body committees. A few women acted as commanders of dalams, members of sangams, lyric writers of organization's songs, as singers and activists to participate in attacks against land lords, Nizam's army and Razakars. They also worked as couriers, secret agents, provided shelter and served food to participants outside the organizations.

The Telangana Armed Struggle

The historic struggle of the people of Telangana for ending the inhuman and autocratic feudal social headed by them Nizam of Hyderabad, is as old as the achievement of the country's independence. It is but natural that this important episode in our freedom struggle comes to our mind on this occasion when we use to celebrate Independence day. Telangana armed struggle occupies a unique place in the history of India.

Telangana armed struggle was fought successfully against the feudal rule of the Nizam with the slogan "Land Bread and liberation" in the history of India during the twentieth century: The main objective of the movement was land, food and removal of slavery of under-Privileged poor people.

The Significance of this historic struggle lies in that it was an armed struggle of the people fought for almost five years under the leadership of the communist party of India and the Andhra, Maharashtra. In this struggle about 4000 men and women laid down their lives. It also took a toll of thousands of exploiters and their agents, the Razakars, armed personnel who sought to suppress this struggle with all the strength of their command.

The struggle started at the end of 1946 and it continued even after the Nizam's autocratic rule was ended with the entry of Indian troops in September 1948 right up to the end of 1951. This glorious struggle played a very significant role in the ending of Nizams autocracy as apart of the general upsurge and movement of the people of the whole state of Hyderabad in which the state congress and other mass democratic organization also participated.

The peasant struggle that took place in Telangana (1946-51) constitutes one of the landmarks in the growth of communist movement in Andhra Pradesh. Though more than fifty five years old, the Telangana armed insurrection is still debated widely, both by scholars as well as by the various communist parties of India including the naxal groups and few regional parties. For, this movement exposed not merely the inadequacies of the communist party, but also the ideological and tactical cleavages which rocked the communist movements.

Planted red flags in their fields and marching up and down, protected their fields, drove away the goondas and tilled their lands. It was the Lambadis who had cleared their waste lands and cultivated them for decades. The landlord who had all the power in the village in his hands could not drive away the Lambadis and was defeated in his plans. This is just one example. Many other mass struggles were conducted during this period in Mundrai Village, in Bethavolu, in Bakkavanthulagudem, in Patha Suryapet, in Mallareddy Guddem, in Mellacheruvu and so on. After this the people of the taluq fought for-tenancy rights against Ananthagiri Deshmukh, Fatehpuram Keshava Rao, against landlords of the velidanda, Chiluka villages in Dorakunta, against Jagirdar Mogalnayak. People also fought against 'Vetti' and Police Atrocities. Just at this time they saw the victories of the people in struggles in Suryapet and Jangam and got very much enthused and the Andhra Maha Sabha had progressed to be the real people's organization.

The story of their heroic and stubborn resistance in defence of their personal dignity, against molestation, torture and rape, is an inspiring one. Their awakening to social equality, to new moral and cultural life, their stubborn fighting quality, give us a glimpse of that tremendous revolutionary spirit and energy that is smouldering in our economically and socially oppressed womenfolk. We only take a little trouble to enable it to emerge out of its old tradition bound shell and try to channel it in proper revolutionary direction.

Telangana women and girls participated in the struggle in a big way along with their men. There was not much difference in the level of political consciousness between men and

women, but at that time women's problems were not discussed as separate issue. The question did not arise because the primary issue. The question did not arise because the primary issue was that exploitation. The people of Telangana had to be taught to demand their rights. Men and women fought combinedly against the Nizam's government.

Role of Women

Women played significant role in Telangana armed struggle. Equal to men, women fought for land, wages, cattle and also against vettichakiri. Women fought against the implementation of 'Brigs plan' which was meant to vacate the Koya, Chenchu and other tribals from their villages. Women participated in the struggles like against Nizam- Razakar, Nehru forces and Congress- Razakar etc., Along with their parents, brothers, life partners and kin and kith, women participated in different struggles including Telangana Armed Struggle. They joined in the troops. They did not care to enter into thick forests to achieve their goal. They acted as political representative messengers, revolutionists. They spread over the objectives of the movement among the mass. Unfortunately most of the women were tortured and ill-treated by the then rulers. Even then they did not leave their activities.

The real spirit which was witnessed among women is highly appreciable. They simply witnessed the atrocities against them and their relatives. There were some instances where women faced untoward situations bravely. They fought with enemies like female tigers. For instance Chakali Ailamma was the first lady from palakurthy village of Janagam Taluk in Nalgonda District who fought to protect her land with the help of Andhra Maha Sabha and Communist party. She was the first symbol of Telangana armed struggle. Likewise women played exorbitantly heroic role in Telangana Armed struggle.

Many women came into the movement when they saw their family members being tortured or killed. The loss of family members was a powerful inspiration, for militancy. Women were also inspired by the songs written and sung about the heroic deeds of people like Ailamma of Palakurthy village. Sometimes 'Burrakadha' groups went round the villages

singing these songs and narrating stories of bravery and sacrifice.

The example, Mallu Swarajyam of Kothagudem village, Suryapet taluq was from a landlords family and yet took an active in the movement. She was born in 1931, and was leader of the koya people resistance at the Gundala centre. Swarajyam had been active even as a young girl in the Andhra Maha Sabha. Later on joined the communist movement, and thus Telangana struggle. She organized men and women to participate in the Telangana Armed struggle. She observed that the condition of women was deplorable with all social evil like illiteracy, child marriages, polygamy, drinking and beating women and children by men and bonded labour etc. She was a good organizer and become a prominent leader in Nalgonda District, inspiring not only women but men also. Swarajyam influenced by the Communist party.

There were women like Atchammamba who served in all capacities. But this was very rare. We can see many koya women as fighters because, they were more courageous than other women. There were also women who did all types of jobs which were challenging, like fighting, or organizing the dalams as its commanders etc.

But we can see that there were very few women who gave their suggestions to the party and on the movement question. Rarely were ideas of women followed, and valued. The only exception perhaps is Mallu Swarajyam, who was listened to with respect.

Women worked as couriers, distributing letters from one dalam to another dalam, which was a really difficult task. For example, Sugunamma, a Brahmin landlord's daughter supplied letters from the families to the dens and vice versa. Kamalamma of Mynala village, Manukota Taluq worked in the area centers and regional centres writing the circulars. Women worked as nurses were served the wounded in

the fight. Atchamamba was the only woman doctor then who roamed about in the villages with the kit. She served in the dalam as a nurse and later learnt to use guns as well. She also cooked, washed and did all jobs in the dalam.

Women were also commanders, squadron leaders and organizers. Mallu Swarajyam, a very good example, was in the forefront in organizing women and men also. She was a zonal organizer and later area committee member. Comrade Ramulamma of Cherukupally village Nalgonda District was also another important organizer likewise Rangamma of Penchikaldinna, Huzurnagar taluq, Tirupalamma, Savitramma, Narasamma, Venkatamma, Lacchakka of koya women etc. Were important guerilla fighters.

MAHILA RATNAM - ARUTLA KAMALADEVI

Equally skillful in leading men and women was Arutla Kamala Devi of Kolanpaka village, who gave up her middle – class comforts to fight in Telangana, Kamala Devi came with her husband and joined Andhra Mahila Sabha as a student and later joined in the states people's conference in 1938, taking part in the activities of the state people movement, especially its constructive activities. She ran a primary school in her village Kolanupaka having herself witnessed the oppression in the Jagirdari areas she organized and enthused the women of Kolanupaka to right against the Jagir administration, against forced labour, high taxation, illegal exploitation of women. A bitter struggle ensued against Jagirdari atrocities and the people of Kolanupaka joined this struggle. During the years 1946-48, that is up to the time of police action, Kamala Devi addressed hundreds of public meeting, inspite of all the hazards and dangers involved in the city of Hyderabad right under the nose of the Nizam and his administration and the dreaded Razakars, there were some women who rendered sustained help to the Telangana armed struggle in its evolutionary as well as revolutionary stages.

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THE CHALUKYAN TEMPLES OF PEDDAPALLI DISTRICT IN TELANGANA – A STUDY

Dr. Raju Balgoori & Mr. Kadari Jayapal

There is a growing interest in the study of the history of Telangana based on evidences and the results of the latest research. Similarly micro-historical studies are also gaining importance over dynastic histories. They imply the detailed study of a territorial unit of limited extent. As the area is limited the study of the reactions of the people to the political currents and cultural developments and their participation in each of them would become easier. At the same time political and chronological approach is being replaced by socio-economic and cultural approaches. The temples and its art and architecture reflex the socio and cultural life of the people.

A temple for a Hindu is a place where he obtains spiritual bliss through devotion and worship symbolically within the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. Godhead manifests itself symbolically within the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. Temples in India or elsewhere exhibit skill in engineering, architecture and art. They differ from place to place; time to time and from one religion to another or may sometimes bear similarities with minute differences. Underlying these, differences exist certain basic principles giving scope for the classification of temple style. Temples in India exhibit an evolutionary progress through ages. The small platform under a tree supporting an image or object is the most ancient type of worship.¹ A stone slab resting over two uprights is the most ancient form of temple. In the later stage Hypaethral type of shrines were raised.

A study of the temple art architecture is an appreciation of the artistic beauty on scientific lines. A study of art and architecture of these temples is a good source of information about our cultural heritage. Apart from the art and architectural traditions, temples also reflect the political, social, economic and religious conditions of the period in which they were constructed. Many studies are made on art and architecture of temples both at macro and at micro levels, enriching art history. Recent studies on temple art and architecture stress the need of region-based studies for better understanding of the evolution of temple styles as well as the role of temples in the society.²

Sources of the Study: The epigraphic and literary evidences from the main source in framing the history of Peddapalli district. An on the spot study of the temples are giving a vivid and clear idea about the historical sites. The present paper deals with the art, architectural features and sculptural art of the Chalukyan temples of Peddapalli district in Telangana.

Peddapalli district is a district located in the northern region of the Indian state of Telangana. Ramagundam city is an educational hub and for Industrial hub. Ramagundam city is well known for its multi cultural and linguistic diversity. Peddapalli town is an educational hub. Peddapalli district is also famous for agricultural occupation. Ramagundam is only the largest city in this district and 5th largest city in Telangana State.³ As of 2011 Census of India, the district has a population of 795,332.⁴ The district will have

two revenue divisions of Manthani and Peddapalli are sub-divided into 14 Mandals. There are; Peddapalli, Odela, Sultanabad, Julapalli, Eligaid, Dharmaram, Ramagundam, Anthergaon, Palakurthy, Srirampur, Kamanpur, Ramagiri, Manthani and Mutharam.⁵

The Chalukyan Temples and its Art and Architecture:

Peddapalli district, which was successively ruled by various dynasties of the Chalukyan lineage such as the Chalukyas of Badami, Chalukyas of Vemulawada and the Chalukyas of Kalyani from the beginning of the seventh century A.D. to mid-twelfth century A.D. had naturally imbibed the traits and trends of this early Chalukyan style, which has an impact on the temples constructed here during the later Chalukyan period. The Chalukyas of Badami,⁶ Chalukyas of Vemulawada⁷ and the Chalukyas of Kalyani,⁸ who ruled over Peddapalli district, built a good number of majestic temples, dedicated to Shiva and Vishnu. The grand galaxy of temples at Peddapalli in Peddapalli Mandal, Neerakulla in Sultanabad Mandal, Murrur in Anthergaon Mandal, Telukunta, Peddapur in Julapalli Mandal, Kasipet in Manthani area exhibit the grandeur of Chalukyan art and architecture in Peddapalli district. The profusely carved ceilings, lintels, gateways, glistening pillars and the sculptural decor of the temples bespeak the heightened glory of the Chalukyan art.

I. Ramalingeshwara Temple at Peddapalli Town:

Peddapalli town, the headquarters of Peddapalli district, is situated at a distance of 197 km. from Hyderabad. It is a railway station on Kazipet-Balharshah line. There is a Chalukyan Shiva temple known as Ramalingeshwara temple in the old town of Peddapalli. It consists of *garbhagriha*, *antarala*, an open pillared *mandapa* and a porch before it. The walls are plain and the spire is in stepped pyramidal form. The *Trisakha* doorway of *antarala* is beautifully sculptured and it contains a well projected cornice above the lintel while *Purnakumbhas* are carved at the base. This temple stands as an example for the traditional pattern of architecture which was upheld in raising temples in the later times.⁹ The sculptures of Chalukyan Nandi and Ganapati

with four hands wearing *mukuta* are noticed in the temple.

Bhairava: There is a loose sculpture of Bhairava near the entrance. He holds Trisula in upper left hand, Damaru in upper right, Khadga in lower right and a severed head in lower left hand. The image with disheveled hair is of 5 feet height in black granite.

II. The Shiva Temple at Telukunta Village:

Telukunta village otherwise known as Telikunta or Tellakunta in Julapalli Mandal of Peddapalli district is about 25 km. to the north-east of Peddapalli and 4 km. to the south of Julapalli. It can be reached from Karimnagar by bus via Sultanabad or Choppadandi. It is a very old village, where from the coins of Vishnukundins belonging to 5th, 6th centuries are known to have been recovered.¹⁰ Various wonderful sculptures, which are a millennium old, are noticed in the temple lying beside the tank. The iron slag is abundantly visible on the hills and hillocks surrounding the temple and the tank. This is a Kalyani Chalukyan temple lying beside the tank surrounded by hills and hillocks and green pastures. The temple facing the east is now at a deserted place far from the village. A visitor of aesthetic sense greatly enjoys the beautiful surroundings of nature around the temple, where from it is pleasant to look at the ripples on the shining water of the tank in the hot sun.

This temple consists of only *garbhagriha* which is a 7'-3" square with an enclosed *ardhamandapa* before it which is 8'-3" long and 7'-3" wide containing an iron grill at present in the front. Over the simple *adhithana* the walls rise with pilasters as noticed in the Chalukyan temple at Choppadandi,¹¹ which is not even 10 km. distant from here. The shrine is surmounted by a spire in stepped pyramidal form with a spherical stone *Kalasa* at the top. The *mandapa* and the *garbhagriha* are flat roofed. The exterior walls of the temple measure 20 feet in length and 13 feet in width. The doorway of *garbhagriha* measures 5-0" x 2-7" with Gajalakshmi motif on *Lalata* and *Purnakumbhas* at the base. The shrine contains a Chalukyan panavatta with Linga while the Nandi,¹² which is 4'-2" long and 2'-10" high, is found in the *mandapa*. The Nandi looks thin and disproportionate when compared to the other sculptures found in this region.

Loose Sculptures: Several loose worn out sculptures in red sand stone are now placed beside the northern wall of the temple.

1. **Surya:** This sculpture holding lotus buds in two upraised hands is of 2'-6" height.

2. **Mahishasuramardini:** This eight-handed sculpture is of 2'-3" height. The goddess is seen thrusting Sula into the body of the demon found in buffalo form.

3. **Saptamatrika Slab:** The two broken pieces of Saptamatrika slab are now placed behind the Linga in *garbhagriha*. The bigger piece contains four while the smaller piece contains three goddesses endowed with four hands wearing Mukutas over their heads.

4. **Bhairava:** This is a naked sculpture of 2'-2" height holding Damaru and Trisula in upper hands Gada in lower right hand and severed head in lower left hand.

5. **Nagini:** This sculpture in half human and half serpentine form holding sword and shield is similar to the one found in the eleventh century temple of Polasa.¹³

6. **Naga:** This is a sculpture of curled Naga with a single hood.

7. **Linga:** A Linga of more than one foot in height in black basalt without *panavatta* placed outside to the south of the temple is noticed.

8. **Bhairava:** This is a much worn out sculpture of 4 feet in height and 1'-10" in width in red sand stone now placed on a small platform to the south of the temple. The god is flanked by female figures holding fly-whisks at the top. The hands of the god are found mutilated.¹⁴

III. The Shaiva and Vaishnava Temples at Peddapur Village:

Peddapur village in Julapalli Mandal of Peddapalli district is about 22 km. to the north-east of Peddapalli and 3 km. to the west of Julapalli. There is a single shrine temple containing only *garbhagriha* in Brahmanawada.

1. **The Shiva Temple in the Village:** The ruined Shiva temple lying beside the ruined *gadi* of the landlord probably belongs to the Chalukyan times. It faces the east. The ceiling noticed in *Kadalikakarana* process is ruined end

a few large blocks of stone are Visible now. The *garbhagriha* has a simple doorway which measures 4'-0" x 2'-4" containing Gajalakshmi motif on *lalata* and *urnakumbhas* at the has Adhithana is buried in the ground. The *garbhagriha* is a 6'-9" square while the exterior walls measure 12 feet in length and breadth. A small *Panavatta* containing Linga and a Nandi before it are noticed. An old sculpture of four handed Ganapati with the trunk twisted to the left resting on Modakas is noticed in the shrine together with a sculpture of Devi with four hands.¹⁵

2. **Another Shiva Temple in Fields:** Another Shiva temple facing the east is in the fields containing 7'-7" square *garbhagriha* and an *antarala* of 7'-7" width and 3'-6" length. The *antarala* doorway measures 4'-5" x 2'-0". The exterior walls of the shrine measure 16'-19" in length and 11'-10" in width. There is a Chalukyan *Panavatta* with linga in the shrine.

3. **Vaishnava Temples in the Village:** There is a Venugopala Swamy temple in the village with its spire in stepped pyramidal form. There is a Narasimha temple on a hill which is about 2 km. to the north of the village. It is a cave temple facing the south.

IV. The Shaiva and Vaishnava Temples at Kasipeta Village:

Kasipeta village in Manthani Mandal of Peddapalli district is situated at a distance of about 35 km. to the south-west of Peddapalli and about 15 km. to the north-west of Manthani and can be reached via Ginjapadge village. Now the village totally stands deserted for the unknown reasons except the Chalukyan group of temples standing on the bank of the river Godavari, which can be reached after covering 3 km. from Gunjapadge. Kasipeta is an early historical site with several mounds where pieces of black and red ware pottery and large number of brickbats are noticed.¹⁶

1. **The Double Shrine Temple:** This temple stands in a stone walled compound facing the east. The *prakara* wall on the east with an entrance facing the Vishnu shrine is extant while the walls on the other side stand collapsed. The *prakara* wall appears to have contained another entrance facing the Shiva shrine but it is in total ruins. The temple consists

of two separate *garbhagrihas* standing side by side dedicated to Siva and Vishnu with a common *antarala* and a multi-pillared *mandapa* with porches on the east, north and south. There is a sub-shrine situated on either side in the north-west and the south-west corners of the hall. The brick *sikharas* over the shrines are in ruins.

The *mandapa* has six rows of pillars five in each row. Thus there are 30 pillars excluding the corresponding half pillars rising over the parapet wall which runs all around the *mandapa*. The shaft consists of two square parts and curiously enough their faces are sculptured with several figures in low relief which are simple in design and exhibit less workmanship. The figures of dancers, huntresses, a woman holding a Kalasa, the palanquin of woman being carried by two women on either side, the nude figure of a young woman standing cross-legged laying her right hand on breasts and hiding her yoni with her left hand, a man standing with folded palms, the scene of *Gopika Vastrapaharana*, the entwined *nagas* and the friezes of elephants, lions and deer are the most important among the sculptures found on the pillars.¹⁷

2. Sri Ramalayam: This is a single shrine temple facing the east at a little distance to the south of the main temple housing at present the seated image of Sri Rama along with his consort Sita sitting on his folded left leg. The *makara torana* behind the image is carved with *dasavataras*. A beautiful sculpture of Annapurna is reported to have been shifted from here to Hyderabad state Museum.¹⁸

V. The Shaiva and Vaishnava Temples at Murmur Village:

Murmur a remote village in Anthergaon Mandal lying on the banks of Godawari is about 42 km. to the north-east of Peddapalli, about 12 km. to the west of Ramagundam and 4 km. to the east of Anthergaon. This old village is about 20 km. to the east of the early historical site Kotilingala the capital of the Satavahanas,¹⁹ if one travels through the forest-track all along the Godavari. Murmur is likely to get submerged in the waters of the newly taken up Yellampalli (Sripadasagar) lift irrigation project, the work which is in progress on the river Godavari near Yellampalli village lying

beside Murmur. It is too difficult to reach Murmur as one has to travel for about 20 km. through the worst dirty and dusty country road filled with several pits.

1. Sri Chenna Keshava Swamy Temple:

This old temple facing the east repaired recently by the villagers stands in the midst of the village within an enclosure. This small temple consists of *garbhagriha*, *antarala* and a four pillared *mandapa* before it. The exterior walls measure 18'-6" in length and 12 feet in width. The *mandapa*, with 16'-6" length and 13'-3" width is flat roofed. The *antarala* doorway measuring 4'-8" x 2'-4" contains the Vaishnavite mark flanked by disc and conch on Lalata and Vaishnavite Dvarapalas at the base.²⁰ The *adhithana* contains *upana* and a *gala* flanked by two bands, the lower band decorated with semi-circular stones looking upward while the upper band contains the same semi-circular stones looking downward. The *gala* part contains sculptures which are indistinct due to white washing of the temple. The Bhatti rises to a height of 4'-9" over the *adhithana*. The spire is in stepped pyramidal form connected by a tapering band on all the four sides.

Loose Sculptures: Several loose worn out sculptures in black granite and red sand stone are now placed courtyard of the temple.

1. Lakshmi Narasimha: This beautiful sculpture of lord Narasimha in black granite with his consort seated on his. Folded left leg is noticed in the north-west corner of the courtyard. He holds wheel in upper right hand and conch in upper left hand keeping his lower right hand in *abhaya* while running his tower left hand around the waist of the goddess. There is a *makara-torana* carved with *Dasavataras* behind this sculpture of 1'-5" height.

2. Bhairava: This naked sculpture of 1'-9" height and 1'-3" width, in red sand stone holding Damaru in upper right hand, trident in upper left hand, Khadga in lower right hand and a severed head in lower left hand is now placed before the compound wall of the temple.

2. Sri Pataleshwara Swamy Temple: This Shiva temple facing the east is only a few yards to the south of the above Chenna Keshava Swamy temple. As this single shrine temple

with a *garbhagriha* and an *antarala* before it is found buried in the ground, so it might have been named as Pataleshwara temple by the villagers. The visible part of the temple is only the stepped pyramidal spire with a little upper most portion of the *bhitti* under the cornice. The villagers have built steps to reach the underground *garbhagriha* containing a Chalukyan Panavatta with Linga on it.²¹ The doorway of *garbhagriha* measures 4'-2" x 2'-2" and the ceiling of it is laid in *Kadalikakarana* process. The *antarala* is 7'-2" long and 6'-8" wide.

Ganapati: This image with a single pair of arms in *garbhagriha* and another Ganapati with four hands wearing a short *mukuta* in *antarala* are noticed.

VI. Sri Ranganayaka Temple at Neerakulla Village:

The village Neerakulla in Sultanabad Mandal of Peddapalli district is only 5km. from

Sultanabad and about 15 km. from Peddapalli. There is an old temple standing on a very big rock in the middle of the river Maner. The natural surroundings are beautiful with hillocks and luxurious vegetation. The spot is picturesque as the rock containing the temple is surrounded by water. The Chalukyan temple is dedicated to Vishnu in the form of Sri Ranganayaka Swamy. The walls of the temple are plain and the spire is in stepped pyramidal form. The pillars in the open *mandapa* are massive and short and appear to be of an early origin. In the vicinity of the above temple there is a hillock on the northern bank of Maner containing a small temple with *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa* before it. At present there is no deity in this temple. The doorway of *garbhagriha* contains Gajalakshmi motif on Lalata and *Purnakumbhas* at the base. There are two miniature shrines at the same place provided with the Vimanas of south Indian style.

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KOLANU PAKA AN URBAN CENTRE UNDER THE KALYANI CHALUKYAS IN TELANGANA

Ravindhar Banoth & Dr. Sobhan Babu

Kolanupaka is presently a small village in Yadagiri gutta Taluk of Nalgonda district of Telangana State. But historically speaking this village is known to have existed right from the 9th Century A.D. The village acted as an administrative Centre under the Rastrakutas and the Kalyani Chalukyas as *Kollipaka* 20,000 and *Kollipaka* 7,000 respectively. In the inscriptions the village is described as Kollipaka

nadu, Pura and desa etc which was one of the biggest administrative divisions in medieval Andhra in the Telangana region for which Kolanupaka was head quarters.¹

Politico - Administrative centre :- The geographical analysis of Kolanu Paka region indicates the significance of this place right from the Mauryan times. The early Brahmi edicts found at Gajulabanda, Phanagiri and

Vardhamanakota clearly signifies the geopolitical importance of the region. After the decline of the Mauryas, Satavahanas rose to prominence in Deccan. Many of the Archaeological sites in the district yielded materials like coins, bricks structures as an evidence of the extension of the Satavahanas rule over this part of the country.

After the downfall of the Satavahanas the region came under the control of Vishnukundians.² It is evident from two copper plate grants records the construction of Buddhist Vihara at a place called Indra Pala Nagara i.e. Thummala Gudem. These evidence clearly indicate the importance of the regions in the early historic phase. But the village Kolanupaka is not traceable but it suddenly rose to Prominence at the time of Rastrakutas. The earliest record refers to Kollipaka found at Akunuru in Janagon Taluk of Warangal district, which is undated and does not mention any over lord. It states that Sankara gandarsa, the Mahasamanth dhipathi Jayadhara and Vittinaryana was ruling over Kollipaka Nadu 20,000. A certain udapayya seems to have been governing Akunuru and that someone appears to have made a gift probably of land to the basadi at Kollipaka.³ The inscription is important historically in two respects. Firstly, the region Kollipaka formed as an administrative division i.e. Kollipaka the village was headquarters. Secondly, this was centre and a strong hold of Jainism.⁴ The absence of epigraphical data on the village or Irrigation works. We may surmise that a number of villages settlements might have existed around the Kolanupaka region. So, the region has economically prosperous and strategically important that's why the village is constituted as administrative headquarters in the region. After the Rastrakutas the immediate successors were the western Chalukyas during the period the village developed as an important fortified capital. It was the head quarter of the vishaya comprising 7,000 villages. There are inscriptions ranging from the period of Tailapa II to Vikramaditya IV providing us the names of various governors ruling over it.⁵ In medieval times Andhra become the bone of contention between the Tamil and Kannada rulers. This region was also drawn out to a series of Struggles for its dominance some of the important battles were fought between the

Western Chalukyas and the Cholas of Tanjore.⁶ During the region of Somesvara I according to an inscription at Tirumala of Parakesari varman alias Udaigar Rajendra Choladeva in his 12th Year conquered, with his great army idai turunadu Vanavasi, Kollipakkai the Chola attack on Kollipaka took place in the year AD.1044 during the region of Somesvara I as his feudatory Singadeva rasa bears the title "Kollipakayam Kawanm" Protector of Kollipaka in AD.1045.⁷ In this connection, it is clear that the region had been a part of Chalukyan dominions from the earlier period and it continued so up to the end of their rule. Kolanupaka as an administrative headquarters the governors, higher officials soldiers and large number of service personnel might have since stationed at Kollipaka. Different social groups must have inhabited around the region.

Religious Cultural Centre: *Kolanupaka* was the centre for different religions affiliations such as Jainism, and Vaisnavism and Concentration for heterogeneous population of different faiths. The earliest record mentions a gift of land to the basadi at Kollipaka.⁸ The inscription belongs to the Rastrakuta period. During the Rastrakuta period Jainism received royal patronage in Telangana and Rayalaseema regions. Kollipaka was also one of the strong holds of Jainism in Andhra, another inscription dated AD 1034 mentioned that a gift of the Muppanahalli in Aluru Kampana 40 to a Jaina temple.⁹ The donor of the gift certain Aggalayya, of Jaina faith thus, it indicates that Jainism continued to receive that royal patronage in the successive periods of the later ruling dynasties. An inscription dated AD.1047 registers a gift of five mathas of the place by the merchant guilds of Aravas and the Gundas.¹⁰ It indicates that the village must have been the centre for the mathas before the record of the donation. From the beginning of the Somesvara period Royal Affiliation has shifted to Saivism. From then onwards upto a period of more than two hundred years all the records found at Kollipaka deal with grants, construction of Saiva temples.¹¹

This is the second factor that shaped the urban character of Kolanupaka owing to the Religious and cultural activities. An interesting inscription from Kolanupaka dated at 1279 belonging to the region of Rudramadevi, states that

Potinayaka caused a canal called Vamsavardhana to be dug and that Indusekhara of the Nidadavolu chalukyan family made a gift thirty Nivartnas of land for the worship.¹² Somanatha shares allotted to various professionals is also stated in the record.

Trade and Commerce :

The epigraphical evidences witnessed the growth of trade and commercial activities in the Kolanupaka region. Kolanupaka as a centre of Administration and religion contributed to the concentration of diverse occupational groups in the premises. Such as huge population could depend on agricultural surplus extension of cultivatable hinter land. Naturally it gave an impetus to the growth of trade and commerce in the temple and royal centres. In Kolanupaka trade and commerce Played rather a complementary than decisive role. The inscriptional references earlier to testify that the merchant organizations and the names of individual merchants such as aruvas, gavundas - nagarams & settis etc.¹³ All these evidences clearly indicate the flourishing conditions of Kolanupaka. It is clear that the trade also played a vital role in the growth of Kolanupaka as an urban centre.

Kolanupaka developed into an urban centre due to the fact that primarily it was a Strategic Political Administrative centre. It must be noted here that a separate administrative division with Kolanupaka as a provincial headquarters consisting of as many as twenty thousand villages was nearly created during the Rastrakuta period. This itself speaks of the utmost strategic and political importance of Kolanupaka during the times of Rastrakutas. This political character has continued during the succeeding centuries well up to 13th century A.D. However, as the above discussion suggest the urbanization of owed it growth to the polity and the encouragement of land grants. This process was supported by the religious factor in the form of construction of temples and associated with land and village grants resulting in the agricultural expansion and surplus production. This resulted in an increase population and temples played a vital role in involving all the sections of the society in their functioning. The hypothesis is further supported by the fact that after the 13th Century Kolanupaka lost its political and administrative character due to the political changes. The urbanization seems to have come to an abrupt end indicated by the absence of inscriptions from this place.

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LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: THE 'HINDUSTANI' IN COLONIAL TRAVANCORE

T. Sakhariya

Introduction

Language and Culture are the main currents of study in the Linguistics Anthropology¹. Thus, the ethnological studies on linguistic groups further gave a fillip to the cultural studies in general. According to Pier Paolo Giglioli, "Under the label of 'language and culture', the linguistic Anthropologists study

topics such as the relations between world views, grammatical categories and semantic fields, the influence of speech on socialization and personal relationships, and the interaction of linguistic and social Communities"². From the ancient period onwards there were so many groups that arrived and settled in the land of Kerala with their own culture and dialects,

mainly for commerce and trade purposes. Nowadays, their language and culture has become a part of the land and their descendants lived in the region with their own dialects as their home language.

As stated by Edward Sapir that, "it is preferably true that history of language and history of culture move along parallel lines"³. With regards to, racial as well as the linguistic anthropology the Mohammedans⁴/ the Muslims in Travancore can be divided into three classes, viz., the successors of the early Arab and Egyptian settlers along with the off springs of the Muslim converts with the tradition of Malik Ibn Dinar and follow the Shafi School of Jurisprudence like the Jonaka Mappilas/Mappilas and Methans⁵. The other groups who had migrated and settled down from the east coast (Tamil regions) for the purpose of trade like the Thulukkans, the Labbais or the Ravuthars; the third group who were the settlers from the Northern and Western regions of Indian Sub continent like the Patanis⁶, the Dakhinis⁷, the Memons / the Cuthies or the Cutchi Memons,⁸ Syndiars⁹, etc . The first of these classes usually speak Malayalam, the second Tamil and the third Hindustani¹⁰.

The Dakhnis or Pattanis migrated to Travancore from the Deccan regions especially from the Bahmani Kingdoms through Tamil and Carnatic Regions. During the disintegration of the Sultanate of Madurai, a large number of Hindustani speaking Pattanis had migrated to the Venad regions and became the soldiers of the Venad rulers. After the formation of Modern Travancore under Marthanda Vrama, he had appointed a number of Hindustani speaking Pattanis as his bodyguard. They also invited large number of Pattans to the state of Travancore from the neighboring states for military purposes. The Military officials of the Maharaja of Travancore such as Khiladar, Razaldar, Sirkari-i-Munshi, Saphesaladar, etc were the Hindustani speaking personals¹¹. When the seaport of Alleppey was opened for trade by the reign of Karthika Thirunal Rama Varma (Dharama Raja), his Diwan Raja Kesavadas, in order to curtail the monopoly of Dutch trade at Purakkad, a large number of Muslims from Bombay regions were invited to the land for trade purposes¹². Thus, the Muslim

traders from Gujarat, Cutch and Sind began to settle down in the coastal regions like Alleppey, Quilon, Trivandrum and Kottar, with their mother tongue as Hindustani¹³.

However, the language Hindustani was considered by different scholars in different forms. Urdu scholars such as Nasir Ud din Hasmi, Moinudin Abdul Quadir Zore, Moulavi Abdul Haq, etc described it as Deccani, while presenting a paper in the Allehabad University in 1952, Ram Babu Saxsena, the famous author of the Tareekh- E-Adab Urdu had expounded that it as Deccani Urdu or Deccani Hindi. M Akbarudin Siddiqi delineated that this dialect was the vernacular of the Guzargah (way side Market), thus it was called by Gujari, Dekkani, Zaban -e – Hind (the Indian language), Musalmani Hindi (the language of the Muslims), Tulukbhasha (the language of the Turks), Pathanibhasa (The language of the Pathans), etc¹⁴.

As we know that the rulers of Travancore were the great patrons of language and literature. They invited scholars to the royal families as tutors especially Hindustani, English, Persian, etc. An official Neetu (Palm leaf Record) issued by the Maharaja to the Dewan Peshkar Venkitta Rao in 1818 shows that, after the death of Syed Mohamed, the Court Munshi for Hindustani and Persian, his Son-in-Law Mohammed Ali was appointed as the next Munshi with a monthly allowance of Rs. 100 by which Rs.35 as a pension to the deceased Munshi's surviving children¹⁵. The ruler cum scholar, Swathi Thirunal of Travancore has composed 31 Hindustani songs written in Malayalam script. Its said to have that the Mughal Ruler of Delhi had given a title Panchasari, a flag and the Urdu song, Nowbath (recite with the help of nine orgastra) along with nine Urdu Pattanis, which was used by the Maharaja at the time of Araat festival¹⁶.

With regards to the Hindustani¹⁷ in Colonial Travancore as well as Kerala, written in Nastaliq Script (Perso- Arabic Script) which was known as Dakhini (some are called it as Urdu or Dakhini Urdu)¹⁸. However, in the word stocks of Dhakini Urdu had included words from Sanskrit, Prakrit, Abhabramsha, Persian, Arabic, Hindi, Sindi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Avdi, Marathi, Braj, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu¹⁹.

Nonetheless, there were very few Mohammedans in erstwhile Travancore whose mother tongue was Hindustani (Dakhini Urdu). As per the Census Report of 1875, there were 2844 people speak the Hindustani as their mother tongue, which was the 0.12 percentage of the total population²⁰. Among them 745 residing at Trivandrum taluk and other major settlements at Paroor (467), Quilon (293), Ambalapuzha (266), Agastheeswaram (242) and so on²¹. According to the Census of 1901, the number of Hindustani speaking persons in Travancore were 5944 including 3672 males and 2272 females and major portion of the population was concentrated in the Western division of the state (3485)²². Though, the report stated that, in the case of Urdu speaking population of the state were only 6²³. As a spoken vernacular language of the state, the position of Hindustani was 6th after Telugu²⁴. In the Report of Census of 1911 stated, there were 4647 people in the state were used the Hindustani as their mother tongue²⁵. The largest population of them concentrated in the taluks of Trivandrum (1649) and Serthalai (789)²⁶.

According to the Census of 1921, the total number of Hindustani speaking Mohammedans in the state was only 2889²⁷. The Hindustani was also included in the western language group including Hindi, Gujarati, Patnuli, Punjabi, Urdu, etc. At the same time, Urdu as a separate entity and was spoken by a number of 224 people²⁸. They have practically confined to Trivandrum and Kottar. The Chief Muslim centers of erstwhile Travancore were Alleppey, Quilon, Edava, Manakad, Thiruvithamcode, Edalakkudi and Alwaye.

In 1931, there were 7188 Dakhani Muslims of whom some were Hindustani speakers and some probably Gujarati speakers²⁹. At Alleppey, Quilon, Edava and Alwaye the local Mohammedans speak Malayalam; they have no fascination for Urdu. The floating merchant population at Alleppey was of Gujarati extraction with Cutch or Gujarati as their mother tongue. At Manakkad, they have equally divided between the Hindustani and the Tamil Muslims. Manakkad is / was a centre of Urdu speaking Cutchi Memons and the Dakkini Muslims. At Thiruvithamcode, they are all Tamil Muslims. At

Edalakkudi, a few speak Hindustani and the majority being Tamil Extraction. In the taluks of Nedumangad, Meenachil and Pathanamthitta, there were a large indigenous population of Mohammedan agriculturist and traders with Malayalam or Tamil as their mother tongue.

Hindustani Literature in Travancore

The Hindustani was written not only in Arabi- Persian script, but also used Roman, Devanagri and Arabi- Malayalam. It was around 1885 A D (A H 1313), *Nusrat Ul Lisani Bilugatil Hindustani* (the Hindustani Primer) on Arabi- Malayalam script was written by Hydrus Musaliar of Alleppey³⁰ and which was printed in the Amir Ul Islam Press, Thalassery³¹. He was the tutor of the Hashimia Madrasa of Alleppey. An Urdu- Malayalam Dictionary, which was compiled by an anonymous scholar, who lived in the patronage of the Travancore Maharaja before 400 years ago, was kept in the Manuscript Library of the University of Kerala³². Social reformers like Mohammed Mahin Hamdani Thangal and Vakkom Abdul Qadir Moulavi were great scholars in Hindustani (Urdu) too. Hamadani Thangal had used the Urdu verses of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Althaf Hussain Hali in his speeches³³. Sulaiman Moulavi, a Cutchi Memon of Alleppey was famous in Urdu scholarship and he taught Hindustani and Persian to Vakkom Moulavi. Therefore, Vakkom Moulavi translated Ahul Sunnah val Jama'h, an Urdu work of Syed Sulaiman Nadvi into Malayalam³⁴. M'arif, an Urdu magazine edited by Sulaiman Nadvi, was circulated among the Hindustani Mohammedans of Travancore. Vakkom Abdul Khader Moulavi, the revivalist among the Muslims of Travancore, was a subscriber of this Urdu Magazine³⁵. So many scholars in Travancore had made tremendous works for the propagation of Hindustani teaching in Travancore. In 1925, C P Narayana Pillai of Panamana wrote a primer in Malayalam titled "Hindustani Prabhodini" which was published by Reddiyar Press and Book Depot, Kollam³⁶. 'Urdu Teacher', a textbook for the training of Urdu language was written by A Mohammed. He also translated Al Ghazali of Allama Shibli Nomani in Malayalam³⁷. A famous Urdu poet of Travancore, Abdul Hameed of Manacud wrote poems such as Na'th, Hamth, Marzia, etc, in Urdu under the pen name 'Quresh'³⁸. A Cutchi

Memon lady by Ayisha from Thalassery, who was settled at Trivandrum, wrote poems in Urdu which was published by Northern Indian magazines like Shair. The Cutchi Memons built a Mosque at Alleppey known as Nurani Masjid in 1262 A H (1845 A D) in which the Friday speech (Qutba) was delivered in Urdu till 1988. The Bijili family of Travancore was a Dakhini family popularized the teaching and learning of Hindustani³⁹. Though there have no direct contact with the language of Persian, a number of Persian words have been borrowed from it through the Dakhini. The Mappila poets of the 19th Century have also carried the themes, terms and phrases from the Arabic – Persian literature, which was prevalent in Dakhini too.

Hindustani teaching in Schools

Hindustani Munshies were appointed, as already stated, by the Maharaja to the royal houses as tutors. In the Administrative Report of 1872 stated that there was an appointment of a Hindustani Munshi by the Government in the His Highness the Maharajas English School, Trivandrum with the view of encouraging the spread of education among the Muslim subjects of the state⁴⁰. During 1875, the Maharaja of Travancore had appointed Syed Leffiudeen as the Hindustani Munshi to the His Highness the Maharajas School, Trivandrum⁴¹.

The Residency Escort School, perhaps the first Hindustani / Urdu School in Kerala, was established to teach Sepoys who had not completed three years service. On 10th March 1899, by an order of J D Rees⁴², the British Resident of Travancore, further, this school was brought about to teach the children of the escort men and also the children related to the Residency⁴³. On 22nd March 1899, Sayed Abdul Jaleel was appointed as its headmaster with a personal allowance of Rs. 5 per month⁴⁴. However, this school was handed over to the Travancore Government in 1899 itself. Thus, the Hindustani School was started in Trivandrum as an aided school for teaching Hindustani to the children of the Sepoys of the bodyguard⁴⁵. The Hindustani Escort School was the joint efforts of the chief secretary, Mr. Watts and the Hindustani Mohammedans with the help of Commandant Col. Kitchen.

In the first decade of 20th century, the Maharaja of Travancore had given permission to the school and granted a piece of land at Thycaud to Sayed Abdul Jaleel, the headmaster to build his quarters⁴⁶. In 1902 (1077 M E), it was converted into a Government School known as the Residency Escort Lower Grade Vernacular School and the ownership of the land had handed over to the Government free of cost on public good⁴⁷. This became the one and only Hindustani School in Travancore.

P M Ismail Munavari, a Dakhni Muslim, the medical practitioner by profession, was nominated as the member to the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly of 1917 (12th Session) demanded for the promotion of elementary schools for the state and also the appointment of Arabic Munshis. The Arabic Munshis for such schools should be versed in Urdu or Hindustani, as the Arabic Textbooks prescribed for the schools contained only Urdu interpretation⁴⁸.

On 21st August 1920, the Government sanctioned to open Class VI to the Residency Escort Lower Grade Vernacular School with effect from the academic year 1920-21 and sanction was also accorded to the Headmaster of the school had to given a pay of Rs 17 per month from the academic year⁴⁹. In an inspection by the director of Public Instruction, L C Hodgson submitted his report to the Government, in which he stated that the students strength in each class were inappreciable⁵⁰. Thus, the Government decided to cease the functioning of the school.

On 24th September 1927, a group of Mohammedan inhabitants of the cantonment, Trivandrum submitted a memorandum regarding the discontinuance of the Hindustani Primary School, Trivandrum⁵¹. They demanded to allow the continuance of the school as a special case. On 26th January 1928, the Director sent their report which stated that, "the strength and attendance in the School have not been satisfactory so as to justify the continuance of the school...the school at the inception was intended to impart instruction in Hindustani to the children of the Sepoys of the Bodyguard among whom there were then several Hindustani Mohammedans...these Mohammedans have since become domiciled

and do not now care much for Hindustani"⁵². He also stated that, "the teaching of Hindustani in the school is very poor and that there is hardly any scope for Hindustani school in the state". The Inspector of vernacular school had forwarded his report to the Government stating that, "the school has only two classes and it is seen that out of 16 students in Class I only 3 are learning Hindustani and that in Class II there is no Hindustani at all"⁵³.

In 1928, on the basis of the Report of the DPI, the Government of Travancore had discontinued its working as a departmental institution. The report of the Chief secretary stated that, "it is unfortunate that the school situated in the place where there is a large population of Mohammedans should not be popular and that the petitioner who styled themselves as leaders of the community and who have protected against the contemplated abolition of the school, should not have persuaded their brethren to send more of their children to the School"⁵⁴. On 5th May 1928, as per the letter of the DPI (No. 116, dated 26th January 1928) the Government sanctioned the Hindustani Escort School at Thycaud being closed from the end of the academic year 1927-28⁵⁵.

On 15th December 1927, Pir Mohammed Ismail Munavri (Pensioned Doctor, Trivandrum), a nominated member of the 23rd Session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly of Travancore had submitted a representation (Rep. No. 78/ Education) to the Dewan regarding various issues connected with Mohammedan education in Travancore⁵⁶. In his representation regarding the Mohammedan Education the third point was related to the Hindustani or Dakhini Urdu education in Travancore. Pir Mohammed Munavari represented that, "the Arabic Munshis should possessed knowledge of Hindustani (Dakhni Udru), that the Hindustani should be treated as one of the Vernacular in the case of Dakhni Muslims students and that Arabic-Hindustani Munshies should be appointed in all departmental schools having 25 or more Muslim students. As reply to the Pir Munavari, the Dewan stated that, "I must confess that, it is with very great surprise that I now discover that the Arabic Munshis do not possess knowledge of Urdu. I thought the two languages always went hand in hand here as elsewhere in India. I

shall ask the Director to consider whether it is possible to accept the suggestions. No less surprised am I to find that there is no Urdu teacher in the S M V High School, Vanchiyur. Not merely it is necessary that Muslim boys should be given the opportunity of taking up Hindustani as their optional subjects, but I think it is advisable that students of all communities should have the opportunity of learning Hindustani, because without a knowledge of it, stay in other part of India is certainly difficult and it will be well that pupils in Trivandrum are given the chance of acquiring early in life a knowledge of the Lingua Franca of India"⁵⁷.

As a reply to the representation the Chief Secretary of the state pointed out that he had sent a letter (Letter No. 1864/ 2367 of 1102 M E, dated 10th December 1927) to the DPI to enquire and report whether it to be possible to accept the suggestions on the matter⁵⁸. On 8th October 1928, the DPI submitted his report regarding the possibility of the teaching of Urdu or Hindustani in schools: "As the report from the Inspector of Vernacular Schools that the Hindustani schools as such are not likely to thrive in the state. Pir Munavari, the member had contended that Hindustani should be compulsory subjects for the examination of Arabic Munshi. The Mohammedan Inspector for schools of Travancore stated that, if Arabic made compulsory for the exam, there will be very few to appear for the Arabic Munshi Examination and he suggested that if considered desirable, it may be made one of the optional like either Malayalam or Tamil. This may be a concession in favor of the few persons who may not have a chance to appear for the Exam with Malayalam or Tamil as optional"⁵⁹.

The DPI also stated that, "during the period of L C Hodgson (former DPI), he made a detailed enquiry with regard to the real demand for the study of Urdu or Hindustani in Travancore and he came to the conclusion that there was no such demand. It may be mentioned in this connection that the fact that the only Hindustani Departmental School in the state which was located in Cantonment, Trivandrum, there the largest number of Hindustani speaking Mohammedans in the State reside, had to be closed for want of sufficient number of pupils".⁶⁰

Pir Mohammed Munavari, in his representation stated that there were a large number of enquiries for the starting of Hindustani in the Sri Mula Vilasam School, Vanchiyur, Trivandrum. As the enquiry of the DPI in this regard, the headmaster of the S M V School, Vanchiyur stated that, there is no demand for teaching of Urdu in the this school as the Muslim students in the lower classes are satisfied with the Vernaculars they are studying and their parents do not find any practical benefit in learning Urdu⁶¹. After all the DPI had recommended that the Hindustani or Urdu be included as an optional subject, like Malayalam or Tamil, for the Arabic Munshi Examination as well. On 8th January 1929, the Government had informed the DPI that (R. Dis. No 39 of 1929 / Education.), the Government did not see the necessity to introduce the teaching of Hindustani as a compulsory subject in schools. However, the Government had been sanctioned accordingly to include Urdu or Hindustani as optional subjects for the Arabic Munshi Examination in Travancore⁶². In 1932, the Cutchi Memons of Travancore established the

Allama Iqbal library at Trivandrum in order to propagate Urdu language and literature⁶³. For the propagation of Urdu, the Urdu loving people of Travancore had started a Madrassa named Anjuman Ta'edul Mussalmin. With the help of Abdul Hameed, a branch of the Madrassa named Adabi Saman Madrassa in the Contonment, Trivandrum⁶⁴.

Conclusion

The linguistic minorities of the state of Travancore with Hindustani as a Lingua Franca had made their own cultural identity which molded the state into an ethnographical laboratory. They formed cultural groups within the communities, such as the Muslims as well as the Hindus by using Hindustani with Perso-Arab script and Devanagari Script, follow Hindustani Culture – food habits, Clothing, life style, etc which was alien in nature. They were the trust worthies of the rulers also. However, it was the Hindustani language that brought about a cultural symbiosis in Colonial Travancore.

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4. Mohammedan, the term used to denote the Muslims in the British records of Colonial Kerala. It was during the 18th and 19th centuries the scholars and the ecclesiastical officials of Europe had used the terms Mohammedanism, Mahometism, Mahometry, etc. to indicate Islam. Vide., *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Juan E Campo (Ed.), Facts on File, New York, 2009, p.477.
5. The Census Report of 1931 stated that, there were four major groups among the Muslims with subdivisions existed in Travancore. They were the Cutchi Memons, the Malabar Muslims (Jonakan, Methan, Thangal), the Dakhani Muslims (Pathanis, Sheikh, Mughal, Syed), the Tamil Muslims (Labbais, Ravuthans, Tulukkans). Vide., *Census of India, 1931, Travancore, Vol. XXVIII, Part I – Report*, the Government Press, Trivandrum, 1932, p.154.
6. Pattanis, a derivate term of the Pashtuns, a warrior group in Baluchistan, who migrated to different regions as military officials and soldiers. They also served the Deccan Sultanates, from there they migrated to Travancore.
7. Dakhinis, a name given to the Urdu speaking people who came from Deccan and their language as Hindustani or Dakkini, had a slight change from the original Urdu. Dakhini has been called as Dakhini Hindi and Dakhini Urdu by different scholars. Ram Babu Saxena, Sri Ram Sharma, etc. called it as Dakhini Hindi while some Urdu scholars such as Moinudhin Abdul Quadir Zore, Sayed Abdul Haq, Nazir Ud Din Hasimi, etc reported it as Dakhini Urdu and some scholars never called it as Urdu, but considered only as Dakhini like Mulla Gavazi, Ibn Nisami, etc. The Dakhini was known by different names such as Gujari (the language of Guzargah – Wayside Market), Zaban –i- Hind (Indian Language), Musalmani Hindi (Dialects of Indian Muslims), Tulukbhasa (Spoken language of Turkish people), Patanibhasa (the vernacular of the Patans). Vide., S A Shanavas, et.al., (Ed.), *Linguistic Magnitude of Mappila Malayalam*, University of Kerala Thiruvananthapuram, 2014, pp.10-11.
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15. Neetu (Palm leaf Record) of 1818, Vol. 78, (1818 A D), 29th Kumbam 993 M E, Central Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, p.233.
16. *Ibid*, p.55.
17. This was called by Englishmen as Moors language, Indostan, Hindoostanic, Hindostanic and the Indians by Hindi, Hindavi, Hinduei, Hindustani, Gujri, Rekhta, Deccani, Dakhni, Dahlavi, Pattan Language, Tulukkabhasha, Gosai language. See., Dr. V P Mohammed Kunju Metharu (Ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.32-33
18. Dakhini was derived from Khari boli, a spoken dialect in Delhi region by which the language of Urdu and Hindi emerged and some scholars demanded that the language, Hindi or Urdu developed gradually from Shouraseni Apabhramsha, was initially named as Bhakha, Bhaka, Bhasa and later called as Hindui, Hindavi and Hindi. Vide., *Ibid*, p.66.
19. S A Shanavas, et al., (Ed.), *op.cit.*, p.15.
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23. *Ibid*, p.102.
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41. Travancore Almanac, 1875, the Government Press, 1875, Trivandrum, p.124.
42. J D Rees, assumed charge as the Resident of Travancore on 17th July 1897, Vide., Travancore Almanac and Directory - 1911, The Government Press, Trivandrum, 1910, p.34.
43. File No. 158, Bundle No. 113, Education- Grant of Personal allowance to the Headmaster of the Escort Hindustani School, Thycaud, Trivandrum, 1920, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, p.23.
44. He had completed 8 years in the Residency service from 1891 to 1899 and also in Travancore Service from 1899 onwards. He was also the School master license holder (No. 1391) and known the languages of Malayalam, Tamil, Hindustani, Arabic, Persian and a smattering of English. Vide., *Ibid*
45. The Sepoys who worked as Bodyguard to the Resident and the Maharajas, who lived in Trivandrum from various part of the British India and among them there were several Hindustani Mohammedans, who lived in Cantonment area in Trivandrum.
46. The headmaster had built his quarters outside the school at a cost of Rs 1000 collected by him and as a special grant of Rs 20 per month was awarded to him for the school. Vide, File No. 406, Bundle No.114, Education-Discontinuance of the Hindustani Primary School, Thycaud, Trivandrum, 1920, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, p.1.
47. *Ibid*
48. Proceedings of the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly - 1917, The Government Press, Trivandrum, 1917, p.167
49. File No. 406, *op.cit.*, p.5.
50. There were two streams in the school, i.e., Residency Escort Men and their children. Out of the 103 students 72 were Residency Escort Men and 31 children. In each class, there were 44 Escort men in Class –I, 5 in class - II, 9 in Class- III and 14 in Class- IV and the children numbered in Classes I, II and III were 19, 8 and 4 respectively. There was Class IV for the Escort Men and not for children. Classes III and IV were taught by Syed Abdul Jaleel, the headmaster, Vide., *Ibid*, p.13.
51. This was signed by Syed Farid, Noorudheen, Syed Abdulla Sahib, Sheik Ibrahim, Abdul Vahab, Mohammed Khan, Abdulla, Sayed Abdul Rahim, M Madur Khan, etc. Vide., *Ibid*, p.2.
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53. *Ibid*, p.9.
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55. *Ibid*, p.11.
56. File No. 39/29/ Edn, B. No.143, dated 8th January 1929, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, p2
57. *Ibid*, p.14.
58. *Ibid*, p.3.
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60. *Ibid*, p.7.
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63. K P Shamsudheen Thirurkadu, *op.cit.*, p.57.
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LIFE AND WORK OF DR. HARRIET (HATTIE) ELIZA PARKER- PIONEER WOMEN MEDICAL MISSIONARY OF AMERICAN MADURA MISSION

Dr. J. Saral Evangelin

Introduction

By the dawn of the nineteenth century AD, medical apostolate became the mainstream of missionary methods across the globe. From the beginning, medical work was recognized as an important means of evangelism. It was the door of approach, and often the "most effectual" door of approach to the heart of the patient and the necessary embodiment of spirit of Christianity whose founder (Jesus Christ) Himself was a great healer. Within decades their medical services became increasingly formalized and professionalized. Although the pace of change varied across different mission fields, denominations and stations, the principles of expertise and efficiency became the underpinnings of the missions drive to modernize their health apostolate. The forms and functions of medical missions were transformed gradually into those resourced with fully qualified doctors and nurses who in their turn gradually replaced the partially trained predecessors. Their missionary medical practices began to increasingly focus on highly equipped hospitals with advanced therapeutic efforts.

The Need for Medical Missionaries

In general, the attitude of Indians and Hindu community towards medical mission can be better expressed in a single word 'indifference'.¹ The orthodox reactions of the society hated medical missionaries. Once a Brahmin who had a dangerous tumour refused to consult the foreign missionary for the fear of pollution. Then he went and consulted with a Hindu priest. After much debate they left it to the idol to indicate its choice in this matter. Two bouquets of flowers, one white and other red were laid before god, and a little girl was sent in to bring out whichever she chose. If she brought the red it was a token of the god's disapproval, if white, of approval. Luckily white flowers were brought out, so operation was done and that man's life was saved.² When the missionaries came, fierce scourge of cholera was prevalent in Madurai. From six to eight persons died daily. People were terrified and asked the magician to drive the spirit away. But the sad thing was even the magician died of

cholera. That made the people to ask help from the missionaries. With the good supply of medicines and prayer they were able to fight against the disease and were able to save the life of many. This made the people to look upon medical work of missionaries.³ The native doctors of Madura found it inconvenient to have the people flocking to missionary doctors for medical and surgical help. So they determined to destroy missionaries' life by witchcraft.⁴ With the treatment of missionary doctors many blind came to receive sight, and many enormous tumours were removed. These medical missionaries never let the evangelistic and medical labors clash with each other. They allocated different timings for medical and evangelical work.

When missionaries began to visit zenanas and the villages, they saw the dreadful neglect of women's health. They were fully aware that it was more important for a woman to be healthy. Since they realised that sick mothers were unable to provide adequately for their families due to their physical and intellectual needs, they came forward to relieve them of their sufferings. They understood that through persuasion and follow up the Indian women can be conscientised on the need to be healthy. Despite their success in establishing hospitals and other medical amenities, they still found the creation of health awareness in the Indian women's minds a big problem.⁵ Also in the wake of their medical apostolate they cared for the orphans and destitutes as allied medical mission activities.

Dr. Eliza Parker (1867 -1953)

Dr. Eliza Parker was born in 1867 to Sterne Oscar Parker and Cordelia Bohanan of Putney of U.S.A. She began her medical services through missionary activities at Madurai from 1895.⁶ This remarkable dedicated missionary healed the sick, offered hope to despaired persons. It resulted in the arrival of many other missionaries from the U.S.A.⁷ Sent by WBM, Hattie Parker began her Missionary work at Pasumalai at the age of 27.⁸ Her ministry was sponsored by the Pilgrim Congregational Church of St. Louis Missouri⁹.

She graduated from the Women's Medical College of the New York infirmary in 1890. Perhaps the idea to go to India had been in her mind from childhood days. The church journal namely The Missionary Herald was a regular reading fare in many homes in New England, and probably it might have infused in her the thought to go to India. Her families association with the Congregation Church at Putney where Christian messages from across the globe gathered, inspired her with the idea of joining a mission abroad.¹⁰

The Medical work by women and for women

The medical work for women was first distinguished from the general medical work in 1877¹¹. **Dr. Harriet Parker** arrived for this work in November 15, 1895, and on the 15th September 1896 the mission passed the following, "In view of Dr. Harriet Parker's having passed her first examination in Tamil voted that she be placed in associate charge, with Van Allen, of the medical work for women in Madura."¹² In January 1898 Dr. Parkar was placed in full charge. As the work grew the accommodation in hospital building was insufficient, so she built an annex called "**Harriet Newell Hospital Annex**".¹³ Countless thousands came to know her as their "*Doctor Ammal*" who came from America to care for them because her Christian faith taught that all men are brothers.¹⁴ Dr. Parkar was assisted by **Mademoiselle Zeline Eugenie Cronier**, who came to Madura in 1897 from Paris to minister in Mission Hospital. Cronier was her devoted friend and they worked as a team and tended thousands each year. She was nineteen years older than Dr. Parker, even then she worked tirelessly for fourteen years as Parker's capable assistant in all facets of her work.¹⁵ She was an ideal companion to Dr. Parkar in her personal relationship, hospital ministry and in her motherly care of the little ones left in the tender mercies of the doctor. But she went to be with the lord on 14th January 1904. In the same year Miss Pichaimuthu, daughter of one of the pastors connected with the mission, who had been trained as a Hospital Medical Assistant in Madras Medical School, took her place in the hospital, and has become a most valued assistant. Many faithful nurses were trained, some of whom have gone to work in other missions, even as far as Mysore City¹⁶.

For her first seventeen years (1895-1912) in India Dr. Parker was the only doctor at the hospital and the only women doctor south of Madras. From the beginning she trained native women to help out as nurses and compounders and some proved to be remarkably able and dependable. For the year 1896 Dr. Parker reported treating 10,670 patients with the help of several nurses and a compounder in training. The Hindu community furnished nearly two-thirds of the patients, native Christians composed most of the other third. The Mohammedan attendance varied between 800 and 1,800 a year, touching its lowest point during the scare about plague inoculation in 1899¹⁷. All the helpers are Tamil Christians, trained in this mission. Few patients have come to baptism, though a good number have privately professed faith in Christ and a desire to follow him¹⁸. Dr Parker, in one of her letters to her father described her first experiences in "*Itinerancy*".¹⁹

Parkers Itinerancy – Medical Visitations

She has written that she enjoyed the work away from the hospital and tried to make several trips each year to the outstations. For her it was travelling by bullock cart, lodging in a tent and working under the most primitive conditions. Hundreds of patients came, some walking miles, and Dr. Parker with her assistants tried to furnish remedies and treatments, referring more serious cases to the hospital in Madura. The cases of women who entered the hospital for treatment and returned in health to tell an entire village about the kindness of these Christian women missionaries, was repeated over and over again. Restored patients made the most effective evangelists. Dr. Parker could be away from hospital only for few days and at that time Mademoiselle Cronier took care of the hospital.²⁰

Dr. Parker in her letters to home expressed the hope that the deputation team²¹ which made a tour of inspection late in 1901 would give them a good report. They did indeed. In the reference to the medial work at Madura they wrote, "*The hospitals are tested to their utmost capacity and numbers are increasing. The missionary physicians are to the people the best illustration of the life of Jesus Christ. And these hospitals need enlargement.*"²² This was the

year that the women's hospital handled 41,010 cases not including the 400 visits that Dr. Parker and Mlle. Cronier made to patients home.²³ Reporting on the medical work at the mission for the year 1905, Dr. Van Allen wrote, "*A clinic of more than 100 patients a day, hospital in-patients, patients in missionary bungalow, considerable outside patients, constant calls to out-stations, seldom a night of unbroken rest- all this makes one to ask how long Dr. Parker and Mlle. Cronier can be expected to continue at the above rates.*"²⁴ This report clearly indicates the dedication and the hard work of these dedicated women missionaries.

Growing strength of Patients and need for Commodious Hospitals

The small hospital where Dr. Parker began her work became over crowded in just a few years. To make more space, a new separate dispensary was built, and the interior of the hospital was rearranged to gain as much space for patients as possible. Stairs were removed, halls and bathrooms set up with patients' beds and even verandas were used. These temporary solutions were just that, and it was obvious that a new hospital was needed as the number of patients increased each year. It was a great day in the history of the Madura Mission when the cornerstone for the American Hospital for Women and Children was laid in the fall of 1916. Hospital for Women and Children carried on for many years by Dr. Harriet Parker Vaughan. Then it was under the care of Dr. I. M. Roberts, Dr. A. M. Otto, Dr. Hilda Smith, Dr. Grace Kennett, with Miss Lucile Lee as Superintendent of Nurses. Also a Nurses' Training School was started with Mrs. E. L. Nolting as Acting Superintendent and 60 Indian girls were in training as nurses in the year 1900. One of the finest pieces of work of Dr. Hattie Eliza Parkar was the "Birds' Nest," a home for neglected girl children, carried on in connection with the Hospital²⁵. The Hospital evolved from a small dispensary established by the Missionary Doctor C.S. Shelton in 1849 which, in the next two years, became a hospital. Till 1953 this hospital functioned as two separate units namely the hospital for women and children and the Albert Victor hospital for men, later, as the Willis F. Pierce memorial hospital for men. These two hospitals were

amalgamated in 1953 with a new name of Christian Mission Hospital. Many Doctors of Western and Indian Origin contributed untiringly to the steady growth of this hospital in the last one and a half century. Memorable among them are Doctors Paulin Root, Harriet, E. Parker, E.W. Wilder, Chellappa, J.J. Barnes, Betty Chinniah,²⁶ Indra Raja and Rajeew Chelladurai, A.K. Fenn. The Christian Mission Hospital is 150 years old. Now it has 350 beds to treat inpatients. It has most modern equipments and assistants with dedication to provide all kinds of specialised treatments.

The School of Nursing- Medical Training Institute of the Mission

The School of Nursing was started in 1913 with lower grade Nursing and Midwifery Courses in Tamil in the Hospital for Women and Children. In 1934 higher grade nursing for men started. Higher grade General Nursing and Midwifery Course began in 1951. Many men and women of nursing background have toiled to nurture this institution to its present status and memorable among them are Sisters, Fint, Betty Taylor, Wilson, Raynert, Attwood, Margery Thomas, E.B. Lang, D.S. Hoath, S. Perera, Mr. T.J. Thasiah and Mrs. Kamala Roberts. The School was upgraded as a College in 1993 with a new name C.S.I. Jeyaraj Annapackiam College of Nursing and Allied Sciences, with a generous financial assistance from the Jeyaraj Chelladurai Trust, Madurai.

Sahaya Veedu

Dr. Parker was relieved from the responsibility of the hospital work in Madura on request. She got married to Rev. Vaughan and settled in Manamadura. So she started another project. She set up a combination 'Maternity-Baby Welfare Centre' in Manamadura, called it '*Sahaya Veedu*', meaning House of Hope. '*Sahaya Veedu*' was very brisk from the day it was started. Within a year of its establishment, the records showed that the doctors had performed 52 operations, made 100 house calls, and treated 6,207 patients.²⁷ They collected fees in a few cases, but most of the time their services were without charge. Dr. Parker enjoyed taking care of mothers and babies.

Birds Nest Foundation Home for Orphan Girl Children

Origin of Birds Nest

Birds Nest was founded by Dr. Hattie Eliza Parkar (Dr. Harriet Parker) a missionary of American Madura Mission in the year 1900.²⁸ One day a problem arose at the hospital that, "what should be done with a beautiful four year old girl who had recovered from her illness but had no home to go to". Both of her parents had died of cholera a year ago, and the aunt who undertook to care her had died of the same disease while the little girl was in the hospital. Dr. Parker was so charmed by this child that she took her to live in her quarters in the bungalow where Mlle Cronier showered her with loving care too. She was the delight of their days, Dr. Parker acquired a daughter, never dreaming that this was the beginning of a whole new project. God according to His purpose widened the vision and mission of Dr. Parker through Grace Kennet.

A few years later this child, whose name was Grace Annammal Kennett, was joined by another little girl whom Dr. Parker named Zeline Parker in memory of Mademoiselle Zeline Eugenie Cronier. Two girls became as close as natural sisters and being the eldest, they took some responsibility for the care of other children as they came along. By 1910, Dr. Parker had adopted five more such homeless children and living space became a real problem. She fixed up small store room for the children and when someone commented that they looked like birds in the nest, the label lasted. Therefore the home for these children was called the "*Birds Nest*".²⁹ In 1914, ten more new birds arrived and Dr. Parker not only had big housing problems, but financial ones as well. The house was crowded beyond description but somehow she founded a temporary larger home. The generous benefactor Miss Emily Wheeler, helped to solve money problems.³⁰ She continued to be a most faithful partner not only with personal donations, but also organised fund raising through pledges, persuading church groups to sponsor some of these children, etc. Contributors from USA found it personally gratifying when Dr. Parker sent reports and photos of children they were supporting. Some children became pen pals of Birds Nest

children. Children in Birds Nest learnt English along with Tamil.

The Birds Nest had become an institution, not according to any thoughtful plan, but as a loving Christian response to the desperate needs of innocent children. This was a private venture and was not funded by the Women's Board of Missions (WBM) or AMM. Dr. Parker found some sponsors who contributed money and gifts and Indian Government also gave some significant grants. By nature she had a tender heart of a Mother Bird, so she was quite natural with the orphaned children. She treated them as if they were her Children. It is a combination of orphan asylum and, founding home.³¹ As the bird nest is closely associated with the Mission Hospital, many of the birds came directly from there.³²

As the Children at the Bird's nest grew up, it kept Dr. Parker busy finding ways and means to help each one, find an occupation appropriate to their talents. Finding and managing funds for this orphanage was a worry at times, but somehow the needs were met. At one point Dr. Parker decided fifty birds would be the limit, but when another child came she reasoned "*to refuse this child is like saying that the Lord can feed fifty but not fifty one.*"³³ The child was welcomed to the nest, and before another day passed, Dr. Parker received an unexpected donation which eased the most immediate financial pressure. All the Children attended the school at the Birds nest. Then they went to the schools run by the mission and whenever possible they sought further training for an occupation. It was Hattie's dream that these unwanted abandoned children should be restored to health, reared in a loving Christian home and trained to take their places as useful contributing citizens.³⁴ Birds Nest had little waifs, deserted babies, and homeless children and out of it have come doctors, nurses, school teachers and workers in several callings.

Bird's Nest School

As there were many traffic problems for the children, Dr. Parker decided to have school in the Bird's Nest campus itself.³⁵ Bird's Nest and its school gave importance to vocation oriented education so that the children could learn the dignity of labour. They were taught "*to minister and not to be ministered unto*"; the

inmates quite easily learnt these Christian principles very early. The result was that many became professionals in many fields. The American Board was ready to lease a piece of land in the campus of Rachanyapuram to the Bird's Nest foundation for the purpose of building a home for the Bird's in the country. Here they could attend the school. The Bird's Nest School was commended on inspection, with the words, "First-rate teaching." "A high grade of efficiency."³⁶

Last days

In the year 1921, Dr. Parker was honoured by King George V and the government of India. She was awarded silver Kaiser-i-Hind (Emperor of India) medal for distinguished service to the people of India. This was considered to be the highest award for public service. It was an expression of recognition and gratitude for this American doctor's untiring efforts at the women's hospital, the Bird's nest and the leper asylum at Dayapuram.³⁷ Encouraged by human counselling offered by Rev. Vaughan, Zeline Eugenie Cronier³⁸, Otta, Van Allan, Sr. Hoath, Mr&Mrs.Chandler and Mr & Mrs. Wallace, the fellow missionaries, she was able to identify the need for her philanthropic services.³⁹ She married Rev. Stanley Vaughan on 24 May 1924 at the age of 57. Continuing poor health of Rev. Stanley Vaughan forced them to retire and they were given retirement by the ABCFM Board and ordered to return home for treatment in January of 1934. Even when she was in Ontario, Canada for Vaughan's treatment for cancer, she was busy raising fund for Bird's Nest. Rev Vaughan passed away on 28 November, 1936. Dr. Parker's family hoped that she will stay in American in her retirement years, but Dr. Parker returned to India to her home and children in July, 1937.

Dr. Grace Kennet adopted daughter of Dr. Parker arranged for Golden Jubilee celebration on November 1945. Fifty years since Dr. Parker had arrived in India. Dr. Parker was showered with gifts and overwhelmed with fifty garlands. Bird's Nest children sang a song and presented her with a lovely silver bowl, plate and best of all a slender gold chain with a thin gold star pendent with its five points engraved: Hospital, Birds Nest, Dayapuram, Sahaya Veedu and

Restabit. Dr. Parker developed the problem of failing vision and hearing. Her health started to deteriorate and went to be with the Lord on 27 February 1953 at the age of eight five. There is no way to know how many hearts and bodies knew her healing touch. Small in stature, she was gigantic in wisdom and compassion. When she went into her final rest, a great multitude grieved for their "Doctor Ammal" She was buried near her old friend Mlle. Corner in "Kakkathoppu" and her tombstone is inscribed by her children⁴⁰:

*"Beautiful rest for the weary
Well deserved rest for the true.
When our life's journey is ended,
We shall again be with you."*

Conclusion

Hattie was a teacher, mother, friend, philosopher and guide to women of the region. The children of that place captivated her attention.⁴¹ For 45 years, she accomplished her services uninterruptedly. The small hospital where Dr. Parker began her work became overcrowded in just few years. As she was a medical graduate, she was able to understand the needs of doctor's service in a backward area. The orphan girl children and the abandoned were all patronised. For them she founded Bird's Nest. To restore the health of the abandoned children and to make them useful citizens, she involved in rendering free medical service to the neglected poor of the remote villages.⁴² She was well supported by Rev. Vaughan who was her husband and a Canadian missionary. He was also an inspiration for Hattie Parker because of his founding of a leprosy hospital at Dayapuram, (city of Mercy) in Manamadurai.⁴³ She helped the lepers and founded a hospital for them in Dayapuram in 1913. Dr. Parker purchased six acres of Government waste land at 1500 feet below kodaikanal hills and built a four room stone house on a steep side hill there. She called it "Restabit" which was her own personal retreat centre. She often took some of the children with her, especially those whose health was fragile and needed a little personal attention. The whole work of Dr. Parkar was nothing but a fulfilment of their early dreams and manifestation of their readiness to positively respond to God's calling to serve

humanity in the world beyond the borders of their nations, races, colours and creed. Amidst hot tropical climate, language problems, hostility of native governments, wide spread ignorance of people, non availability of basic hygiene including unsafe drinking water supplies, superstition, poverty, disease and starvation, she

carried out her missionary services. As the torch bearers of the Gospel ways and values, wherever she went and served, she lit the benighted souls with love and compassion which still enable their offsprings find light even today.

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2. J.S. Chandler, *Seventy-five years in the Madura mission : a history of the mission in South India under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A., p.131.
3. Mr. Jeffery, *The seventy second annual report of the American Madura Mission*, p.16.
4. Witchcraft was done against Dr. Scudder and his assistant. They killed some animal probably a sheep, took its blood cooked it with rice, brought it to the street near the mission compound, spread it out, and then made two images, one to represent Scudder and the other his assistant and placed them near the sacrifice. A nail was pierced into each of the images, expecting that their victims would be destroyed at the same time. Two conjurers well skilled in the black art were hired to do this. Scudder's assistant had been quite ill, and they must have expected him to be an easy victim but he recovered. Nothing happened to two of them. So the conjurers said white skin impervious to witchcraft. Ref: J.S. Chandler, *Seventy five ...*, *op.cit.*, p.131.
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17. Schaller Blaufuss,, *Changing Goals Of The American Madura Mission In India, 1830-1916*, 2003,USA, p.47.
18. Dr. Chester, Report of the AMM for 1887, p.33.
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20. Theodora Wright Weston, *op.cit.*, p.161.
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ROLE OF POLITICAL SCHOOLS IN THE PROPAGATION OF LEFTIST IDEOLOGY IN ANDHRA

Savithri Kandula

During the British ruling period, Indians faced many problems and struggles. At the same period due to October revolution in the year 1917 formed Communist government in Russia. Indians are attracted by the Russian communism Ideas and theories. In British ruling period, Indians are faced socio-economic problems. To liberate people from these problems, few of the national leaders attracted to communism and formed the communist party in India. The communist party of India was born on December 26th 1925 to serve as a political platform for both the leftist intellectuals and also the labour forces in India.

The growth of the communist movement in Andhra districts took place in different stages. Puchhala palli sundrayya played a vital role in developing the communist movement in Andhra who belongs to Alaganipadu village in Nellore district. When he is studying in Madras Layola college he was influenced by HD Raja's lecture on communism. Along the way his colleagues Kambhampati satyanaraya & P.K Narasimhan were in support of HD Raja's ideologies. After one year Ameer hyder khan met P.Sundarayya at Bangalore and invited him to join the communist party to take forward of the communist activities.

Amir Hyder Khan started Young workers league in 1932 and recruited K.Satyanarayana and P.Sundaraiah into the communist movement and encouraged to become active participants in the party programs and a branch of the communist party was established in the Madras city in the year 1934. When Amir Hyder Khan who is arrested due to convict of the Meerat Conspiracy case, in his absence P.Sundaraiah taken responsibility to build up the communist party in Andhra region.

The first region level conference was held in 1934 at Patamata (Bezawada) and many representatives from various districts attended the conference. The conference selected a seven member state level organising committee which comprising of P.Sundarayya, P.Narasimha Murthy, M. Chandra Sekhar Rao, ch.Vasudeva Rao, T.Venkata Chalapati, A satyanarayana and

K. Seshaiiah. The committee taken a resolution to form a labour protection leagues in all over the region through in which the party intended to spread the communist ideology and create the awareness in the youth.

In 1934 Puchalapalli Sundaraiah formed a 'Labour Protection cell' in Alaganipadu village of Nellore District. This was the first socialist activity in Nellore District. Later in 1937, Vennelakanti Raghavaiah formed a 'Andhra State labour protection cell' in Nellore. In this movement the communist party cell conducted a meeting in which M.N.Roy acted as a Chairman and V.Raghavaiah was elected as a State Secretary by the Andhra State Labour Protection Cell. And Also D.Balaramireddy, P.Sundaraiah, J.Ramalingaiah and K.Satyanayana were elected as a members in that cell.

In 1936 November, communist leader Mr.Donge visited in Nellore district and organized the several youth meetings and motivated against imperialism, in this time his speeches were motivated to the youth about communist policies and theories. In 1937 the socialists organized Andhra state students meeting, Batliwala attended the meeting, and visited the Nellore, Kavali, Venkatagiri towns and speeches about socialist policies. In 3rd September 1937 Batliwala speeched against imperialism in Venkatarigi meeting. His speech was impressed to the people, by this reason Batliwala arrested and sentenced for six months imprisonment.

Later in 1937 November, Jayaprakash Narayana who known as National leader visited the Nellore district and propagate the socialist theories by his speeches. At the same time students who belong to V.R. college attracted by leftist ideas, theories and later they organized a student federation. The first student meeting was held in 1938 January 29th and 30th. The Andhra State Youth Association of the Congress socialist party conducted a summer political school at Kothapatnam near Ongole in Guntur District from 1st may to 10th June 1937 and nearly 180 students were attended

from all over the Andhra. Further another camp was also organized in Manthenavaripalem in Guntur district.

The Kothapatnam political school was banned by the Madras Government and later Students and organizers were later charged by the Police. The government filed a case against sixteen members and sentenced six months jail including Vasireddy Sivalinga Prasad, Munipalle Ramarao, Kollavenkataiah Puchhalapalli Govindamma, Ravi Adisheshaiah, Biram Ramanadham and Pusupati Narasimha Raju, Baswareddy Sankaraiah, Pedavalli Sri Ramulu of Nellore District.

The above two schools formed a number of well trained activists in Nellore district. After completion of these schools the communist party membership increases highly in Nellore district Alluri Rangaiah, Bhimavarapu Seshiah, Ramineni Akkaiah, G.C.Kondaiah, Pamulapati Narsaiah, Ganga pedda Kondaiah, Gudipenchalaiah, Nukalapati Sankaraiah, Kota Appaiahsettim Amsa Sundara Rajan etc people was joined as a party members by 1938. In 1938, the party organizers decided to develop the party activities elaborately. In this process the state committee sent P.V.sivaiah to Nellore as district organizer. He spent more than six months in the Nellore district and had been tried to strengthen the communist party in Nellore District and visited more than 100 villages. He took a leadership in V.R.college, and staged Dharna in ABM college respectively.

Political School in Mypadu

By the inspiration of Guntur District political schools, the Nellore communist party organized a political training school in Mypadu village in 1939 May. In this school, the organizers conducted a classes on study public problems, and work with the public. S.V.Ghate was also attended to Mypadu political school. He try to increase the knowledge on communism policies and activities in youth.

Political School in Alluru 1940 :

The state committee sent Mr.P.V. Sivaiah, successful leader to Nellore from Guntur district to strengthen the communist party in Nellore district. Mr.P.V.Sivaiah had a good experience as a principal for the two schools of Kothapatnam and Manthenavaripalem of Guntur District. With

that experience he had organized a school successfully in Alluru. For this course Mr.Jonna Kotaiah from Nellore Region attended the programme and after that he joined and involved actively and tried his best for the growth of the party.

Political School in Nellore :

In 1943 a political school was organized at a Bungalow Mulapet police ground. For this Mr.Yenugula Srinivasa Reddy, Amamcharla Gangadhara Rao were known as communist party leaders in Nellore were participated. During the same time on the other end of town in Nellore District, a student meeting was held at Navalakula Thota Pattivari Satram outside of the town in Nellore District.

Mr.Amamcharla Gangadhara Rao monitored the programme. He tried his best to spread leftist ideology among the public. Gangadhara Rao played an active role in that area and felt the responsibility of spreading leftist ideology and worked hard for the party.

Political school in Kondepi:

Mr. Parankusham Seshacharyu attended political school at Uppugunduru in 1944-45 with that influence he had started a branch in Kondepi, Kandukuri taluka in North Nellore Division and worked as secretary. He gathered not only the committee members, but he motivated the farmers and the youth to attend the school especially. He conducted schools at night time and he read out the pamphlets, paper news and communist literature to the participants and inspired them. Not only that he also started Burrakatha Dalam, further he encouraged his daughter to spread his leftist ideology through the traditional art Burrakatha Dalam. His daughter Saroja given so many Burrakatha shows. She motivated other active girls to involve in Burrakatha Dalam.

With the influence of Parankusham Seshacharyulu, teacher Lakshmi Narayana motivated the people. This time Kunarneni Sriramulu, his wife Chencharma joined the communist party in 1946. Their daughter Jhansi also joined this party. She also joined the Burrakatha Dalam. Jhansi along with Saroja were performing Burrakatha Dalam in the north Nellore division. This time people were motivated by girls Burrakatha Dalam, and also

impressed by the leftist ideology. Kunamneni Sriramulu couple were organized one political school in Kondepi with help of communist

In the leadership of Paruchuri Suryamba and some of the women were actively participated in the school from Nellore district. They also attended the state level meeting in Vijayawada. The Nellore Communist women took a major role to increase the membership. Later the women participated actively in various communist movements in Nellore district. It is a great thing to be able to cross the women's socialist barriers and move into the communist movements and regional movements during the period.

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WOMEN AND CHARITABLE WORKS DURING THE GANGAS OF TALAKAD

Dr. S Shivaramu

Historical records reveal that women engaged themselves in good number of charitable works and that they were held in high respect by the society at large. Naturally in such services women from higher strata of society were more in number. But sometimes women from ordinary walks of life also participated in public utility constructions attested by a number of Epigraphical records of the Gangas of Talakad.

It is stated that they took personal interest and became society responsible for construction and maintenance of tanks, aramas. Which were perhaps parks meant for public use: todikes which stood for the small gardens or the flower gardens used by the public, satras or choultries or alms houses that were either attached to the temples or operated as separate establishments in which the Brahmins, students and member or other caste groups were fed;

Conclusion : Some of the well-known political schools held in various districts in Andhra Pradesh i.e., Kottapatnam Political School, Manthenavaripalem Political School in Guntur district, Tunikipadu Political School, Vijayawada women's political school and Pamarru political school in Krishna district, Mahanandi Political School, Kurnool district, Hindupur Political School Anantapur district, Rajolu political school in East Godavari district etc., These schools played a major role in Andhra Pradesh and create a second generation communist leaders. They spread leftist ideology in whole Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The activists influenced by communist Ideas and theories and they joined national movement and regional movement.

aggistike which was meant for keeping fire alive continuously for the benefit of the people in the mathas. Temples or the houses of the vaidika, Bramanas and aravattiges which were either attached to the temples and satras or maintained independently for the purpose of serving water to the needy. Noble women patronized agraharas and mathas. Offered liberal grants for the Educational institutions and presented gifts to the Bramanas¹.

Position of Women in Administration

Women performed varied functions in society. Women of the upper classes held important positions. During the Ganga period Revakanimmadi daughter of Amoghavarsha and wife of Ereganga Administered the region of Edetore-nadu². Butunga II's queen was in charge of Kurugal³. Sripurusha's daughter-in-law Kanchiabble who was the wife of Duggamara

was entrusted with the task of governing the territory of Agalli⁴. One of the queen soviyabbe accompanied her husband to battle and fell fighting at his in the battle of at Bagiyur. Sripurusha's queen Viniyavati governed over malavellur⁵.

Another able women administrator was Bhujjabbarasi of the Ganga Family. She had three younger brothers called Battayya, Singhavarmarasa and Chichchapayya. Her son Butungha II was the son-in-law of the Rashtra Kuta ruler Amoghavarsha III. the record states that in 975 A.D. perbala or Hebbala a village about 18 miles to the South-East of Lakshmesvar in Dharwad District was under her control and she administered that area. She was responsible for such religious and public utility works as the construction at perbala of the plinth of the temple of siva named Bhujjabbesvara after her and of an outlet for the tank in the same place apparently for irrigation purposes.

The record dated 1112 A.D describes the powerful Bhujabala-Ganga-Permmadi-Barmmadeva and his chief queen the highly praised Ganga-Mahadevi and she was the mother of four sons called Marasinga, Sathya Ganga, Kalirakkasa-Ganga and Bhujabala Ganga. It states that she assumed the crown for the King and also for Gangavadi which would perhaps imply that she shouldered the responsibility of Kingship⁶. Some women also knew the art of state craft and their spouses often consulted them in matters of Administration. For Example a record of 1118 A.D. Sisters that Lakshmidivi, the wife of Commander Ganga. Offered suggestions to her husband in Political affairs. It also praises her as the inspiration for him in wars⁷.

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Construction of Aravattige and Satras

Aravattige is the arrangement made for providing drinking water to the travelers. Queen Chattaladevi gave land grants for the purpose of feeding the community of rishis but also completed the construction of tanks, wells, abodes of gods, watersheds, sacred bathing places, satra or choultries and araves which were perhaps small parks meant for public use and planted gorves¹². A record of 1139 A.D informs that Suggiyabbarasi was the sister of Ganga King Marasinga and she offered food to the yatis¹³. It is noteworthy that royal ladies also offered grants for the feeding of not only ascetics and Brahmanas. But also the students for maintaining Education in 1029 A.D queen Suggaladevi handed over certain land to a Brahmin named Brahmasri Pandita for the purpose of maintaining ascetics and students¹⁴. Queen Lakshmadevi in 1084 A.D preented Pomgari village to Somesvara Panditadeva of the temple of Achalesvara at the capital of Sundi with the implication that the entire income accruing were to be used for feeding the ascetics and imparting education to the students¹⁵. Records explain clearly that ordinary ladies also belived that they could get great merit by giving charities to Brahamanas and holy persons on special auspicious occasions. Polegabbe was the mother of Kannayya. She observed the Vrata of voluntary fasting, bathed in the holy Ganga and then to acquire much more merit granted to Santi-bhatara the land under the hiriya-kere of Adanur in 965 A.D. The pious Ponnabbe was told by two good persons Datteya and Tikkayya that great merit would come to one who offered charity to Brahmanas at the time of Sun's eclipse. Believing that to be true she bought some lands and offered them to the Brahmanas of Tageratti. She also gave a money grant to them in 978 A.D and humbly

said that she would offer them as much money as they wanted¹⁶.

Construction of Tanks

Giving water in charity is considered as the greatest act of merit. It is said that one derives a lot of merit from setting up aravattige. Well, tank, canal or lake perhaps full with lotuses. Because water nourishes all living beings, so one who gifts water to the living beings will be blessed by the god, that even lord Brahma cannot count¹⁷.

When water is so sacred and important naturally in order to preserve it. People started building tanks and ponds. Increasing the water wealth for the sake of the community was considered as noble as performing sacrifices and giving gifts to Brahmanas¹⁸. The greatest acts that will invoke the blessings of god are some of them was when Mahamandalesvara Madaranga was ruling Asandi as capital, Chhattagaunda the son of Banka Gaunda and Bamma Gaunda and his wife Chandave Gaundi set up God Bankesvara built a tank and for the purpose of the illuminations of that God made a grant of land in 1104 A.D¹⁹.

Construction of Temples

Patronage to construction of temples by women is also of considerable magnitude. Many women have patronized construction of a number of temples as attested by a number of inscriptions these temples belong to Jaina, Vaishnava and Saiva faiths.

Pocabbarasi the mother of Rajendra Kongalva by constructing a Basadi in 1050 A.D and making an image of her Guru Guna Seva Panditadeva of the Dravilasanga, The Talugragana and Irugulanraya and also presenting lands to the basadi in the prescribed manner in 1058 A.D. A howed clearly that the name devotion and patronage of the Jina Dharma could be found among the royal ladies²⁰.

Thus these Epigraphical evidence are enough to extend an excellent explanation about the religious fervor of the women in Gangavadi. The crowned Queen of Mahamandaleswara Bhujabala. Ganga Perumanandi Barmadeva made a grant of land Suleya Bayalu for the Pattada Basadi of

Mandalitirtha in 1062 A.D²¹. The grant of Budanagere in the mandal 1000 free of all imposts and certain lands in Banni kere, a garden, two oil mills and certain custom dues in both these towns for god Parsvanatha was made by the chief Queen Gangamahadevi and Pergade Bachaladevi in the presence their husband Bhujabala Ganga permnadideva the four princes Gangarasa, Narasinga deva. Goggideva and kaliyagangadeva all the ministers and nadprabhus. These ladies have been highly described Gangamahadevi's asserted to be superior to all kings and queens.

The Naregal inscription of 950 A.D for the first time mentions padmabbarasi as another wife of Butuga and the basadi erected by her at Naregal to which a dana-sala (Charity-house) was attached²². Santara Queen Cattaladevi daughter of Rakkasa ganga or Ganga-permanadi and the queen of koduvetti the ruler of the Tondenad 48000. Unfortunately her husband, son an married younger sister had preceded her in death. But she did not lose courage. She adopted the four sons of her sister Taila, Goggiga, Odduga and Barma as her own sons, in association with them she built many sacred abodes of Jina at pombucchapura the capital of the santaras of them the most beautiful was the pancha kutta or panchavasadi know as urvi-tilakam or glory of the World²³. An inscription of Marasimha states that both Chaggiabbarasi and Butuga granted bittuvatta. The unpublished grant of Salem district was gifted to Nilakanta at the instance of Duggamara's wife Kanchiyabbe. Who was related to the Rashtrakutas. The mother of Butuga Bujjabarasi was instrumental in getting the Siva temple constructed²⁴. Another inscription of Butuga II states that his queen Galabbe caused a temple to be build and conferred a grant of land on it. An inscription of 1139 mentions three ladies whose pious deeds centre round the great strong hold of uddhare. The younger sister of Marasimha III was suggiabbarasi whose guru was Meghanandi. She gave gifts of food to Jaina ascetics and decorated the Pancha-basadi in uddhare. It is said of this lady that wherever there was no Jaina temple she would provide one of wherever any Jaina teacher needed any support she gave them grant²⁵.

Women as cultural Representative

The position and status of women is considered to be an index of the level of cultural development as well. A healthy society is that in which more and more women take part in more and more cultural activities.

Many a time they were accomplished in dancing singing and other traditional arts and also noted for their religious fervor and charity²⁶. The court used to patronize them. A record states that dancing was accompanied by singing, drum and instrumental music proficiency in several types of dancing as Bharathi, Satvaki, Kaisike, arabhate and different kinds of pose and expression of feeling was considered to be a mark of distinction. Bachaladevi a perfect dancer attracted the king by her dance and won the king as well as titles of patarajagadole (head of the world of dancers). Dancing halls with stone pavements in courts and temples were constructed embellished by kings and often from donations by the rich who

were grant patrons and promoters of music, dancing and decorative arts²⁸. An inscription from Honalli Taluk mentions the grant of lands to dancing girls²⁹. Yet another inscription from Shimoga district records as similar grant to dancing girls³⁰. Likewise we have a few other inscriptions which indicate such grants towards remuneration to the dancing girls. The temple authorities also undertook to protect them from being carried away by persons who were struck by their talents and accomplishments in dance and music.

Conclusion

Thus these Epigraphically references throw light on the fact women belonging to all strata of society during the period under study possessed their own properties had freedom and opportunities to undertake many and charitable works and thus contributed in their own way to public welfare. They kept alive the belief and tradition that one would get grant merit through undertaking such works.

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HISTORICAL VISIT OF HUI - EN –TSANG TO MAHARASHTRA

Shyam Prakash Deokar

India is always the destination to those who have to learn philosophy of spiritual life. Lord Buddha is the lighthouse to them all truthseekers. Lord Buddha's philosophy is balance between spiritual and physical life. All other religious paths are one sided developed

towards spiritual life only. But Buddha's path is the answer to all problems of physical and spiritual life. That's why the foreign traveler was attracted towards India; that attraction is only for Lord Buddha. He was the most enchanting personality; having the solution of all problems

of human being. So the attraction towards Buddhism and its literature fetches out the scholars to India.¹Hui – En – Tsang is one of them. He was born in 603 AD at *Chin-liu* city of *Honan* province of China. His family name was *Chin*. In his early childhood he went with his brother *Changsi* to eastern capital *Loyang*. At the age of thirteen he had to escape from, the cause of the situation which arose due to the decline of *Suie* state. Afterwards he went to *Shingtu* city. He stayed there for seven years. He worked there as a monk. His hunger towards knowledge compelled him to travel all around China. Once, when he reached to *Changan* he felt as if the Chinese traveler *Fahien* and *Chijen*²

He decided to travel towards the western world to discuss with the Buddhist scholars about his queries which arose after listening to it. When he became 26 years old ; he started travel from *Changan* with *Cingchui* the monk of *Consue*³ When he reached at *Sungling* he met with some merchants. Those merchants used to travel for trade. When *Hui-en-tsang* told them about his purpose of travelling to Buddhist India; to take education of religion, they helped him as they could. But at that time one had to take permission from the Governor to travel out of China. Problem got worsen when the Governor denied him permission. So, he started his travel without permission. He continued his travel by hiding his identity. When he reached the *Hulu* river, his colleague attempted to deceive him. After that he alone continued his travel. He lived in India for fifteen years and studied various Buddhist centers.⁴ He visited the famous and important Buddhist and non Buddhist centers. He visited somewhere in Maharashtra, but one couldn't fixed the spot that where he visited to Maharashtra. The travel and his rout was tried to studied by the British and Indian scholar in British period. But after British period we can say that, the study of his literature, rout and work, stopped for a long period. He registered in his writings about the visit to Maharashtra (Mo-Ho-La-Cha).

The researchers have studied his rout and literature and tried to fix the spot which he visited in Maharashtra. There have been various surmises as to the name of this capital. M.V.de St. Martin registered that it was Doulatabad but this spot does not match with the description by

Hui-en – Tsang about the capital. Because there is no river to the west to Doulatabad General Cuningham also tried to fix that spot; he registered that the spot was Kalyan. But this spot also does not match with the writings because Kalyan is at the south to Bharuch but that spot is mentioned to the East of Bharuch. (The actual wording says that he went 1000 li to the west.) Mr. Fergusson also tried to fix that spot and he mentioned that it was Paitthan; Toka or Phulthamba was that site but the distance mentioned in writings doesnot match with Fergusson's site. Now question arise about the capital where Hui-en-tsang visited in Maharashtra. Samuel Bell mentioned in his translation work of 'Buddhist record of the Western world' that the site may be around Tapti- Girna river but this site also does not match with the distance.⁵ If one has to fix that site accurately then first of all there is a need to mention the criteria of spot fixation. Which points one has to decide? Those points can be mentioned as follows :-

- 1) There is a river to the west of the capital and that river is 1.5 km around to it.
- 2) The distance between Konkanpur and the capital is 2400 to 2500 li means 1200 to 1250 km
- 3) That spot is 1000 li means 500 km to the East of Bharuch.
- 4) There is a mountain range to the East of the capital.
- 5) There is *Sangharam* in that mountain range.
- 6) There is 5 Stupas in and out of the capital, made of bricks and stone.⁶

Scholar's view about destination: Above mentioned criteria reveals that the capital where Hui-en-tsang visited must be in Purna Besin. The Purna Besin emerged as rich cluster of archaeological sites. Tuljapurgadhi, Bhon, Paturda, Kaundinyapur, Kholapur, Kavthal, Bhendaval, Salbardi; these centers have rich historical background. Now among these or other sites, which was that spot where he visited? This question remains unsolved. Among these sites Bhon has emerged as the only one Pre-Satvahan site in Maharashtra. So thinking about Bhon Tq. Sangrampur Dist.

Buldana, Maharashtra must be that site. If the above mentioned criteria tried to match with the Bhon, what the picture will emerge about site is as follows-

- 1) Bhon has the Purna river around it from three sides of the spot. The river flows East to West and that river is around three sides East, West and South to the Bhon. The Purna is the only river which changes its stream frequently. Some geologist says that the salty groundwater which finds in this region and the alluvial soil with gravelly clay of high depth proves that there was a sea in ancient period.⁷ The very deep alluvial soil with gravelly clay naturally flows with water and the high pressure of water compelled such soil to create new stream for rivers. So very high rainfall converted the river multi streamed for short period. But sometimes the temporary stream of rainy season converts into main stream of the river. So there is more possibility of the changing the main stream of the river Purna which seems to flow North-Western side of the town.

The town has ravine to its North which connects the half circle of the river. In rainy season Bhon converts into island, because the ravine converts into river due to overflow of mainstream of the Purna river. This ravine must be the old mainstream of the river. Two local rivers also flow North to south and that two rivers confluenced to the Purna to the East and West points of the half circle of the river. The old stream of the river was North – West to the site. So Hui – En – Tsang felt that the river was to the West of the site.

- 2) The distance between Konkanpur and next spot Mo-Ho-La-Cha (in Maharashtra) is mentioned 2400 to 2500 li; it means it is 1200 to 1250 km. About writing Konkanpur General Cuningham said that the Anagundi might be that spot. The distance between Bhon and Anagundi is 779 km. Mr Fergusson had fixed that the spot near Maisur.⁸

The distance between Bhon and Maisur is 1223 km. The spot is around Maisur Plateau. What it might be, but if it is around Maisur, the distance between that spot and Bhon perfectly matches.

- 3) After Bhon visit he went to Bharuch and the distance between these two spots was mentioned 1000 li means 500 km. Today the distance between Bhon and Bharuch is 493 km. Means it matches with the given distance. And Bhon is situated to the East to Bharuch. This location also matches the given direction.

- 4) There is a mountain range to the East of the capital. If we carefully read the translations of 'SI-YU-KI' in most of his writings the writer got confused about the directions. Always there is confusion of directions found 45° wrong. If this confusion is considered; the statement about the mountain finds true.

- 5) The Satpura ranges are to the North and North-West to the Bhon. Some hills of the Ajanta ranges and Satpura ranges came across in the Khandesh region. It gives feeling of continuous ranges. That's why the statement about *Sangharam* is true. That statement may be about the Ajanta Buddhist caves. There is also the second possibility of the *Salbardi* caves which are in Satpura ranges. There are also the Buddhist caves and *Sangharam*. But now the caves and *Sangharam* are ruined. The statue of Lord Buddha is also cut headed and now worshiped as a devi (goddess).⁹

- 6) The current excavation of the site at Bhon found about the third century BC *Stupa* built of bricks.¹⁰ This excavation was taken place by Dr Deotare's team. But this excavation was on limited basis. If the excavation on the large scale would be held; there is more possibility of findings of more historical monuments. Before the excavation of Bhon; the Pre-Satvahan period was mostly unknown. The Bhon is the only the site which reveals the history of Pre-Satvahan period of Maharashtra. The Bhon was the major city from the third century BC. So this region must be the part of Ashoka's kingdom. That's why the sentence mentioned in the SI-YU-KI about Mo-Ho-La-Cha that there were the *stupas* built by Ashoka proves true. And there is more possibility of findings of some more Buddhist *Stupas* which are mentioned in the writings.

Conclusion: Bhon Tq, Sangrampur Dist. Buldana may be the capital where Hui- en – Tsang visited in Maharashtra. There excavation should be taken place on large scale by ASI. The Jigaon Project may be

harmful to this site, because the future backwater of the Jigaon dam may sink the Bhon town. So this archilogically rich site which gives proofs of Pre-Satvahan period must be saved.

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CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KAKATIYAS OF WARANGAL: A STUDY ON GREATER WARANGAL IN TELANAGANA

Singarapu Padma

Warangal is enriched with variety of monuments, museum and testify to pioneering past, and the city also has many facets of tourist products. To every tourist and Scholar these specimen of Kakatiya culture serves as the rewarding revelation. In the history of Andhradesa the rule of the Kakatiyas is unique in several respects. The Kakatiyas strove throughout their rule for the glorification of their kingdom through achieving the public-welfare. ***They built-up a lot of infrastructure of civic and tourist importance centuries ago.*** They not only encouraged trade, industry and agriculture but also patronized arts and letters. They made improvements and embellished the city with palaces, gardens and fountains. The age of Kakatiyas witnessed multifaceted progress and prosperity. The irrigational tanks brought economic well-being to all. The numerous temples of all sects sprang up and they were the standing example of religious liberalism. The architectural buildings and sculptures are the important sources of our study. Literary works like ***Kridabhiramam of Vinukonda Vallabharaya*** described Orugallu city and its fort in detail.¹

I. Fort Warangal:

It is located at 12 km. distances from Hanamkonda. It was started by king Ganapathideva in 1199 A.D. and completed by his daughter Rudramadevi in 1261 A.D.² The remains of four huge stone gateways, similar to those of 'Sanchi' and several exquisite pieces of sculpture can be seen. Interesting information is available in the local records and traditional accounts about the rise of the township of Warangal to prominence. According to a tradition recorded in *Siddeshwara Charitra*,³ it is said that one day a bullock cart carrying goods to Hanamkonda struck a rock and turned upside down. One of the iron tires of the cart or probably the iron axle rod came into contact with the rock projecting from the ground and turned into gold. It was a miracle. The information was conveyed to king Prola-II, who was residing in his palace at Hanamkonda. The accompanied by courtiers and priests came to inspect this spot. When the place was excavated, a *Golden Sivalinga* of miraculous powers was discovered. Learned priests from Kaleshwaram and Hidimbashramam were brought to the spot of the miracle for consultation. The sage named Ramaranya

Sripada advised Prola II to build the temple of *Swayambhu Swarna Shivalinga* at the same spot, and develop a town around it and that would serve as the future capital of the rulers of the Kakatiya dynasty. The Sage then draw a plan called *Sri Vidyadhara Chakra* or *Ekasila Nagara*. Prola II built a temple enclosing the Linga which subsequently came to be known as *Sparsavedi* and *Svayambhu*.⁴

Kakati Prola Raja II was the founder of Ekasila Nagaram and Warangal Fort in A.D. 987. Rudradeva and Mahadeva were the sons of Prola Raja II, who developed Ekasila Nagaram into a strong defensive Fort and finally Kakatiya Capital was shifted from Hanamkonda to Ekasila Nagaram by their successor Ganapathideva. Ganapatideva's illustrious daughter Rani Rudramadevi and her adopted son Prataparudra strengthened the fortifications and made it an impregnable Fort by building an outer wall of defence. By recent satellite imagery from space they have photographed one more outer defensive fortification of the Kakatiya Fort of Warangal of a circle with a radius of 10 kilometers.

The great circular Fort is surrounded by an outer earthen wall and an inner masonry one and has but four gates, one at each of the four cardinal points, the east and west gates alone being now used. Within are the remains of many buildings of sorts, but by far the most important are those of the great temple which occupied the centre and of which now only the four great gateways and a group of pillars and lintels, forming the south-west corner of the temple remain. The great gateways now standing evidently stood before the four entrances and the distance between the north and south ones is 480 feet, while between the east and west is 433 feet.⁵

Warangal Fort is now under the administration of the Municipal Corporation and looking after schemes of development. Warangal Fort now has four entry points. The Principle gateways are locally known as *Bandi Darwaja* in the east, *Chini Darwaja* on the south, *Hydari Gate* on the west and *Machili Darwaja* on the north. These gateways unlike those in the mud rampart are of original construction having uniform plan and elevation.⁶ Within the stone fort wall, there are several remains of ruined buildings, temples,

pieces of broken sculptures, tanks and wells attesting the one time glory of the capital of the Kakatias. Within the fort there is the Ekasila or one rock standing in the south east quadrant close to the earlier gateway and stone built ramparts.

Ekasilanagaram or Orukallu: Almost in the centre of the stone fort is a huge rock from which the city and the fort seems to have derived the name *Ekasilanagaram* or *Orugallu*.⁷ In Warangal Fort near the eastern stone gate and bastions, a small hillock is located. It was called *Orukallu* or *Ekasila*. 'Orukallu' means, single rock in Telugu and Tamil. 'Ekasila' means, Orukallu in Sanskrit. Telugu and Sanskrit were court languages of Kakatias.⁸ At present we see a temple of Siva built of granite stone. Closed to the temple is an octagonal shaped watchtower. There is another store built structure which was used as an ammunition store. There are steps carved out of the granite rock from the east and west. It is not difficult to ascend to the summit of the hillock. From the top of the watchtower, one can have a panoramic view of the beautiful landscape. The watchtower of the Ekasila is the highest View Point from which one could steady to the limits of the Horizon in all directions with the help of field glasses or binoculars. The watchtower was used in the past to survey the movements of the attacking enemy beyond the fortifications. At this Vantage Point, the bronze statue of the mighty warrior queen Kakati Rudramamba is going to be erected on a high pedestal. A beautiful landscape garden with fountains is under development.

Kesava, Swayambhu and Rudra Temple Complex: The Hindu rulers of the Kakatiya dynasty from Prola II to Prataparudra utilized the open space of the city square of Ekasila Nagaram between the Keerthi Thoranas for building a huge temple complex about thousand years ago. The rulers like Ganapathideva, Rudramadevi, Prataparudra, and Mahamandaleshwaras like Recherla Rudra and many other loyal chieftains were also built shrines in the walled city Ekasila Nagaram.

There are relics and remains of Buddhist and Jain temples Saivite and Shakti temples of Bhairava, Temples for Sun God Kesava, Venugopala Swamy, Sri Rama, Laxmi

Narasimha, Sri Venkateshwara, Kakati, Mahisha Sura Mardini, Hanuman and Vinayaka, Chamundi, Bhadrakali, Mailaru Deva temples for Pandavas and Heroes of Palnadu existed in Ekasila Nagaram in the glorious past. Hindu Religious thought or all shades and cults found representation in the Kakatiya temples here. The sculptural art was at its zenith under the patronage of the Kakatiya rulers. The Swayambhu Deva, Kesava temple complex represents the best in Kakatiya architecture. The charm of the place vanished when the hammers of the iconoclasts wrecked things which were sublime and beautiful.

There are still a few highly polished pillars, door jambs capital stones, running friezes of yells, swans, elephants, cavalries riding on horses, dancers, square bases of Natya Mandapas, Gajakesari brackets from the temples of Kesava, Siva and Rudra, were founded there builders names cannot be identified. It is so difficult to identify the names of master sculptors, who dedicated their lives to god and service to humanity through art forms of poetry, dance, painting and sculpture.

Kushi Mahal of Shitab Khan: The only courtly building to survive the attacks of the invaders is Kushimahall attributed to Sitabkhan Alias Sitapati, a Hindu Chief and Governor of Warangal under the Bahamanis. Located close to the Warangal Fort, these magnificent edifice houses idols excavated in the surrounding areas. This Mahal is used as dance Darbar for the entertainment of the Nizam Nawabs visiting this place.⁹

Some historians are of the opinion that Sitapati Raju, who was himself a Bahamani Sardar, had this structure built. Sitapati Raju ruled over Warangal for a short period from 1504-1512 and he bore the Bahamani title of Chitab Khan. But, he did not record in his own inscription that he built his Darbar Hall called Kushimahall.¹⁰ On the other hand, Chitabkhan alias Sitapati Raju mentions in his inscription that he attempted to revive the glory of Kakatiyas by restoring and repairing Kakatiya monuments like Sambhuni Gudi, Panchala Raya temple etc. He even undertook the repair of the Fort of Ekasila Nagaram.

The Department of the Archaeological Survey of India has taken this monument of

Islamic style of construction under its protection. It is said that Kushimahall of Warangal Fort has close resemblance to a structure at Mandu in Madhya Pradesh known as Hindola Mahal. Many broken sculptures of Jain and Hindu Temples, inscriptions, Lion brackets of the temple complex are preserved here. In front of Kushimahall are found some graves with a crumbling compound wall with a sculptured doorway of a temple, serving as an entrance. There is another tomb built of stone and bricks on the roadside.

II. Temples of Warangal Town:

1. Bhadrakali Temple: In the heart of the twin cities of Warangal and Hanamkonda, in the midst of rocky hillocks, lies the abode of the family deity of the erstwhile Kakatiya rulers, 'The Bhadrakali Temple'. It is located at a distance of one kilometer from the city main road. It stands on the raised ground level than the normal. Daily *poojas* are performed in the temple. The introduction of this Goddess is found in the *Ulekha Tantra Sastras* and *Atharvana Veda*¹¹ Siddhis to devout Sadhakas. We could find many stories which depict the history of the destination and vital role of Goddess Bhadrakali in the lives of the legends.

Chalukya king Pulakesin II first built this temple, in the 7th Century A.D. The deity is believed to be worshipped by this historic ruler Pulakesin II of Chalukya dynasty in the year 625 A.D. after his win over the *Vengi* region of Andhradesha. During the reign of Ganapatideva, a patron by name Meesaraganda Hari, the son of minister Vithala constructed a water tank and also donated the surrounding land for the maintenance of the building. Since the mother blessed the kingdom with wealth and propriety, the Kakatiya rulers worshipped her as their family deity. There is also a tale, which depicts that Rani Rudramadevi, daughter of Ganapathideva is a strong devotee to 'Kali'. She used to visit this temple every day before partaking meals. Foreign invasion concealed the glory of this temple for many years.¹²

The Bhadrakali Lake: The lake with full of lotus flowers and swans gracefully moving all over, the hillocks on the one side and a gorgeous garden on the other present a Panoramic view. It is around 336.7 acres, whose radius is 2.5 km. The major attraction of

the lake (with 50 feet depth) is the temple on the bank which is very picturesque during the time of sunset. Now, this lake is using for drinking water. Besides this, the lake can be used as a good leisure and entertainment hub for the tourists and visitors if developed.

2. Shambhuni Gudi or Swayambhudeva Temple at Warangal Fort: The Kakatiya King Prola II builds Shambhuni Gudi, is the oldest temple in Warangal Fort. This is said to be the shrine of god Swayambhu, one of the tutelary deities of the Kakatiyas.¹³ It was built to house the 'Golden Siva Linga' with miraculous magical powers. The temple is now inside a high protective compound wall built by the Archaeological Department of the old Nizam State.

It is a historic temple in which Lord Swayabhu was worshiped by the famous Kakatiya rulers 'Prataparudra' everyday during his life time. The presiding deity is Lord Siva called of Swayambhu (Literarily means self-incarnated God).¹⁴ The Shambhuni Gudi is an ancient structure built in Chalukyan style, with a Porch, a *Sabhamandapam* with a *Natyamandapam*. The roof is made of stone slabs spread evenly the *Antarala* and *Garbhagriha* have small doorways. Sambhuni Gudi was destroyed and the Golden Siva Linga with miraculous powers is missed. Subsequently the temple was re-built with changed dimensions by Shitab khan Sitapati, who ruled over Warangal as an independent ruler. The pink stone inscription pillar now found near the Southern *Keerthi Thorana* inside the excavated temple complex tells how Sitapati Raju tried to revive the cultural traditions of the Kakatiya rulers. Sitapati Raju claims the credit for re-building temples of the Kakatiyas raised to the ground by the Tugluq Sultan of Delhi,

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5. M. Rama Rao, *Select Kakatiya Temples*, Hyderabad, 1970, p.27.
6. G. Radha Krishna Sharma, *Temples of Telangana*, Hyderabad, 1972, p.146.

when he conquered Warangal Fort and annexed Kakatiya Kingdom and made it a province of Delhi Sultanate.

The re-built Sambhuni Gudi enshrines a small Siva Linga at the ground level. There is a beautiful carved sacred bull Nandi with its neck and face turned to west. This is considered a very unusual feature as all the sacred bulls carved during Kakatiya period had head and neck turned towards right. The temple has now a high stepped pyramidal shaped *Vimana*. The idols of Veerabhadra and a conspicuous semi circular sculpture with a canopy of a Naga snake with seven heads carrying Jewels on the top are founded within the temple. Under the hood canopy, there is a small Siva Linga fixed on the backside the temple of Sambhuni Gudi facing east are a number of huge richly carved sacred bulls. There is huge black basalt Siva Linga with four faces of Siva in four directions. It was dislodged from its original place and kept preserved with other broken sculptures. The Sivarathri festival can be celebrated here in a grand manner. Daily poojas are performed in the temple. This temple is still used for worship by devotees and tourists who are coming to see the fort.

III. Temples of Hanumakonda Town:

Conclusion: Greater Warangal city is a centre of archaeological and historical zone, attracting the heritage tourists. These heritage monuments are the sources of our history and culture. They are symbols for our Telugu Culture and reflect the life of the people. The Kakatiya sculpture inspires us and takes back us to that age. Hence, we have to preserve our heritage centers. The Warangal would become a cultural hub and alive from the past glory of Kakatiyas by linking all historical sites of the Kakatiya period.

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SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT IN SOUTH INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TELUGU PRESS

Dr. G. Somasekhara

INTRODUCTION

The Telugu press, too played its role in rousing national consciousness among the Telugu people and was also responsible to a great extent for the participation of the Telugu people in India's Freedom struggle. But the Telugu press first concerned itself chiefly with social and reformist issues. It was only later that it began to concern itself more and more with political and nationalist questions. The vernacular press in general tried to make people aware of such social evils as child marriage, Sati and the like. Many newspapers voiced the demand for sweeping changes in the social fabric so that the persistent social evils could be eradicated. The vernacular press first busied itself with rousing the social conscience of the people, as if it were the first step towards achieving national consciousness and national awakening, though at a later stage of its development in the twentieth century political and national issues took precedence over other questions.

In the two decades since the formation of the Indian National Congress, a gradual consolidation of the forces of nationalism in India had taken place. The growth of the press in India as a force in the political, Social and economic life during this period was into a large measure modeled on the traditions of the British Press set in England. The press became a strong force in the emergence of healthy Indian nationhood.¹

REFORM MOVEMENT

The coming of Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the father of the renaissance movement in Andhra and the champion of modern Telugu language and Telugu Journalism was a trendsetter in the History of nationalist press in Andhra. He was a pioneer in social reform in Andhra. Veeresalingam started a weekly called Vivekavardhini in 1874 from Rajahmundry for advocating the much needed reforms in the social and literary fields. Later on he started Satihitabodhini a periodical specially intended to educated women as well as Hasyavardhini

and Satyasamvardhini wherein he led a tirade against the prevailing social evils such as child marriages, caste system, the institutionalization of prostitution, and he also pleaded for the introduction of widow marriages and worship of God on monotheistic principles.²

The Telugu press in Andhra during the period of this study, abundantly contributed to the growth of the social reform movement which to a large extent was a part of the Indian national movement. In India between 1885 and 1920 the nationalism and social reform went hand in hand which also true of the Andhra region. Many nationalistic Telugu newspapers supported the various moves pertaining to social reform.

Individual outrage against particular customs and religious beliefs has always been a feature of Indian society despite the high value that has always been placed on continuity, order, and the wisdom of social precedent. The major stimulus to social reforms in India during the 19th century came from the work and the ideas of the Christian missionaries, a fact acknowledged by many reform movements in Andhra. The important social reforms advocated during the period of this study, both by the leaders of the social reform and the Telugu press, were to a large extent moderate measures rather than revolutionary in nature. Abolition of child marriages, Devadasi system and banning of the nautch parties at marriages as well as widow marriages, education of women were the important items of the social reformers in Andhra.

ABOLITION OF CHILD MARRIAGES:

In the social reforms the abolition of child marriages received wide support and publicity from the Telugu press, because in which very young girls were often married to very old men. The evil effects of such marriages were vividly exposed to the public through editorials and articles. Besides leading newspapers like Krishna Patrika and Andhra Patrika, which were always in the forefront of public awakening, a number of women journals such as the

Hindusundari, Grihalakshmi, Vivekavati and Strividya rendered their Yeoman Service to this reformation. Most of the Telugu journals protested against the practice of child marriages and tried to rouse people moral awareness and they pointed out that such a practice did not exist at all in ancient India and it had no support in the sastras.

Hindujanasamskarini from Madras expressed its strong anguish over early marriages. It wrote: "As very young girls are often married to very old men, a wish is expressed that government should interference and pass an act, to prevent such marriages."³

Krishna Patrika in an article pointed out that Susruta, the famous exponent of Ayurvedic medicine and surgery in ancient India, had stated in his treatise that girls below the age of 16 years were not properly developed to bear and bring forth children.⁴ In an article on child marriage published in the same newspaper of October 26, 1912, the figures of the 1911 census were cited to prove that the number of child marriages had unfortunately increased in Andhra. Hindusundari mentioned that there were 40,000 child widows in India as per the 1911 census.⁵ It further gave the statistics of child marriages and concluded that such marriages were the root cause for the staggering number of child widows in the country. Quoting the 1911 census figures, the journal further mentioned that 90 lakh child marriages had taken place in India.⁶

Apart from vehement criticism of child marriages other devices were used by the newspaper to build up public opinion against them. An interesting cartoon was published under the heading, "wife or grand-daughter" in the Krishna Patrika. The cartoon depicts a fruit-vendor who sees a young girl and an old man in a house and presuming that the old man is the grand-father of the young girl, then the vendor asks him to buy fruits for his granddaughter. The girl replies that she was the wife and not the grand-daughter of the old man. The note under the cartoon said that many such marriages between young girls and old men took place during the marriage season of 1916 and that some of the bridegrooms of those marriages had even supported the Home Rule.⁷

The - post puberty marriages bill was introduced in the Madras legislative council in 1914 by V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. It provided a golden opportunity for the prominent papers to carry on a tirade against those in the society who supported child marriages. The leading papers acclaimed the bill of Srinivasa Sastri as an important step in the direction of abolition of child marriages and criticized strongly those who opposed it.

In its editorial Krishna Patrika, not only supported the bill strongly, but also tried to remove the apprehensions of the orthodox people about the bill. The support of this papers to the move to abolish child marriages was so bold and courageous that it eve ridiculed the threats of the "Peetadhipathis" that those who performed post-puberty marriages would be socially ostracized.⁸ In its inspiring bearing editorial of September 8, 1911 issue it remarked: The "Peetadhipathis are lifeless stones like the dead institutions in society. It is foolish to assume that the progress of society is dependent on them". Andhra Patrika argued that the post-puberty bill was "purely a social matter and should be passed."⁹ The paper urged the government should not adopt neutral attitude to measures involving social reform, but support to Srinivasa Sastri's Bill.¹⁰

WIDOW-MARRIAGES:

Public awakening was most effectively organized in the early decades of the 20th century by the leading Telugu newspapers in favour of widow marriages. Krishna Patrika, Andhra Patrika, Hindusundari and such journals rendered great services for the cause of widow marriages by way of publishing articles by eminent writers, correspondents and timely editorials in support of such a necessary humanitarian step.

Krishna Patrika in its editorial column supported widow marriages and criticized the opposition of the orthodox marriages which had taken place at Machilipatnam. To mobilize popular sympathy for the cause of widows, the paper published a number of articles on the miserable plight of the Hindu widows.¹¹ Channa Pragada Poornachandra Rao in his articles expressed his indignation and stated that the widows were treated inhumanly worse than animals, they were not shown any

sympathy.¹² Andhra Patrika also published such articles and made its contribution to this endeavour of rousing public awareness.

Hindusundari was in the forefront of the movement for widow-marriages. In its October-November issue of 1911, the journal recalled the services of Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu in the cause of widow marriages, and deplored the attempts of orthodox people to mislead the ordinary people by their perverted interpretations of the Sastras. On the occasion of the birth anniversary of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in 1912, Hindusundari reproduced an article from Andhra Patrika. This article, entitled "the miserable plight of the Hindu widows", argues that the celebration of the Birth anniversary of Vidyasagar will have no meaning if people do not make efforts to improve the appealing conditions of widows by helping them to remarry, and by giving them a fair deal.¹³

Satyagrahi also supported widow marriages. In its issue of January 28, 1919 a letter on a widow marriage performed at Denduloor was published and in the editorial, the paper expressed its happiness for the spread of social reform to villages. The tragic consequences of not allowing child widows to remarry were brought out effectively by a letter published in Krishna Patrika. The author of the letter told the pathetic and tragic story of a child widow by name Kameswari. She became intimate with a bogus swamy and became pregnant, and in a crude attempt to terminate her pregnancy the unhappily ended her life.¹⁴

Papers like Krishna Patrika gave wide publicity to widow marriages that were taking places and commended all such efforts, and exhorted others to follow suit. Owing to the encouragement of Krishna Patrika, many widow homes were opened at Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Narasapur and other places.¹⁵ Commending the suggestions of Mahatma Gandhi as published in the journal Navajeevan on child marriages and widows Krishna Patrika in its editorial said that while the institution of widow hood in India was one of the causes for the greatness of the country it unfortunately was causing much misery as it was blindly followed as a social duty and not as a means for individual spiritual uplift. The paper accepted the suggestion of

Mahatma Gandhi that child widows below the age of 15 years should be allowed to remarry. The glorification of the institution of widowhood by this newspaper was a later development. It was a consequence of the journal's strong attachment to the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi. The effort to find solace in the spiritual glory of India in the face of political bondage was another reason for saying something good about the system of widows. While in the early period no such laudatory remarks were made by it the shift in the stand of the journal might have also been due to the priority given to political matters over social questions in the nationalist journals during the later period.¹⁶

Several periodicals of the day carried heart-rending stories of the travails of young and child widows. Sri Sadhana of Anantapur reported the news of conviction of a widow for transportation to life, for burying alive her illegitimate child and also wrote an editorial on the subject. The lady who was convicted to married at the age of 3 years and she became a widow at the age of 7. In later years due to illicit contact she became pregnant. She tried to bury the live child in a field. But cattle grazing boys noticed it and reported the matter to the village elders. The law of the land took its course and she was sentenced to transportation for life. In its editorial the paper justly held to blame the evil customs of society which had transformed the young mother, into murderer of her own child. Further the paper urged people to open their eyes and learn to avoid such social atrocities.¹⁷

The publication of such letters, news, stories and articles besides editorials on the subject of widows, by the leading journals in Andhra roused the conscience of the people and created public opinion in favour of widow marriages and like reforms. Therefore it is possible to maintain that the gradual improvement in the condition of the widows and increase in the number of widow marriages were the results of not only the sustained efforts of dedicated social reformers but also the consistent and sincere efforts of the newspapers of the day which influenced the educated reading public and moulded their opinions in favour of several good social causes.

There was a controversy in the early part of this century; over the question whether social reform should precede political reform or political reform should precede social reform. In this debate popular Telugu journals like Krishna Patrika and Andhra Patrika Supported the view that social reforms could not succeed without self-government.

Krishna Patrika vehemently argued that self-government need not be withheld till the removal of the social evils. In its issue it wrote the injurious social customs of the people could not stand in the way of bringing about changes in political matters, for such customs obtained even in countries where people enjoyed independence.¹⁸ Again in 1917 the same paper commented in its editorial columns that the misapprehension that social reform should be achieved first before gaining political independence arose mainly because it was not understood that the constitution was only an instrument for social progress and that the society did not exist for the sake of the constitution.¹⁹

Deshabhimani also asserted that social reforms would not succeed without self-government. It proclaimed that before reforming society, people should try for self-government. Unless the government was in the hands of the people, could not enforce the reforms which were conducive to their (social) welfare.²⁰

Andhra Patrika believed that social reform should be the foundation for all activities connected with the progress of the country, but it did not support the contention that social evils should be removed before the grant of self-government. In its issue dated July 31, 1917 a lengthy article was published expressing the view that it was "mad to contend that one should not work for political reforms before social reform was affected".

One of the social evils in Andhra which continued to exist during the early part of the twentieth century was the arranging of nautch parties during marriages and such other functions. The dancing girls in the nautch-parties sang obscene songs and exhibited vulgar dances. The educated people disapproved of such vulgar practices. The awakening of the educated elite was reflected in the Telugu press of the day, when the

newspapers condemned the continuation of such vulgar entertainment. Krishna Patrika published many letters condemning their evil practice and mobilized public opinion against it. When the Deputy Collector of Guntur, by name, Apanna Subbaiah Chetty arranged a nautch-party on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, a condemning letter was published.²¹ Again Krishna Patrika in its editorial exclaimed its displeasure in the continuation of this practice and deplored the efforts of some people to justify it on economic grounds. Again it on 20th August 1927 congratulated the Mysore government for banning nautch parties in temples and asked the government of Madras to do the same in the Madras presidency. The paper said: "Nothing becomes sacred simply because it is ancient."²²

ABOLITION OF DEVADASI SYSTEM:

The Devadasi system was another social evil on which the Telugu press focused attention. The Devadasis, once a community of artists, had degenerated, and became virtually prostitutes, popularly known as 'Kalavantulu'. To eliminate the evil from the society, the government came forward with a proposal in 1911 to pass a law to prohibit the adoption of minor girls as dancing girls. This proposal was received with great applause by the journals which favoured the end of the Devadasi system. Krishna Patrika published a signed letter by 38 members of the Devadasi community commending the efforts of the government²³. The letter also urged the people all over the country to convene meetings and support the government's efforts in the direction of putting an end to the Devadasi system. A similar letter appeared a few weeks later in this paper, written by one of the community in Peddapuram.²⁴

The efforts of Muthulakshmi Reddy to put an end to the practice of dedicating dancing girls to temples met with an enthusiastic response from the press. Satyagrahi of December 9, 1922 in an editorial commended her efforts to root out the Devadasi system by introducing legislation in the Madras Assembly. Krishna Patrika also applauded the efforts of that great social reforms by publishing resolutions which were passed in various conferences supporting her bill. Sri Sadhana

which was strongly opposed to the continuance of the Devadasi system felt that the bill of Muthulakshmi Reddy was only a small measure, and wanted more radical laws for rooting out the evil system.²⁵

The reform of the community of dancing girls or 'Kalavantulu', received much attention in the columns of the prominent Telugu papers like Krishna Patrika, Andhra Patrika, Satyagrahi and Sri Sadhana. The papers published the proceedings of the conferences of the community and gave wide coverage to the proposals that were made to reform them. Satyagrahi in its editorial on December 9, 1929 expressed its dissatisfaction with the poor progress of efforts for reform among the dancing girls and emphasized that the uplift of dancing girls was essential both for the girls and the Hindu society.

Prostitution was also attacked by the press advocating social reform. In 1910, Krishna Patrika published an appeal by A.Narayana Rao to all "Vesyas" (Prostitutes) to meet at a place to discuss relating matters to the reform of their community.²⁶ Again in 1911 this paper wrote an editorial appealing to the educated people and members of the community of "Vesyas" to cooperate with the government in checking up

the evil of prostitution.²⁷ An incident of the sale of a girl by her mother to a prostitute provoked Krishna Patrika to express its indignation and resentment at the indifference of the people towards social problems.²⁸ Andhra Patrika suggested the appointment of women in the police force to curb prostitution. In 1930, commenting on the act intended to abolish brothels, Andhra Patrika of February 4, emphasized the needs for educated men to take up effective steps to control prostitution.²⁹

CONCLUSION

It is well known that the socio-religious reform movement in India played an important role in creating the spirit of nationalism in India. The Telugu press played a vital role in the socio-religious reform movement in Andhra region. Eager to reform the society the Telugu press attacked many social evils which were the bane of the Indian society, fearlessly and with a rare missionary zeal. In the course of their fight for the eradication of social evils the Telugu press braved the wrath of the British officials and also that of their own conservative Indian compatriots. The enlightened Telugu journalists brought together scholarship and progressive outlook to bear upon their chosen mission.

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REGIONAL VARIATION IN SOCIAL STATUS: A CASE STUDY OF NAYARS IN MIEVEAL MALABAR

R. Sonima

The formation of caste in medieval Kerala is a complex process. The Post-Perumal period in Kerala history is marked by such complexities in the case of development of castes. The disintegration of perumal rule created a way to the emergence of regional units. The absence of a centralised administration accelerated the growth of Naduvazhis. There exist variations of a castes in each region. The present paper is an attempt to understand the existence of service groups in medieval period of Kerala and their variations in their names under different Naduvazhis while taking Nayers as an example. It also analyzes the development of servicing groups of medieval Kerala.

The main sources used in the present paper are *Keralolpathi Granthavari*, inscriptional evidences, foreign traveller's accounts etc. The secondary sources like the books of various historians like M.G.S. Narayanan, Raghava varrier, Rajan Gurukkal, and others are used for the present paper.

Nayers were the major part of the karalar, who represented the second dominant factor in the temple centered agrarian society. This caste of present day includes a large number of servicing groups existed in medieval Kerala. Though there is a little doubt that the Nayers proper were primarily a military class probably as a sort of the yeomen militia, or those who devoted themselves to agriculture. The origin of the term Nayar is a controversial issue among historians. The inscriptional evidences are used by historians to argue about the origin. The earliest appearance of the term Nayakais found in the Tarisappalli copper plate of Sthanu Ravi (AD849) mentions Mathil Nayakan.¹ On the basis of these inscriptional evidences M.G.S. Narayanan says that the term mathil nayakan refers to the commander of the mathil (fort) and the office itself has parallels in the Alupa and Ganga kingdoms of Mysore. It is definitely a military service.² The Tirunelli Copper plate of Bhaskara Ravi Varman (962-1021) refers about patanayar. Among the witness

Amayamangalath YakkanChathan as the PataNayar and was a witness to this

copperplate.³ Another inscription which gives evidence on patanayar is the Nedumburam Thali inscription. It is dated in the 10th regnal year of Ramavarma Thiruvadi. This document says about the koottam conducted to decide the matters of thali and deva matters, in this koottam Nedumbranad patanayar kumaran kumarathichan is the adhyaksha.⁴ The Tiruvalla Copperplate mentions about Chirukataithuruthi Patanayar, These instances again point to the military office and use of the term Nayar as a title.⁵ According to K.N.Ganesh, the term Nayar is derived from patanayar. The inscription refers the patanayar of Ramakulashekhara, the last ruler of the Chera kingdom.⁶ Raghava varrier and Rajan Gurukkal also says that the traditional occupation of Nayar is that of patanayar (soldier), kaval (protection) and chekon (mercenary). In Zamorins palace they were known as Lokar and these Patanayars were also known as kurup and panikkar.⁷

Foreign travellers who visited Kerala mentioned about Nayers. Barbosa a Portuguese traveller of the 16th century says that Nayers are noble men who have no other duty than to serve in war and they always carry their arms wherever they go. The description of Nayers is elaborate in Barbosa. He says that all Nayers are mighty warriors.⁸ Pietro Della Valle says about the practice of matriliney among Nayers. "Before I leave Calicut, I shall here observe one strange custom of the people of this part of the country, The gentile Nairi had no peculiar wives; but all women are common amongst them; and when any man repairs to visit one of them he leaves his weapon at the door, which sign sufficiently debares all others from entering to disturb him; nor does this of course be get any difficulty or jealousy. The children seek to neither know nor do many times know who their father is but their descent by the mother is alone considered and according to that all instances are transferred".⁹ Sheik Zainuddin a native of Ponnani gives an eye witness account on the society of Malabar, says that Nayar caste is known for their physical strength and for their large numbers. It is the martial class of Malabar.¹⁰

The original home of Nayers is a question among historians. There exist various theories regarding the coming of Nayers. Some argued for Naga origin others for Scythian origin, and also exists arguments on indigeneous origin of Nayers. According to the brahman tradition Nayar caste is the result of union between the Nambuthiris with deva, gandharva and rakshasa women introduced by Parasurama, and this tradition embodies the undoubted fact that the caste by its practice of hypergamy has had a very large infusion of brahman immigrants who are among the first immigrants of Malabar and as conquerors assumed the position of the governing and land owning class; and in the ethnological sense the term may be used to include the Samantha and Kshatriya castes. The high caste Nayers are the proud martial class so often described by early travellers.¹¹

E.M.S.Nambuthirippad says that there exist various opinion among historians regarding the origin of Nayers some argues that they came from Nepal, others that Chotanagpur was their original home. Some historians argue that they were the native South Indian Dravidians. The matriline system and Naga puja is the base of all theories and Nayers had a few similarities with other groups in these matters.¹² Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai says that it was in the period from the 8th to 11th centuries that Kerala was enclosed with the straitjacket of the caste system. There was no Kshatriyas till the 7th century and no sudras till the 9th century AD in Kerala. Sangam literature and other literary sources do not mention Nayers. The inscriptions prior to the 11th century AD never refer about this caste. On the basis of available evidences Elamkulam argued that in the beginning of the 11th century Namputhiris created a group of Nayers from among the native people like Villavar, Parayar and Anthanar for providing service to them.

M.G.S. Narayanan argues that the most important nearly emerged caste in Kerala is that of Nayar. In sangam period it is absent. It became prominent in Kerala in this period after the settlement of the west coast brahmans. Therefore the proper assumption is that it was a byproduct of Brahmin settlement, that it was recruited from the aboriginal tribes for military service in the Chera period.¹³

K.P.Padmanabha Menon argued that Nayers are ethnically Dravidian or Turanian race. He pointed out certain distinctive features of the Nayar community for indicating their racial origin such as family is founded on a matriarchal basis and is serpent worshippers to a large degree.¹⁴ Some historians also argued for Scythian origin of Nayers, it is based on the serpent worship among the Nayers and a fancied resemblance between the term Nagar and Nayar. Francis Buchanan called Nayers as the sudras of Malaya and he said that they are born to be soldiers but they are of various ranks and professions.¹⁵ K.V.Krishna Ayyar argued that they were the descendants of the Arattavahikas of Mahabharatha. They were Ayudhajivins or people living by arms for their profession. In Mahabharatha they are found living in the region of the five rivers by the time of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea (1st century AD) they had reached the valley of the Narmada. The Sakas, Satakarnis, Pallavas and Kalabhras each in turn pushed them southward and their irruption account partly the decline of the cheraman in the 4th century.¹⁶

Nayar caste includes a large number of subdivisions. The north Malabar subdivisions rank as higher rule than the south Malabar subdivisions. In south Malabar the highest class is known as Kiriyam or Kiriyathil. The word is derived from the Sanskrit word graham, a house but this does not seem very convincing. Kiriyam Nayers can cook for all others. Most Kiriyathil Nayar affixes to their names the simple title Nayar; but some use the titles Panikkar and Kurup. Another group of nayers in south Malabar known as Charnna or charnavar, divided in to Agathucharnna and Purathucharnna. According to one the purathucharnna are the armed retainers of the various chieftains, while the Agathu Charnnavar are the body and house servants. According to the other explanation the distinction refers to their position of yagams (sacrifices), various duties inside the yagashala are performed by the Agathu charnna Nayers, while the purathucharnna are certainly considered to rank higher in the social scale. The manniledathu Nayar who ranks as Kiriyathil Nayar are considered purathu charnnavar.¹⁷ The last groups of the high caste nayers are known in south Malabar as sudra nayers. These are par excellencethe attendants and retainers of the

nambudiris as the charnavar are those of the non-brahmin chieftain; they were termed as swarupakkar and illakkar.

In North Malabar, a still more complicated and varied system exists amongst the high caste Nayers. There are exogamous groups called kulams, and these are grouped to form the sub caste which is usually endogamous. The main castes in North Malabar were Nambyar, kurup, adiyodi, Andurans or kusavans are potters, ottatunayar, pallichans or parappunnayar are palanquin bearers, Edacherynayar, vaniyanayar, ezhuthachan, attinayar, perimbaranayar, arimbranayar, ravarinayar etc.

Occupational variation among the Nayers is evident in medieval period. Some occupations are handled by different castes in different Nadus. There did not exist any homogeneity of castes. In Northern part of Kerala, Kolathunadu occupies an important place. Keralolpathi says that among the Kola swarupam Puthussery Nambyar is appointed as royal accountant. Same position in the case of Perumbadappu Swarupam Paliyathu Menon is appointed as royal accountant. Perumbadappu Swarupam existed in Kochi. In Nediyruppu swarupam Mangattu, Rayracha Menon is appointed as royal accountant. In Venad Keloth Omana Puthiyakoyikkal Pandarapilla is the royal accountant. Menon, Pilla, Nambyar etc at present belong to Nayar sub castes or sub divisions of Nayers. Their occupation is same but known in different names or as groups. Like Pilla in Venad, Menon in Nediyruppu swarupam and Nambyar in Kolathunadu.¹⁸

In northern part of Malabar washermen caste is called Vannanor vannathan, at the same time in southern part they are called Veluthedan.¹⁹ In Keralolpathi, Veluthedan is named as Iran kolli and also Vannathan, their duty is washing and 'Thirupudava Njerika'. In

northern part of Malabar Vannathans are divided in to eight exogamous illams, Kolankada, Malakulagara, Malot, Mundayad, Chelora, and Trichambaram in Ernad and possibly elsewhere they were divided in to four subdivisions called Veluthedan proper or Kshethraveluthedan, Vannathan, Mundapadan and Irankolli, first being endogamous and regarded as higher.²⁰ These all castes spread in all Desams, their service is needed for all rituals. Raghava varier argued that Veluthedan is considered as washer men of higher caste and Vannan is of lower castes.²¹

Vattekkad or Chakkingal Nayers are another caste considered as a sub division of nayar caste. Their occupation is oil making but known in different names in different places. Vattekkadan or Chakkingal Nayers or Vaniyans divided on the basis of their work, their mill run by hand or by bullocks.²² In Travancore Vaniyans are known as Vaniya vaisyas, and in northern part of Malabar they are known as Vaniyas, in southern part of Malabar they are known as chakkala nayar.²³ Vaniyans were also known as Vattakkatu Nayar and also Peruvianian Nambiyar and Chettiyar. In north Malabar Nambiyars were the landlords, in Kadathanadu Kurup became the soldier cum landlord. In central part of Kerala Karthavu, Kaimal, and Panikkar and in southern part Pillai all belongs to the service group of Naduvazhis and they were title holders under different Naduvazhis.²⁴ In later period the census enumeration consolidated them as Nayers.

The present study makes it clear that the caste system of Kerala is not of a uniform structure. There is no homogeneous structure, based on varna system. These sub castes cannot be included in the four fold division of varna ideology. Same occupation is handled by different castes and they existed on a regional basis rather than as part of affixed social structure in medieval Kerala.

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DISRUPTING SOCIAL CONTINUITY: THE ROLE OF CASTE AND COMMUNITARIAN ORGANISATIONS IN 1920S IN MALABAR

Dr. Sreevidhya Vattarambath

The socio political scenario of Malabar in 1920s is tensed with lot of newly entered events which shook its very existence. The most important cause for this change was the entrance of national movement in the region. The land and people of Malabar made a warm welcome to the movement, which in later caused for all its transformation. One of the most important events that had been taken place in the land in the 1920s was the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, which was taken place as a part of the Khilafat and Non cooperation Movement, that was launched in all over India in 1920 under the banner of Indian National Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. The Rebellion was really against both the lord and the State and the main participants were the poor Mappila peasants of the region who suffered lot of hurdles and suppression from the hands of their Jenmies. But the Rebellion turned into a more violent way and lots of people died or murdered or arrested and a chaotic situation was taken place in the region especially in the Southern parts of Malabar. Even though the British Government could suppress the Rebellion, it created far-reaching impact in the Malabar region. Life itself was became a great hurdle in the region. The people of the region feared of further such incidents. They realized the fact that the disunity existed within the Hindu community caused for all their sufferings. Afterwards they felt the need of the unification

of their own caste and community which caused for another change in the socio-political scenario of the Malabar region. This article entitled **Disrupting Social Continuity: the Role of Caste and Communitarian organizations in 1920s in Malabar** mainly intended to trace out the development of caste and communitarian organizations among the Hindu community in the Malabar in the post 1921 Rebellion period which further caused for the disruption of the existing situations in the region.

Communitarianism or community sentiments offer a sense of security within one's own community, but without being against another. Socially significant features of communitarianism are that it is mostly confined to individual initiatives, uses institutional or state channels and circulates with in a class, peer group or status group.¹ When a particular community upholds the rotten antiquity, it badly affects not only that community, but others also. The communitarian organizations conduct an organized attempt to eliminate these trends. Communitarianism or community sentiment is significantly different from communalism. Communalism is the making of a social and political identity based itself on religion and constructing itself other religious identity.² But communitarianism is a consciousness that developed within a class or caste group. **Communitarianism**, as a social and political philosophy, emphasizes the importance

of community in the functioning of political life, in the analysis and evaluation of political institutions, and in understanding human identity and well-being. It is a philosophy that emphasizes the connection between the individual and the community. Its overriding philosophy is based upon the belief that a person's social identity and personality are largely molded by community relationships, with a smaller degree of development being placed on individualism. Communitarianism is a social philosophy that, in contrast to theories that emphasize the centrality of the individual, emphasizes the importance of society in articulating the good.

The word community for a religious collectivity can be used for the first time in the 19th century. During the earlier period, the sense of community depended on a set of diverse factors. Although religion was an important aspect of social life of the people, it seldom became an exclusive basis for the formation of any distinct community existing at that time.³ Along with the emergence of nationalism in India, the construction of communities on the basis of religion also occurred and in the interaction of community consciousness with nationalism in their various phase of subsequent growth is quite indicate and complex. Benedict Anderson in his study of origin and spread of Hindu nationalism has observed that "all communities larger than primordial villages of face to face contact are imagined".⁴ This formulation can be invoked to understand the formation of new type of religious communities in India in the 19th century. Jawaharlal Nehru had of a different view in connection with the growth of communitarian sentiments. He stated that religious communities represented only reactionary form of politics and obstructed the growth of anti imperialist struggle.⁵ The religious based communities of the 19th century were not primordial entities inherited form the past. Instead these newly constructed collectivities were rooted in contemporary needs and aspirations of distinctive sections of society which had gained prominence under the colonial setup. The consciousness associated with these religious based communities which had their role as distinctive social formations underwent some significant changes in the late 19th and early twentieth

century's. Such changes were taken place along with the some significant events in certain areas which created everlasting changes in such societies. In the case of Malabar, the post 1921 Rebellion period witnessed such a communitarian development.

a. Attempts among the Upper Sections of Hindus to form their own separate organizations

Yogakshema Sabha

The period following the 1921 Rebellion, in Malabar region, almost all castes began to form their own separate organizations and associations for their own safety. Various associations, formed before the Rebellion, became stronger and more energetic in this period. Among them, the Namboodiri Yogakshema Sabha, Nair Service Society and Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam were more prominent. *Kerala Yogakshema Sabha*, formed in 1908 March on the Sivarathri day in a meeting held under the chairmanship of Desamangalam Sankaran Namboothiripad at the Illom of Cherumangalam Vaideekan, was the first organization of the Kerala Brahmins.⁶ Even though the organization was there even long years before the Rebellion, it attained a slow growth mainly due to the lack of strong leaders. In the post Rebellion period, many youths came to the forefront of it, especially those who were eager to modify the orthodoxy kept by the elders.⁷ The Youth wing of Yogakshema Sabha put forward a new revolutionary idea for the removal of evil customs existed within the community. The activities of the Sabha helped to develop self consciousness among the members of it and to strengthen unity among them. The Sabha advocated everybody to wear Khadi, but to keep the lower castes, who also wore Khadi, far away. In its initial stage, the Sabha rejected the resolution regarding the removal of untouchability. Meanwhile, *Mathrubhumi*, in its editorial advocated the Namboodiri youths to wake up and it reminded that: if not, "it badly affects the community". It was at this juncture that a radical wing of the Namboodiris emerged into the scene that advocated the eradication of untouchability and other evil customs existed in the society. One of the prominent among them was Kurur Neelakantan Namboodiripad, an

active Congress leader and an advocate of the anti-untouchability campaigns. He made an attempt to pass a resolution regarding the abolition of untouchability from the community, in the Thrissivaperur session of Yogakshemasabha held on 3rd May 1924, in which, he could win the support of the Sabha for the same cause.⁸

Just like this, in the case of Jenmi-kudiyan issue also the same attitude was followed by the Sabha. Some of the elitist wing of the Sabha was against the passing of the Tenancy Bill but the youth wing was in favor of the Bill. Thirty one Annual meetings of the Sabha were conducted without fail. Since then, the Sabha became nominal. Some of the activists entered into politics. The others ensured a place in the field of art and culture. Majority have withdrawn to their own domestic circles. However, the Yogakshema Sabha and its activities created a new fervor in the Namboodiri community.

Nambissan Samajam

A Nambissan Samajam was organized in North Malabar with the purpose of safeguarding their caste from its decline. The second annual conference of the Samajam was held at Kuttiadi on 14th May 1924 in which numbers of resolutions were passed with the aim to attain their goal.⁹ While the reforms in the Nambissan community were underway, Koliprath Damodaran Nambissan wrote an article in Mathrubhumi on 24th March 1924 which stated: " the Nambissans of today are living in a most deplorable condition that it is difficult to call them even as human beings. It is relevant to note at a time when the downtrodden communities are trying their best to improve their social status, other communities like Nambudiris, Nairs, Thiyyas and Pulayas are far ahead in their social reform attempts. Pulayas, whom we consider as the most impure and inferior are also moving on the same route. We are depending Namboodiris to perform our most sacred practices and rituals like *choroon*, *choulam*, *upnayanam*, *kanyadhanam* etc.. It is shame on our part that we have to depend often other communities like Namboodiris to perform out most sacred practices. Therefore we should take the responsibility of performing these practices using our own men. Though there are members within our community who are aware

about the need for this changes no effort has been made to curtail these irrational practices".¹⁰ It was such an awareness that motivated the Nambissans to form an organization and try for their upliftment. No doubt, this was an anti Namboodiri movement.

Nair Service Society

The Nair Smudaya Brithyajana Sabha formed at Mannam House of Changanasseri on 31st October 1914, was renamed in 1915, as Nair Service Society and became a big communitarian organization.¹¹ The All Kerala Nair summits conducted by the society gave way to the basic reforms in the community. The objective was to renovate the community by eradicating unnecessary evil customs and practices. NSS attempted to spread their hold even in the remote areas through Nair Samajams. In their view, such societies are necessary for a community to strengthen it by eradicating evil customs from the society. In their view, less work was done in Malabar for the upliftment of their community.

There arose criticisms from various quarters against the formation of such communitarian organizations. The critics had of the opinion that the growth of such organizations would affect badly on the political front. But the leaders of the Nair community rejected this view and stated that such samajams and sanghams would regenerate the community, instead of letting them as mere political agent. The most notable fact here is that all these attempts were undertaken against the Brahmanical supremacy. At Calicut, a meeting was held to discuss various measures that would undertake for the internal reforms of the community.¹² At Payyarmala, near Payyoli, a Nair *Mahayogam* was held under the chairmanship of K T Kumaran Nambissan in which almost all Nairs of that area participated. It discussed the unification of various sections of Nair community to strengthen it.¹³ Afterwards the branches of Nair Samajams were formed in various parts of Malabar like Cheruvannur, Nilambur, Mampad and Wandoor . They mainly intended to bring the Nairs in to the forefront of anti untouchability campaigns.

NSS decided to conduct local conferences for strengthening it and also to spread its ideas in every nook and corner of Malabar. One of the

most important Nair conferences was held at Karuvatta in May 1929.¹⁴ This conference decided to form branches of NSS Karayogams in all parts of Kerala. It passed a resolution which denounced the caste and national difference existed in the Nair community. Another resolution demanded permission to all Hindus to enter into the temples and also recommended to handover the village reconstruction programme to Karayogams. A conference of Ponnani Nair samajams was held at Ponnani High School ground in 1929 under the presidentship of Kannan Menon. It declared communal harmony and eradication of untouchability as its main aim.¹⁵

The Nair conference held at Ponnani in January 1930 under the presidentship of K Madhavan Nair decided to form a Malabar Nair Samajam, as a representative body of Nairs of Malabar.¹⁶ In his presidential address, Madhavan Nair stated that "even though some Nair Samajams are here in Malabar, like North Malabar Nair Samajam and Ponnani Nair Samajam, they were not having enough strength and influence among Nairs. So such an organization is necessary for the regeneration of the community".¹⁷ It formed a working committee of about 30 members from various parts of Malabar. It also decided to apply to make changes in the Marumakkathiyam system.¹⁸ The conference was held immediately after the suspension of Kudiyan Conference. Therefore there arose doubts about the nature of Nair Samajams. Some doubted that Kudiyan Sangham was changed into Nair Samajam. As a response to this, M M Kunkrishnan Nair declared that the doubt is worthless and these two have no relationship at all. He stated that the main aim of the Samajam was eradication of untouchability and nothing else.¹⁹ In later days, such Samajams and organizations were very active in Malabar which worked for the upliftment of the community by eradicating evils that existed within its purview.

Division within the Nair community

One of the most important features of the age was the existence of lot of sub divisions within the Nair community and the formation of their separate organizations. Each subsection is trying to build up their own organizations and to oppose the harassment by their higher

divisions such as Manavalan Nair Samajam, Veluthedathu Nair Samajam, Vettekattu Nair Samajam etc..

b. Attempts from Other communities to form their own separate organisations

Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam

SNDP is the oldest and like biggest communitarian organization of Kerala. While analyzing its aims and objectives, it is clear that it is not a communal organization. Almost all the members of this organization belonged to a particular community-Ezhavas or Thiyyas- and thus it is also a communitarian organization which was formed to safeguard the interests of that particular community. Even though it was formed in 1888, it became active in Malabar only during the post Rebellion period. It was in 1929, a branch of the Yogam was established at Kozhikode.²⁰ Even though a resolution was once passed saying that all who joins in the Yogam will be treated as Ezhavas, the downtrodden castes lower to Ezhavas were not admitted to the Yogam. The earlier activities of the Yogam were mainly concentrated at Kozhikode. The main agenda of the activities of the Yogam was eradication of untouchability. In a meeting held at Parishhall in May 1924, they decided to extent full support for the cause of the eradication of untouchability.²¹ There are references regarding the joint attempts of NSS and SNDP, in later days, against the existing social evils. As a part of this, a joint conference of NSS and SNDP was held at Vaikkom in 1924,²² in which, it was decided to render full support to the cause of the Sathyagraha. Later the attitude of leaders of SNDP had changed and its leaders had moved into severe criticisms against national movement and Congress. Even they had demanded for separate constituency for the Ezhavas.²³ Even though the SNDP Yogam had accepted many policies entirely different from its earlier ones, it had grown into an organization fighting for the upliftment of the Ezhava community.

Keraleeya Vaidya Samajam

Just like all other communities, for the upliftment of their own community, an organization under the name *Keraleeya Vaidya Samajam* was established by the Vaidya community. An annual meeting of the Malabar

Ayurveda Vaidyasala of Thalasseri and the *Keraleeya Vaidya Samajam* had held near the Thalsseri Railway station.²⁴ Lots of such meetings were held in different parts of Malabar which is the best example of the fear of insecurity and bothering of the need of the upliftment of their own community from its evil practices.

Malayalee Viswakarma Sabha

The *Malayalee Viswakarma Sabha*, an organization of the Viswakarmas (Kammalas, who were artisans) of Malayalam was also actively present in Malabar. The first annual meeting of this organisation, which was registered in 1926 to the regeneration of the community was held at Cheruvannur under the Chairmanship of Manjeri Ramayyar. Another meeting of the Sabha was held at Calicut on 24th October 1928, under the chairmanship of C V Siva Rao.²⁵ Resolutions were passed in the meeting requesting the government for giving tenders regarding the works of Local Boards and government done by Kammalar to the community itself, granting scholarship to Kammala students and appoint their own representatives in people's bodies like the Legislative Assembly, District Board and Municipal Council.

Samastha Kerala Chaliya Yuvajan Yogam

The Chaliya community also decided to involve in the activities of the improvement of their community and woke up from their sleep. With this purpose, meeting of *Samastha Kerala Chaliya Yuvajana Yogam* was held at Panthalayani Board Higher Secondary School on 22nd January 1927, under the presidentship of K Kelappan and decided to work for the upliftment of the community²⁶.

Attempts made by Peruvannan community

With the aim of eradication of the disabilities of the Peruvannan community of Kozhikode Taluk and for undertaking measures for their upliftment, a meeting was held under the chairmanship of K M Nair B A. BL., at KSR High School, Chalappuram on 15th January 1928. On account of the notice of Vaidyar K Bapputty, many members of the community, including 20 women, attended the meeting.²⁷ The meeting advocated for the upliftment of the society by eradicating the evil customs

prevailing in the community like untouchability, child marriage and liquor consumption. Following this, on January 28, Sunday, a meeting was held at Kozhikode under the presidentship of Chamunni Vaidyar and decided to hold a public meeting of the community.²⁸

Organizations of the Downtrodden communities

Just like all these upper caste communities, the downtrodden sections of the Hindu community, who were considered as the untouchable section in the society, were also tried to form their own separate association to safeguard their community from the evils of the Hindu society and also from its decline. The downtrodden sections formed such associations to protect themselves from the clutches of untouchability and unapproachability. A joint meeting of *Cherumas* of Kalyasseri, Pappinisseri and Kannadiparamaba was held at Kaylasseri in Kannur in 1924 and with the aim of discussing the problems that they had faced and to find out solutions to these problems, especially to attain freedom to walk through public roads.²⁹ In the meeting, the *Cherumas* proclaimed that they didn't want to enter the houses of the savarnas or their temples, but wanted the right to walk through public roads constructed with public money.

The condition of the riot stricken south Malabar region was also not so different. They realized the fact that the disunity among the caused for all their subordination. So they also felt the need of joining together under the banner of their own separate organization. Attempts were being made to organize a meeting of the Paanchamas³⁰ of Malappuram, Manjeri, Pallippuram, Panthallur etc. to make attempts for the eradication of the evil practices existed within the community and also to get freedom from the cruelties of the upper sections of the society. The meeting was held under the leadership of enthusiastic *Kanakkans* of the area like Kunhikeeran, Cherukutti and others. Some leaders from the Nairs, Menons and Muslim community, who were sympathetic towards these poor people, also attended the meeting. Persons like Nadimaster and Valiyachathan of Malappuram, Kutti from Manjeri,

Kottiyal Peravan from Oorakam, Chathan of Kachinikkad, Kuncholan and Nochiladi of Pookkottur came forward and spoke about their grievances. They asked: "though our blood is similar to that of *thampurans*, why we are subjected to harassments?"³¹ Their important demands were: to get freedom to walk through the public roads, eradicate evil customs prevailed among them, encourage education of their children and bring light to their huts.

The *Panas*, *Pulayas* and other such downtrodden sections also made similar attempts to solve their problems through the formation of such communitarian organizations. A Kerala *PananSamajam* was formed in Malabar in 1920s.³² As a lesson to the Hindu conservatives, a great summit of *Pulayas* was held at Pallikkavu in North Malabar under the chairmanship of

V. K.Kunhikannan. Some Nair elitists like C C Appukkutty Nambiar and many Muslims and Thiyyas attended the meeting. Famous social activists like Mannath Padmanabhan, Kesava Pulayanar and C Kuttan Nair were also present in the meeting. This meeting was

organized due to the harassment of the poor *Pulaya* by a Nair Jenmi, who was considered by the *Pulayas* as their drinking water and air to breathe.³³ Kesava Pulayanar told in the meeting that the *Pulayas* will be able to live like human beings only after having a community organization and attaining education. He felt that the condition of the *Pulayas* of Malabar was more deplorable than that of Travancore. Through the formation of *Pulaya Mahasabha*, in later days, the *pulayas* also tried to come into the forefront of the society. Through these organizations the downtrodden sections also clamored for reforms within their community.

In the Post 1921 Rebellion period, attempts were made to introduce some communal and communitarian elements in the society, along with secularist tendencies. The development of such tendencies later played a great role in the social sphere of Malabar. The development of caste and communitarian organizations in the post 1921 Rebellion period led to the development of a Hindu consciousness which later become one of the most important elements for the creation of a Hindu identity in Malabar.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE OF PEOPLE DURING QUTB SHAHI DYNASTY- REFLECTIONS FROM EUROPEAN TRAVELOGUES

Dr. Srinivas Rao Vaddanam

Qutub Shah Dynasty ruled the Golkonda Kingdom, which comprises most of the modern day Telangana and some of the modern day Andhra Pradesh for a period little less than two centuries (1512-1687). They gave Hyderabad to the world and also gave some of its iconic structures like the Golconda Fort, Mecca Masjid and many more. Sultan Quli Qutub Shah was the founder of the dynasty. He declared independence from the Bahamani Sultanate and took over the title of Qutub Shah.

The Qutub Shahi rulers originated from the Kara dynasty which ruled over Central Asian countries like Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iran, Turkey, and Iraq. After establishing the dynasty, Persian was introduced as the official language of administration. The kingdom was known to the people of the Middle East Countries since its inception and its illustrious culture attracted hoards of statesmen, scholars, traders and artisans from abroad inheriting a valuable legacy of culture. They brought to the Deccan traditions of art and culture and high ideals of life and society.

The welfare of the state subjects of all castes and creeds was the primary concern of the Qutub Shahi Government. The Qutub Shahs were fully committed to the social and economic needs of the people and tried their utmost to provide with all possible comforts to the extent that the sources of the kingdom permitted. Religious freedom was the distinct hall-mark of the Golkonda kingdom. All classes and communities, whatever be their religious affiliation, caste or creed, enjoyed full freedom of conscience and religious practices. There is no record of mass conversions of the Hindus to Islam during the long range of the Qutub Shahi history.

Although the Qutub Shahi constitution was a replica of the Bahmanides in many respects because the Golkonda Sultanate was but an off-shoot of the Great Bahmani Kingdom, yet it reflected local concepts of life and Society as well. The Constitution was so moulded as to be in harmony with the local temper and not contrary to the local traditions and concepts. A

very important sources of reconstructing the socio-economic and cultural history of Qutub Shahis are the records of Dutch, English and French Travellers. They are essentially "private" records and do not deal directly with the political affairs of the region. They contain certain data not found in our chronicles and throw considerable light on the social and economic aspects of the life of the people during Qutub Shahis period.

The Qutub Shahi Kingdom saw three distinguished Frenchmen who visited Golkonda during the reign of 'Abdullah Qutub Shah. The first, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d' Aubonne made six voyages to the East ranging from 1638 to 1663. His book, *Travels in India*, first appeared in 1676, edited by V. Ball and published in 1889. His observations regarding the life of the people are extremely valuable. He has traced the roads by which he travelled, the method of transport, the cities through which he passed, the stages on the way and the formalities he had to undergo. Being a dealer in diamonds his detailed description of the mines he visited is unique.

Jean de Thevenot, the French Traveller visited the Qutub Shahi dominions in 1655-1668. He is careful to note down in his book things he saw, the difficulties he had to undergo and his experiences. He also gives a fair description of the Qutub Shahi army, the frontiers of the Kingdom and its economic conditions. But like Tavernier, his account of the history of the dynasty is meagre. Thevenot and Careri, published at New Delhi in 1949.

Francois Bernier was a doctor by profession and was attached to the court of Shah Jahan. After the battle of Samugrah he joined the service of Mirza Raja Jai Singh and accompanied him to the Deccan as Captain of Artillery. He was at Golkonda when Aurangzeb occupied the citadel. He moved on to Madras where he died in 1717. Bernier's book has been published by the Oxford University Press with the title 'Travels in the Mogul Empire'

Manucci's 'Storia do Mogor', which runs into four volumes is his personal observation. Although at times the treatment is slightly exaggerated, it consists of data which is most useful to the historians. He was at Golkonda as physician to Abul'l-Hasan Qutb Shah and as such had ample opportunities of observing what was happening at the court. Among his contributions are the two famous groups containing the portraits of all the Qutb Shah I and 'Adil Shah I Kings respectively which were copied from individual portraits. The English translation of the Storia was edited by W. Irvine and published in four volumes in 1906.

We have also the account of the Dutchman Schoerer and the Englishman Methwold. Schoerer was a factor at the Dutch factory at Masulipatam from 1609 to 1614, and in that capacity has occasion to visit Hyderabad. Being a merchant himself he has given us useful information about the coins current in the Kingdom, the rate of exchange, weights and measures. He also describes the cargo which was loaded and unloaded at Masulipatam, the chief port of the Kingdom.

Methwold, who rose to be the President of the English factory at Surat was originally employed at Masulipatam from 1619 to 1622. He gives an account of the social set-up of the State, its produce and its cattle wealth. The Sultan was so well disposed towards him and permitted him to visit certain forts of the Kingdom. He gives us an account of the clothes the people wore, their religion and the religious freedom enjoyed in the Kingdom. Both Schoerer's and Methwold's memoirs have been included in Moreland's 'Relations of Golconda', published in 1931. The Travellers themselves with the country they lived in, imbibed the local spirit and assimilated the local traditions and concepts¹. Thus the Qutub Shahi culture which comprehends life and society, politics and Government and science and art is a harmonious fusion of diverse elements drawn from various sources, Persian, Indian, Bahmani and Andhra.

Accounts on Army

According to Thevenot, the Qutub Shahi Army numbered five lakhs, comprising both feudal and standing forces². He clearly states that the fief-holders of Golconda, who were

supposed to supply the bulk of the army, failed to provide their stipulated quota and, therefore, half the number was supplemented by the central Government at its own expense³. The statement further shows that the kingdom in its earlier period, lacked the system of maintaining a standing army paid by the central treasury, whereas it depended very much on the feudal forces supplied by Jagirdars.

Thevenot is definite in his statement that king Abdullah paid salaries to the members of his fighting forces out of his own pocket⁴ if a later authority is to be relied upon. Abul Hasan had also raised an efficient body of Troops, 40,000 strong, at his own expense and his prime minister, Madannah had maintained his own cavalry, which numbered 10,000.

Natural Resources of the Kingdom

Golconda was an extensive kingdom with fertile lands and rich mineral resources. Foreign travellers too expressed their admiration to the productivity of the soil. Barren villages were populated and new tanks and wells were constructed. The country yielded good harvest in almost all cereals and pulses. Wheat, rice, millet, bajra, pulses, gram, masur, tur and til grew in abundance. The cash crops namely cotton, tobacco, castor-seeds as also toddy formed great source of revenue. Fruits were grown, in many varieties. Mangoes, bananas, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, pineapples and guava were commonly grown⁵.

Besides the agriculture land and the forests, Golconda was blessed with lucrative mines of diamonds and other minerals, which brought to the Kingdom unbounded wealth and prosperity. Golconda was particularly famous for its diamonds all over the world. None of the Deccan Sultanates except Golconda could claim such a mineral wealth. And that is the reason why Golconda was known as the 'Country of Diamonds'⁶.

According to Tavernier who gives a good account of the Golconda mines, there were twenty three mines in the kingdom. Some of them were situated in Telangana and a few in Karnatak.⁷ Kondapalli which lies close to the Krishna river and Narsapur which is situated about 39 miles from Rajahmandry were rich in diamond mines. Narsapur had the best type of

mines which yielded diamonds of bigger size and superior quality. Kandikota and Kollur which formed parts of Karnatak, possessed a large number of mines where twenty thousand people used to work. These labourers were employed for different types of work: some of them performed the work of digging, others removed loads of earth and some extracted water. As a result of mining activities, these places which were once desolate and barren became thickly populated⁸. These mines yielded enormous wealth and formed the greatest sources of income to Golconda. Some of the mines were reserved for the personal use of the King. According to William Methold, all diamonds weighing more than ten carats were reserved for the king who used to appoint special officers to protect them from theft and embezzlement. But even these stringent measures failed to check thefts⁹. The mines were usually given to traders and contractors on lease who carried on the mining work subject to the Government royalty. The diamonds were brought in the market for sale. The contractors required to pay the royalty at the rate of one hun per hour for each mine, irrespective of the yield¹⁰.

Economic Life of People

Foreign travellers speak highly of the abundance of iron and steel as also of their fame and demand in distant places. This steel was exported to the Punjab and Persia and the Damaskas swords which were world known for their quality were manufactured from the Golconda steel.

Golconda was an agricultural country. It was not devoid of trade and industry. The advent of the Qutub Shahi culture gave an impetus to trade and industry and various articles were manufactured to cater to the needs of the royalty, gentry and commonality. When the city of Hyderabad was founded, we come across various arts and exhibits of skilled sleight of hand which satisfied the need of the people. Hundreds of Artisans and industrialists flocked to Hyderabad and accelerated the advancement of culture. To quote a Mughal historian, there were so many 'artisans, tradesmen and artists' in Hyderabad that a detailed account of them all would require a separate volume¹¹.

The cloth woven in the kingdom may conveniently be divided into two varieties; one was the plain cloth which was meant for ordinary use and the other was the superfine which satisfied the needs of fashion. All colours and designs were made by means of a brush. Its colours and designs were so indelible that they did not lose their lustre even after washing and remained to the last. This cloths was only fabricated in coastal town like Masolipatam and Narsapur, which were particularly famous for their textile industry throughout India. The patterned cloth called the 'Qalamkar' of Masolipatam was not produced in other parts of India¹²

In addition to fabrics, metal instruments and arms made of iron deserve a detailed study. Steel of good quality was made at Golconda and arms and weapons were also manufactured. Nirmal and Indore which were situated to the north of Golconda were centres of the steel industry. Good quality of steel was here prepared¹³. According to Thevenot, swords, daggers and spears were being manufactured at Indalvai near Indore or Nizamabad and they were supplied to the markets all over India¹⁴. Wood cutting was another industry. Boxes and other house hold furniture were made of wood with fine design and polish. This industry is still in existence of Kondappali and other towns. Narsapur on the banks of the Godavari was famous for this industry. Ships were also built in the same town. Merchandise was exported overseas in these ships. Big steamers meant for long voyages were also built here and according to Schorer, a servant of the English East India Company, even British merchants had got a steamer named the 'Globe'¹⁵ built at this centre. Indigo was prepared at Nalgoncha and exported outside. (Nalgoncha was situated at a distance of twelve miles from Khammammet to the South East Direction) Gun powder and cartridges were manufactured at Masolipatam, and the town was also famous for salt and durable masts¹⁶ for ships and steamers.

Masolipatam which is also popularly called Machli Bander had developed into a great port during the reigns of Abdullah Qutub Shah and Abul Hasan and it more or less enjoyed the same position as Bombay does in the modern age.

The travellers gave vivid depiction of living of people. The common people and the aristocrats were rich and happy. The aristocratic families, both Hindus and Muslims known as Amirs, possessed two kinds of lands and Jagirs: one was the Madad Maash (grant-in-aid) and the other was conditional with military service. The latter kind of Jagirs served as a great source of income because the incumbents never fulfilled the conditions as demanded by law and saved money and therefore financially they were rich and affluent and led a kingly life. As for the middle classes, they comprised two communities, namely the Muslims and the Hindu. The Muslim population consisted of two classes, first were the traders, who carried on their internal as well as foreign trade. This merchant class which was mostly of Persians, was very rich and prosperous. The Persians also carried on banking transactions and lent money. They charged 4% interest and made a fabulous wealth¹⁷. The other section of the Muslims lived on Government service and earned their livelihood from the royal treasury.¹⁸

The Hindu population consisted of three classes, namely Government servants, peasants and traders. The Hindu population had a larger share of Government service. Not only the local Government as well as the village administration was conducted Hindus but also the district Governors as also the Mustajirs (Contractors) who held the districts on lease and paid the stipulated revenue were all Hindus. They also dominated trade and mines. Government counted on Hindu officers to control the mines. The lower classes which comprised the cultivators and labourers earned good wages.

The artisans who worked in iron, gold and silver factories drew their wages from their shops or establishments. The iron-smith and the goldsmith was paid 3 annas per day and their servants and palanquin-bearers used to get one anna. But all of them had to pay a part of their income to the local authorities.¹⁹ As a Government levy. It appears that the labourers earned wages sufficient to meet their humble needs.

Social Life

The private and public life of the people of Golconda was also reflected in the writings of

Travellers. Refinement of taste and manners was noticed in almost all the classes of the people and in all their walks of life. The Society, as a matter of fact, was influenced by the exaltation and magnanimity of the life of those who belonged to royal household or to the nobility. The lofty ideas of Golconda kings and noblemen are manifest in their buildings some of which are still extant. Even their residential quarters were as magnificent and gorgeously decorated as the darbar halls. The pomp and pageantry which surrounded the royal durbars also marked the royal processions. The King, dressed up to the hilt, rode a colourfully embellished elephant, escorted by a large number of troops and retainers and was also accompanied by noblemen and grandees of the state, who rode either on horses or were carried in palanquins.²⁰ The life of the nobility was equally high and expensive. They lived a life of affluence, resided in palatial buildings and moved about in processions which looked as impressive as those of the king. They were carried in palanquins escorted by a large number of retainers, with elephants and camels²¹.

Tavernier gives an interesting description of these processions. Elephants with banners flying and rows of camels and carriages moved in the front, then followed by the palanquin in which the nobleman was seated. The rest of the bodyguard consisting of cavaliers and infantrymen came in the rear²². The middle class also lived a decent and gracious life. Hyderabad was the biggest city of the Medieval age with large number of dwelling houses numbering about two lakhs. If four individuals as average may be supposed to dwell in each house the population will rise to eight lakhs. The houses of noble class people were provided with all basic amenities and decencies of life. The household vessels and utensils are described as of gold and silver. Glassware was also in common use. Houses were lit up with lamps and chandeliers made of glass which were imported from outside and were available in Hyderabad and Masulipatam markets²³. Thevenot states that the common man lived in very low and ill contrived huts built of earth and thatched with straw²⁴.

Dress Pattern of the People

Hyderabad people have their own dress pattern. The members of the royal family stuck to their old, Turkish style in their early days, yet they developed a local outlook in later years. Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah who was the 5th King in the line had discarded his Turkish dress, and adopted pure Deccani style. He put on a Deccani turban instead of Turkish samura cap and loose jacket of linen instead of woollen coats. What is more curious about his dress is that he shaved his beard and put on jewels and wore bracelets on his arms according to the Telangana fashion²⁵. His poetry which depicts his impressions about the life and culture of the Telugu society shows his sympathy with the local life and traditions. The Golconda people were tall, fair and well dressed. The middle classes wore jackets of fine linen and put on either white or coloured turban of Deccani style as their head-gear. They were armed with different weapons. Everyone was skilled in the use of swords and sticks which was characteristic of the social life of the Deccan. The courtiers who attended royal durbars were required to put on Deccani dastars, used belts round their waist as their official and court dress. The Hindu population wore their own dress which was in vogue from time immemorial. The Karnatak Hindus wore long locks of hair.

Religious Life

All the Qutub Shahi Kings were tolerant, humane and just. Their guiding principle was benevolence. They treated their Hindu subjects as liberally as they did the Muslim Community. They even went to the length of declaring Tuesday as a week holiday²⁶ and assigning jagirs and large tracts of arable lands for the upkeep of Hindu temples and for the performance of religious ceremonies thereof. Abul Hasan's liberal award of jagir assignment to Bhadrachalam and Bhramara Malleshwaraswami temples situated on the Godavari Krishna respectively redounds to the magnanimity of his heart²⁷. This is why the Andhra people regarded the Qutub Shahi Sultanate as their own and the king as their national ruler. Sultan Quli, the founder of the kingdom was received and loved by his Hindu subjects as 'Bare Malik' even in his early days when queens were revered as 'Maa Sahib'.

There were divergent religions and religious affiliations in the kingdom. The Hindus formed the bulk of the population who differed from their Muslim brethren in their religious ideals and notions of life. The first three kings, Sultan Quli, Jamsheed and Ibraheem were ultra catholic in their religious views. They declared no state religion of their religious views. They declared no state religion of their own about left the matter of religion to the freewill and free conscience of the people. They never allowed their religion to be polluted by sectarian bigotry and narrow sympathies. They, on the other hand, admitted all sections of the population, Hindu and Muslim, Shia and Sunni in their political and social fold without the distinction of caste and creed.

Sultan Quli had joined the punitive expedition against Yousuf Adil Khan of Bijapur who had declared Shia faith as the state religion. Mohd Quli Qutub Shah's religious policy was at variance with that of his ancestors. Mohd. Quli was not in the habit of taking a broader view as his ancestors did. He, no doubt, pursued a more liberal policy towards his Hindu subjects than even his ancestors. He was a bigoted Shia and was very enthusiastic for mourning rites and for installations of 'Alams' in Muharram. Hussaini Alam in Golconda was installed by his for the first time. He bestowed his favours on the Shia community at the expense of the Sunnis.

Mohd Quli was the first king of Golconda to start diplomatic relations with the Persian court and regarded the Persian monarch as his over lord. The King also invited Persian families to settle down in Hyderabad in order to safeguard his interests. They were not only colonized in Hyderabad all around the royal palaces but they were also give ample opportunities to make use of trade and banking at Hyderabad and Musulipatm²⁸. Most of the Shia families who now reside at Hyderabad and Masulipatam trace their origin to Mohammed Quli's reign.

Accounts on Medical Practices

European travelogues, the account of Jean Baptist Tavernier gives a vivid description of the collection of drug-substances, the demand for medicinal stones of Golconda Kingdom in the countries of the east and the west of the

position of surgery etc. He describes an incident of blood letting to Abdullah Qutub Shah by a Dutch Surgeon. He gives a graphic description of the performance of venesection at four places under the king's tongue to cure his headache.

The hygiene which was observed before under-taking venesection also is vividly described by Tavernier. The physician was first given a bath and was given clean clothing, his hands were cleaned and rubbed with medicinal oil in order to make them thoroughly free from germs and microbes. Manucci, an Indian physician at Golconda in Abul Hasan Tanisha's service receiving 700 rupees as salary, refers to the talent of the native doctors in performing plastic surgery. When a war broke out between the Moghals and the Bijapur, the Bijapur soldiers defeated and cut off the noses of the Moghal soldiers. Manucci describes 'the surgeons belonging to the country cut the skin of the forehead above the eye-brows, and made it fall down over the wounds on the nose'²⁹. Mesotheno, a French Traveller, who came to Hyderabad during the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah appreciated the treatment of 'colilic'(treatment by making on certain points of the body with hot iron) and described the kinds of diseases and methods of cautery or *agnikarma*³⁰.

John Fryer, a British Physician came to India in AD 1670 and served at various settlements in India. He writes 'People were free from sickness during summer but from May, with cooling showers, air grew foggy and emphysemas and fluxes were rife'³¹. His

description of venereal diseases, seasonal diseases, some home remedies, the activities of country doctors, etc. and his critical review of indigenous medicine are useful to understand the condition of the science of medicine and its impact on society. Tavernier, Methold and Fryer refer to the medicinal stones produced and used extensively as antidotes in the Kingdom and which had great demand in the export market. They called them as bezoars. Tavernier writes 'Bezoars come from a province of the kingdom of Golconda towards the north-east. John Fryer also refers to the uses and popularity of 'Goa Stones' in various diseases. The British called them as 'Goa Stones' as they were exported mostly from that part after collecting them from all the parts of the Deccan. Linschoten, the Dutch traveller of 16th Century wrote a work on the drug substance of south India and the Deccan which was published and translated into many European languages by A.D.1580. The rulers and the physicians were eager to develop the science according to the need of the day.

Conclusion

From the records and accounts of the European Scholars many aspects of the people lives in Qutub Shahi kingdom such as the happy association and tolerant attitude towards the people, the peaceful living of the people in the conflict free society. Stability of their living with flourishing economy and the architectural grandeur and public places are thrown open to light.

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE GROWTH OF KANNADA LITERATURE DURING 19TH CENTURY

Dr. T. Srinivasa Reddy

Introduction

The history of Christianity in India begins as early as first century A.D. St Thomas, a Disciple of Jesus established Christianity at Malabar. The followers of this church came to be known as St. Thomas Christians. Later on Missionary Activities were continued by the preachers from Syria (345 A.D-823 A.D) and the followers of these Syrian preachers came to be known as Syrian Christians. However, they were followed by Dominicans and French Foreign Missionary Society. By about 14th Century A.D., prior to the invasion of the Portuguese, Dominicans and Franciscan Missionaries began their missionary activities. Brother Jordan, a French Dominican Missionary came to India in 1321 A.D. and preached the Gospel.

There are two largely accepted views concerning the founding of the church and the functioning of the Missionary work in India. One group traces it to St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, who came with his Missionaries and visited the interior parts of the Indian coastal areas by sea-routes as early as 5th Century A.D.² Another group ascribes it to the enterprise of merchant and Missionaries of the East Syrian or Persian church who came to Indian in trading vessels. The most active and successful Missionaries were the members of the four orders which established their houses in India. They were the Franciscans, the Jesuits, The Dominicans and the Augustinians.

The real expansion of Christianity in India began with the arrival of the Portuguese.

Portugal was a Roman Catholic country having the blessing of the Pope in its sea-voyage endeavors. During this period Francis Xavier, the zealous disciple of St. Ignatius Loyola, traversed Mysore on his way to the south and did missionary work for almost a decade. But his attempts at conversion among the people of Mysore proved infructuous.

Robert de Nobili, another important Italian Jesuit catholic missionary arrived in India in 1605.⁴ The place chosen for his missionary work was Madurai in Tamil Nadu. The Portuguese after the loss of her commerce to the Dutch and the English in the 17th century were no longer able to carry out their missionary duties properly. In course of time catholic Missionaries were followed by many protestant Missionaries. The first protestant trading company to land in India was the British East India Company. It began its trading enterprise in 1600. But the first Protestant Missionaries to arrive were in India were the Germans in the year 1707.

The British East India Company, a private trading company started its mercantile with India from the beginning of the 17th century. The East India Company having the commercial motive of making profits as its sole aim had no sympathy towards the Missionaries cause and was unfavorable to the spread of the Missionaries as it might arouse serious resentment among the natives and jeopardize their commercial interest in the country. It followed a policy of religious neutrality. But in the middle of 18th century, Britain was going

through many changes. The charter of East India Company was presented to the Parliament for renewal in 1813. The proposals by the Evangelicals for inclusion of Missionary enterprise in the charter were accepted and received the Government's sanction on 21st July 1813.⁶

With the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, for the first time trade barriers were broken down between India and Europe which led to an even increased volume of commercial activities. The year is also significant in as far as the founding of Wesleyan Methodist Missionary society. The Christian Missionaries were allowed to come and work freely in India. Their first work was to select the fields and decide where Stations were to be established and then build houses for the Missionaries. In this way the early Christian settlers brought the Gospels to India, having a firm belief in the superiority of their race and religion.

Christian Missions and Missionaries in the first half of the 19th century were deeply involved in reforming the Indian society as they viewed it. The Missionaries adopted a number of Strategies and Methods while spreading their faith and missionary works. Generally all the Missionaries gave primary importance to the native preaching education, medical assistance and the upliftment of the down trodden in the society their earliest work consisted of preaching in the bazaars and religious melas in the local languages.⁷ They begin to learn the vernacular languages of the people mainly to interact with the local people.

Early history of the spread of Christianity in Karnataka

Christianity in Canara

The Christians, especially the Catholics of South Canara, were converted natives. Later, we have the Protestant converts made by the Basel Mission. The Portuguese influence was strong during the rule of the Vijayanagara kingdom (1516 – 1570).

The Christian Communities of Southern Karnataka

The history of Christianity in Southern Karnataka is largely the history of the Mysore mission. The work of evangelism in the territories of the Raja of Mysore was started by

the father Leonardo Cinnami, an Italian Jesuit belonging to the province of Goa. He set up his residence in Ramapura, Mysore⁸ in 1653, while became the first center of the Kannada mission. In spite of the Missionaries the number of Christians increased rather slowly in the state of Mysore. The mission had 4 residences administrated by the father who spoke Kannada. A new mission station was opened at Hassan in 1697, with Belur as its substation. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission began its work in Mysore 1836 and their work in the Kolar Gold Field was started in 1897.

Christianity in Northern Karnataka

In the 17th century (1622) Jesuit fathers went to Bijapur and obtained permission from the Sultan to build a house in his territory. The incipient mission in Bijapur was destroyed during the war between the Mughals, the Bijapur, the Marathas and the Portuguese in the second half of the 17th century.

The London Missionary society established its first protestant mission to work in Karnataka in 1810 which was in Bellary. By publishing various forms of Kannada literature Missionaries provided and inspiration to Kannada literature of Navodaya period. Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionaries opened Kannada schools and made education accessible to common people. The Missionaries introduced printing technology in the state and also open libraries. The first almanac in Kannada was printed by Missionary Father of journalism; Herman Moegling, who translated the works of Purandaradasa and Kanakadasa into German. The German Missionaries also collected and translated Tulu paddanas, folk songs, proverbs, riddles and Kannada grammar.⁹ The arrival of Basel mission exactly 175 years ago marked the new era of modern Kannada. Eminent writer and researcher, the late Srinivasa Havanoor is one of his kind who has done the critical reviews on literary contribution of the Christian Missionary to Kannada language. In fact, if paddanas (folk songs), proverbs and age old manuscripts are available in public domain, it is rightly due to the effort of the Missionaries of Basel mission. When John Christopher Lehman, Christian Lenhard and Samuel Hebique from Basel Evangelical Missionary Society came to

Mangalore in 1834, learning the local languages in order to spread message of the gospels topped their agenda. Much of the contribution to Kannada literature began when Basel mission sent Herman Mogling to Mangalore. After the death of Mogling other Missionaries like Father Muller, Father Gustav Reverend rigorously struck to the task of publishing books. The Missionaries were also credited for making books accessible to all by establishing the first printing press in 1842. Father Godfrey Faintly received a printing machine as a gift and he set up a printing press in Mangalore. Father Faingl was instrumental in writing a book tracing the history of Kannada literature when the common man had little knowledge about the history of Kannada literature. Prominent among the Missionaries, Father Keij finds special place of mention for focusing his works on women's education. Among the Missionaries Reverend Ferdinand Kittel who selflessly worked for Kannada literature also deserves a special mention.

From 1838 up to 1928 Missionaries continued their good work making significant contribution to Kannada literature. Almost all their work is still available at the Karnataka Theological College Library. Herman Mogling (1811-1881) a German missionary from Basel Mission was 200 years ahead of his times. He landed at Mangalore in 1836 and left for Germany in 1863 and was hailed as the first modern Kannada writer. In the short span of two decades he churned out as many 36 literary works each being unique and revolutionary in Kannada literature. On entering Mangalore he mastered Kannada language quick enough to write his first book in Kannada, Krista Kalakrama. He turned into a prolific writer on his transfer to Kodagu district in 1842. Teaching with Father Hebig, Harman authored a shortly literary work Hrudaya Darpana in 1842; the work with 20 poems composed along with his cousin and fellow Basel missionary G. H. Weigle in modern Kannada poetical form fetched him laurels as a pioneer of modern Kannada poetry. Mogling compiled and published, corresponding with his first convert Pupil Anand Rao Kaundinya, making it a literary phenomenon. He revealed his literary genius by having a Kannada book Rajendranaame printed in a simplified

autobiography. His Bibliotheca Carnatica placed him on a pedestal.

The University of Tubingen on the recommendation of the influential Germany based ideologist R. Roth awarded an honorary doctorate to Harman in 1858. This is surely the first doctorate for Kannada work awarded by a foreign university to a non kannadiga. From July 1st 1843 he published a Kannada fortnightly, Mangalore Samachar using stone slabs. Later renamed as Karnataka Samachar it was published in Bellary from May 1st 1844.

The Contributions of Missionaries to Kannada Grammar and Dictionaries

The Christian Missionaries who arrived in India in the 19th Century, in order to spread the message of their religion, needed to learn the local vernacular languages. In order to ease the process of learning, they compiled Kannada grammar into books and also made dictionaries. In these efforts, they made their contribution to the Kannada language and culture. The first person who made Kannada grammar available through books was William Carey. Later, John Mackerel wrote 'A Grammar of the Carnatic Language'. Mackerel was followed by Frederick Zeigler, who also wrote on Kannada grammar. Finally, there were Thomas Hudson and Campbell, who worked in the same field. However, the lion's share of the work for the Kannada grammar cause by the Missionaries was contributed by Kittel, who wrote 'A Grammar of Kannada Language', which ran 483 pages long.¹⁰

The first Kannada dictionary was printed by William Reeve in Bellary, who started developing it in 1818 and finished it by 1832. Reeve's work was an English – Kannada dictionary consisting of 10,000 words, which later helped Kittel a lot, while the latter was making his own dictionary.¹¹

John Garret and Sanderson made available a dictionary exclusively meant for students. Here too, Kittel contributed a comprehensive effort. He started in 1887 and after 17 years of hard work, was able to complete, in 1894, a dictionary having 1752 pages and 70,000 words. This dictionary, appreciated by everyone, continues to be a help to the Kannada language and people even today.¹²

Conclusion

The Christian Missionaries mainly came to India to popularize and the spread the religion of Christianity. However, they found it impossible and improbable to do so in the English language. Hence, they tried to learn the vernacular languages, and this offset the production of many Kannada dictionaries and grammar books. The main translation into

Kannada was the Bible, though books in other languages were translated into Kannada as well. Kannada books were also translated into English. The missionaries are also credited for commencing printing presses and journalism in Kannada. The missionaries also started printing Kannada school textbooks. Kannada as a language gained and enriched a lot because of the work of Christian Missionaries.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR AND KALARAMTEMPLE ENTRY SATYAGRAHINNASIK

PRIN. Dr. C. Sudhakar

Introduction:

The1920s and the 1930s saw a series of agitations led by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar to get public wells, tanks and Hindu temples opened to "untouchables." Kalaram Temple is the very site in the old city where Dr.B.R.Ambedkar led and later abandoned a temple-entry movement in the early 1930s.

Dr.B.R. Ambedkar said "I didn't launch the temple entry movement because I wanted the Depressed Classes to become worshipers of idols which they were prevented from worshiping or because I believed temple entry would make them equal members in and an integral part of the Society."

Kalaram Temple Agitation Organized by Dr.B.R. Ambedkar and the local Maharleaders, the Kalaram Satyagraha involved thousands of untouchables in intermittent efforts to enter the temple and to participate in the annual temple procession. The agitation for entry into the Kalaram temple went on for Five years, from

1930 to1935. Opposition came not only from the orthodox Hindus but also from some local congressmen. The outcome of the Kalaram Satyagraha, however, was not only further disillusionment with the Satyagraha, with the satyagraha method and the attitude of the congress, but also a rejection of Hindu is manda strengthening of the separatist political stance then developing among Untouchables.

Dr.Ambedkar continued the agitation in 1935 following opposition by priests, notwithstanding the support extended by Gandhiji. But he fought a legal battle, along with a peaceful agitation, for the next five years, and in 1940 ultimately secured entry to the temple for "untouchables."

Wandering in the temple courtyard and on the narrow streets around its precincts, with their small houses, latticed wooden balconies, gnarled pipal trees, and clay-tiled sloping roofs, it is hard to imagine a time when access to this temple was so fraught an issue as to become the watershed after which Dr.B.R.Ambedkar could

never allow himself or his community to be reconciled with the Hindu mainstream.

Importance Kalaram Temple: The Kalaram Temple is an old Hindu shrine dedicated to Rama in the Panchavati area of Nashik city in Maharashtra, India. It is probably the most important Hindu shrine in the city.

The temple derives its name from the statue of Lord Rama that is black. The literal translation of kalaram means black Rama. The sanctum also houses the statues of goddess Sita and god Lakshmana. Thousands of devotees visit it everyday. The temple was funded by Sardar Rangarao Odhekar, and was built around 1788. It was said that Odhekar had a dream that the statue of Rama in black colour was in the Godavari River. Odhekar took the statue from river and built the temple.

The temple formed a pivotal role in the Dalit movement in India. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar led a protest outside the temple on 2 March 1930, in order to allow Dalits into the temple. The movement was to have a right to enter temple, it was more towards having equal rights. We don't want to go to temples though but we should have rights.

The main entrance has a Lord Hanuman deity which is black. There is also a very old tree that has Lord Dattatreya's footprint impressions marked on a stone. Pilgrims visit the Kapaleshwar Mahadev temple near the Kalaram Temple.

The agitation news published in the times of India newspaper on June 07, 1932 the news is that, "on the whole I believe that untouchables have neither the right to approach the four Kunds (bathing pools) nor to bathe in them. Therefore, under Section 147(3) of the Cr.P. Code, I hereby prohibit all Mahars, Mangs, Chambhars, Dheds, Bhangis & other untouchables from exercising their alleged right of proceeding to & bathing in Lakshmana, Dhanushya, Ram & Sita Kunds, until they obtain from a Civil Court an order entitling them to bathe there." Thus observes Mr. L.N. Brown. District Magistrate of Nashik in the order passed today in connection with the inquiry instituted into the dispute between the Sanatanists & untouchables in which the latter

claim the right to proceed to & bathe in the Sacred Kunds.

Dealing with the question of Irish Bridges and located near the Ram Kund, the Magistrate says that it appeared that this Sandhwa is used by the pilgrims doing the pradakshana (a religious ceremony) or the Sacred Kunds. Its use as a thoroughfare is secondary. It is, I think, a fair deduction from the evidence that respectably dressed Christians & Mahomedans have been allowed to cross the sandhwa, but this evidence is not strictly relevant to the present case which is concerned with the rights of untouchable Hindus. It has not been proved that Hindus untouchables have any right to use this Sandhwa."

Kalaram Mandir Satyagraha: In earlier days Harijans were not allowed inside the temple but Dr. B.R. Ambedkar done Satyagraha in 1930, after which the Harijans were also allowed into the temple. The objective of this Satyagraha was to have equal rights to all people of society. This satyagraha played a very important role in the Dalit movement in India. Kalaram Mandir Satyagraha was done under the leadership of B. K. (Dadasaheb) Gaikwad and (Babasaheb) Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on 2 March 1930. Thousands of people gathered in Nashik & took part in the agitation of Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagraha. The management (Puraji) of temple closed all the doors of the temple for five years. After five years Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar stopped the agitation & declared that those I was born in Hindu relegation/community because that is not my hand. "But it is my hand I will not die in Hindu religion."

The Hindu community can't accept untouchable on equal ground, than they change religion with his lakhs of followers. & an accept/Embrace the Buddhism on 14th Oct. 1956.

Conclusion:

Festivals of Ramnavami, Dasara and Chaitra Padwa are celebrated every year in Kalaram temple. Rathayatra is the main attraction of Kalaram Mandir Nashik which is celebrated during Ramnavami (Ram Janmotsava). Temple authorities decorate the entire temple with beautiful flowers during these festivals.

The construction of temple was started in 1780 and completed in 1792. It was done under the guidance of Sardar Rangarao Odhekar and Sawae Madhavrao Peshwa. Rangarao Odhekar once had a dream that a black statue of Lord Ram is there in the Godavari river of Nashik. So according to his dream, he undertook the operation to find that statue and he actually got it from the river. He

also found few other statues. The river section where these statues were found was given name as—Ramkund. Shriram along with wife Seeta and cousin brother Laxman stayed in the Panchavati region near this temple during his 14 years of Vanvaas. So people believe this land to be very sacred due to past presence of Lord Ram.

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OPINION AND REFORM IN TRAVANCORE: AN ANATOMY OF PUBLIC OPINION AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (1891-1938)

R. Sunilkumar

Discursive formations within a given cultural space exert influence on government and individuals and result in creating and maintaining consensus necessary for society's functioning. Travancore in the 19th century

presented a gloomy picture of a highly retrograde society which was essentially custom and caste-ridden, convention oriented and tradition bound. Social and religious change in Kerala was largely the result of the

conditioning of an elite conservative mentality towards progressive reforms. This social conditioning was made possible through the construction of a general public opinion. This paper focuses on how the socio-religious discourse of the 19th century influenced the orthodox sections to rethink themselves, mend their ways and accept a fundamental change in mentalities, habits and practices.

Public opinion and its formation in Travancore in the sense it is understood as today began to evolve only at the end of the 19th Century. Before that, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas or the ruling class represented the 'elite'(traditional/conservative) opinion and the Nairs, the main prop of Brahmanical hegemony represented 'public opinion'(there was nothing public in it) in Travancore. They did not want to change the caste based social system; instead, they wanted to perpetuate it for their personal benefit.

The majority of the Hindus –the Ezhavas, the Christians, the Muslims, the slave castes, the tribals and other backward classes had no say in administration or any other state matters. They had no right to express any opinion worth considering. They were the silent majorities. The social and political movements that sprang up had leaders from these backward communities and no wonder they wanted to end the social system based on inequality.

The progressive social and religious leaders who hailed from both the *savarna* and non-*savarna* communities really constituted the new elite group in Travancore. They could influence the opinion of the majority-a more democratic and popular public opinion than that existed earlier-to transform society on desirable lines.

The growth of press, the emergence of socio-political organizations and movements for removing restrictions on civil liberties and influence of great social reformers helped to build strong public opinion in favour of change.

The dedication of the kingdom of Travancore, though a symbolic act, had a disastrous effect on the life and conditions of the people of Travancore. The state came under the direct influence of Brahmanical ideology. The Brahmins in their capacity as priests, land

lords and councillors could mould a hierarchical social order in which they had the upper hand. The result of Brahmanical stereotyping was baneful to overall social progress. The elite opinion or the opinion of the Brahmins decided everything. Religious and social norms, caste rules, criminal justice and punishments, land relations and even the day-to-day affairs of the individual were governed by conservative opinion. A series of disabilities were imposed on the non-*savarnas*. Spatial distance to be observed between castes was clearly laid down. A Pulaya must keep 64 feet, an Ezhava 32 feet and a Nair 16 feet away from a Nambudiri.¹ Lower castes were denied access to public spaces. *Theendalpalakas* or notice boards on public roads prohibiting access to Ezhavas and other low caste people were a standing source of disgrace to them.²

Law was not the same for all castes but varied according to the caste and status of the culprits.³ Penal code was extremely severe and unjust as far as the low castes were concerned.⁴ Under the Brahmanical social order, the condition of the slave castes viz., the Pulayas, Kuravas, Vedas, etc., was deplorable to the extreme. They were bought, sold or mortgaged like landed property or cattle.⁵ The backward classes were denied access to public places, temples or Government institutions.⁶ The backward classes had to render *uzhiyam* or forced labour for Government and temples.⁷ They were not given admission in Government schools nor were appointed in Government service.⁸ The Government contention was that public opinion was against their entertainment in schools and Government service.⁹

Thus the public opinion to which the Travancore Government was referring to was not the opinion of the majority but that of a handful of Brahmins and their cohorts who in order to maintain an iniquitous system violated all the principles underlying *Rashtradharma*-the law of righteousness that guided administrative action in India ever since the time of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka. This traditional-conservative opinion had to be conditioned to accept change and reform and made more humane, democratic and representative of the majoritarian will. This task of conditioning and taming the opinion of the stakeholders of the society was done by socio-political reformers

who had a universal vision which transcended caste or sectarian considerations.

Customary and orthodox opinion influencing state policy had been subjected to a radical change with the coming of the British. The colonial masters looked down upon the colonised with equal indifference and repugnance. They paid little respect to the caste based social order and to them the Brahmins and the Parayas were equally uncivilized. Perhaps they might have found the Parayas more useful than the Brahmins.

British influence in Travancore began to be felt when it became a subsidiary ally of English East India Company. Thereupon British opinion on state policy had to be respected. Col.Munroe greatly influenced the Travancore Government to introduce several administrative and social reforms during the reign of Rani Gouri Lakshmi Bai (1810-1815) and the regency of Gouri Parvathy Bai(1815-1829).Abolition of slavery in Travancore in 1812,assumption of the administration of the temples in 1811 and the abolition of *uzhiyam* were some of the notable reforms carried out during the time when Munroe was guiding the state policy of Travancore.

Missionary influence was great in introducing changes in conservative Travancore .Their main concern was the rights of the converts to Christianity, especially their demand for dressing in a decent manner. Consequent on the breast cloth disturbances that broke out in South Travancore, the Government had to abandon its adamant attitude and issue orders permitting shannar women to wear upper cloth.¹⁰ This was the first occasion in Travancore when the Government had to yield before popular public opinion. The first severe blow at the heart of conservatism was struck.

The first attempt to organize public opinion by constitutional means against the traditional policy of Travancore Government was the Malayali Memorial of 1891.¹¹It was against the Government policy of filling the state administration with officials recruited from Tamilnadu. G.P.Pillai ,the Father of political agitation in Travancore' raised the slogan 'Travancore for Travancoreans'. He was able to mobilise public opinion on a large scale and

collected more than 10,000 signatures from persons belonging to various castes. It was pleaded in the memorial that a fair share be given to the educated natives in the Government of the country.¹²

Dr.P.Palpu, a great social reformer of Kerala organized and mobilized the Ezhava community against Travancore traditional policy.He collected more than 13000 signatures for the Ezhava Memorial to be subjected to the Maharaja on 3 September 1896. The Memorial requested the Travancore Government to throw open sirkar schools and Sirkar service to the Ezhavas ,the largest Hindu community in Kerala.¹³

The Malayali and Ezhava Memorials were the earliest attempt made by the people of Travancore to change the traditional attitude of the Government towards its subjects. It was from this period onwards conservative opinion and traditional policies came to be challenged and the Government was compelled to heed to the 'popular opinion' of the majority.

The Travancore Government had to mend its traditional conservative attitude due to organized public opinion during the Civic Rights Agitation (1919-1922) and the Abstention Movement of the 1930's.

The Civic Right Agitation (1919-1922) and the Abstention Movement of the 1930's reflected the organized dissent of the people of Travancore against an obsolete state policy. The Christian, Ezhava and Muslim communities were deprived of employment to the Revenue Department on caste and communal grounds. Revenue Department was attached to the *Devaswom* Department and both these departments were the monopoly of caste Hindus. The non-*savarnas* and non-Hindus were, therefore, excluded from the Revenue Department. The deprived communities, the Christian, Ezhava and Muslim- demanded the separation of the Revenue Department from the *Devaswom* Department so that they could not be excluded on grounds of sanctity. Their agitation bore fruit on 12 April 1922 when the Maharaja issued a proclamation separating the Revenue Department from the *Devaswom* Department.¹⁴ In 1932 the Christian, Ezhava and Muslim communities once again united and started the *Nivarthana* Agitation for getting

representation to the legislatures and public services in proportion to their population.¹⁵ Their joint activities had the desired effect. In 1935, the Travancore government appointed a Public Service Commission. The Principle of communal rotation equal to reservation in the recruitment to the public services was accepted.¹⁶

Modernization of religious worship was a matter that attracted the attention of all progressive social leaders. The orthodox Hindus never agreed with the question of temple entry to the non-Savarnas. This mentality had to be changed and public opinion had to be elicited for temple entry. It is in this background that the famous Vaikom and Guruvayur *Sathyagrahas* were organised to throw open the approach roads of these temples to the non-savarnas or low caste people. The temple entry in Travancore was a serious question as it involved conflicting views and interests to be discussed. There was a growing sense of disagreement and tension among the Ezhavas. As their question of temple entry was delayed, they were planning to convert to other religions, most probably to Buddhism.¹⁷ The threat of conversion was cleverly used by Ezhava leaders like C.V. Kunjuraman to take a decision in their favour. A large number of Savarna leaders like Mannathu Padmanabhan, K.P. Kesava Menon, K. Kelappan had a genuine desire of reforming Hinduism and the evil practice of untouchability. They wholeheartedly supported the entry of the avarnas into temples. Finally after much deliberation, the Maharaja Sri Chitra Tirunal Balarama Varma issued the Temple Entry Proclamation on 12 November 1936. It opened all state controlled temples to all Hindus irrespective of birth, caste or community.¹⁸

Opinion and Reform: The Making of the Temple Entry Proclamation

C. Rajagopalachari characterized the Temple Entry Proclamation as "the most non-violent and bloodless revolution in the history of man in recent years".¹⁹ The bloodless revolution was undoubtedly owing to the magnanimity and progressive outlook of His Highness the Maharajah, Sri Chitra Tirunal Balarama Varma and his mother the Junior Maharani, Sethu Parvati Bai.²⁰ The timely counsel of the Dewan, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer

also did help to bring about the epoch-making proclamation.

But the real credit for the Temple Entry Proclamation goes to the people of Travancore, both *savarnas* and *avarnas* who continuously agitated for opening of the temples to all Hindus. Events and persons who worked behind the great drama were numerous and the agitators had to undergo great sufferings at the hands of the orthodox Hindus and officials at every stage.

The leaders of the caste Hindus took an active part in the agitation. They were responsible for creating public opinion in favour of the reform. The change in the mentality of the *savarnas* first happened among the progressive leaders who then endeavoured to effect this change among the larger sections of the people. However, this mental transformation of the *savarna* leaders was conditioned by a number of factors.

As the non-Savarna castes such as the Ezhavas, Pulayas, etc., were not allowed to enter caste Hindu temples, Sri Narayana Guru started building temples for their worship. This counter-revolution within Hinduism was inaugurated in 1888 with the installation of the Siva temple at Aruvippuram. This was followed by the construction of a large number of temples dedicated to Siva, Subramanian, Sarada, etc. These temples were simple religious institutions, provided with schools, libraries, reading rooms and prayer halls and were opened to all castes. They were surely models of what temples should be. By opening such temples the Guru was setting an example to be imitated by the caste Hindus. Dr. Palpu, Kumaran Asan, T.K. Madhavan and other leaders of the S.N.D.P. Yogam were fighting against the social and religious disabilities of backward classes in Kerala. Their civilized manners and the tremendous influence they had exerted over the largest social group in Kerala, won the appreciation of all progressive social leaders. A feeling that the Ezhavas were a social force to be reckoned with and accommodated within the Hindu fold was gradually overtaking the narrow caste considerations of the *savarnas*.

In the 1920's the influence of Sree Narayana Guru, Kumaran Asan and

T.K.Madhavan was very strong on the Ezhavas and it acted as a check to the Ezhava desire to leave Hinduism and seek refuge in other religions. The question of conversion occurred on many occasions. While C.V.Kunjuraman was in favour of Christianity, Sahodaran Ayyappan and C.Krishnan favoured Buddhism. But T.K. Madhavan was against conversion to any other religion. Kumaran Asan, though inclined to Buddhism left the question to be settled by Sree Narayana Guru. ²¹The Guru's answer to the question came in the form of an All Religious Conference at Alwaye. The conference revealed that the substance of all religions is one and the same. While the Guru's stand discouraged the conversion enthusiasts, the Vaikom *satyagraha* started under T.K.Madhavan's leadership turned the attention of the Ezhavas towards that direction. The successful culmination of the Vaikom *Satyagraha* satisfied the Ezhavas for some time and in 1927, T.K.Madhavan at the 24th annual meeting of the SNDP Yogam at Pallathuruthi decided to give up temporarily the idea of mass conversion. The Guru who was present at the meeting gave the message of one religion, i.e., the 'Religion of *Sanatanadharma*'; of 'One Caste, One Religion and One God for Man'.²²

In the 1930s when the question of conversion recurred, there was none among the Ezhavas to defend Hinduism. Asan had died in 1924, Guru in 1928 and T.K.Madhavan in 1930. Dr.Palpu dissociated from the SNDP Yogam after the death of Sree Narayana Guru and after the tussle between the Yogam leaders and the *Sanyasi Sangham*. It was increasingly felt by the radicals of the Ezhava community such as C.V.Kunjuraman, C.Krishnan and K.Ayyappan that the religious and social disabilities could not be removed so long as they remained within the pale of Hinduism. Such a move was only natural because even after 40 years of agitation, the Ezhavas, the most progressive and educated among the non-caste Hindus were not allowed to move freely, were not adequately represented in Government service and kept away from *savarna* temples. ²³ The SNDP Yogam at its meeting held in July 1934 passed the conversion resolution. While public opinion among the Ezhavas was increasing against Hinduism, the Christians, the Buddhists and Muslims volunteered to receive the Ezhavas

into their fold. The determination to abandon Hinduism was both uniform and firm among the Ezhavas of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The only question remained was to which religion they must take refuge. ²⁴ At this critical juncture, Dewan C.P.Ramaswami Iyer who was a staunch supporter of Hinduism and an opponent of the activities of the Christian missionaries, perceived the danger to Hinduism. He considered the whole issue of the temple entry and counselled the Maharajah to issue the Temple Entry Proclamation. ²⁵

In 1934, the Government passed an order opening all roads, wells, *chatroms* to the public. The reform that came in 1936 was thus preceded by a sequence and a step-by-step granting, of concessions so as not to displease the orthodox public opinion. The answer that came from the palace to the reformer's demand for temple entry and that was repeated from time to time was that the public opinion was not in favour.

The *savarna* leaders like K.P.KesavaMenon, K.KelappanNair, Mannath Padmanabhan Pillai, etc., were progressive and unorthodox people who had a genuine desire for reforming Hinduism and its evils. But this broad outlook was not shared by the majority of their castemen. However, these reformers did in all possible ways to create public opinion in Travancore for temple entry by holding meetings and organizing *jathas*. The existence of public opinion (or rather the impression of it) which in those days meant the opinion of the caste Hindus was the one that was counted by the Government.²⁶

It was in 1934, the report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee was published. The Maharaja's Chief adviser, C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer was, at that time, not in favour of temple entry. What he mattered was the strength of the public feeling against the reform. He said: "the problem could only be solved by a process of mental adjustment which could preserve the solidarity of the Hindu community. Shock tactics, he said, will not answer the purpose".²⁷ It was only after the creation of much public opinion that he advised the Maharajah to act.

Dr.Ambedkar's advice to the Harijans to leave Hinduism came as a rude shock to the reformers. The non-Hindu missionary

organizations – Christian, Sikh, Aryasamajists and Muslims – started activities to absorb the discontented elements of Hinduism. In January 1936, a number of Ezhava leaders, doctors, lawyers, teachers and journalists decided to leave Hinduism and took steps to become Christians. They even approached some leaders of the Church of India, i.e., the Anglican Church and held discussions with them. The threat of conversion had its desired effect.²⁸

Thus the tendency of a large section of the Hindus to leave Hinduism, the continuous demands raised by the Ezhavas through press and platform, the resolution passed at the annual meetings of the SNDP Yogam, the repeated memorials submitted to the Govt. by the *avarna* representatives of the SMPA, the active propaganda work done by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Congress and the *savarna* leaders and finally, the interference of Gandhiji in Travancore affairs on behalf of the *avarnas* – all helped to create public opinion, the condition for the proclamation. Just before the Temple Entry Proclamation the Government consulted the highest Brahmin priest of Kerala, the Azhvancheri Thamburakkal who agreed with the Dewan on the point that the Hindu ruler had the sanction of the scriptures to modify Hindu customs to suit the changing needs of the age.²⁹ On 3 November 1936, the deputation sent by

the All Kerala Temple Entry Conference presented a memorial to the Dewan, praying for immediate and unconditional temple entry. It had 50,522 signatures of caste Hindus which was a written proof of the favourable public opinion. And on 12 November 1936 came the much awaited proclamation.

Conclusion

Colonial agents, missionaries, social reformers and progressive political thinkers were the principal agents who worked for the construction of a general public opinion in favour of change. Memorials and petitions press and platform, processions and peaceful agitations, organized political movements and passive resistance-all constitutional in nature-were adopted to usher in an age of reform. The result was that the dominant discourse of a dominant community was replaced by an agreeable consent and will of the majority-consent for radical social reform and a will to tolerate and accommodate change.

No society can ever last for long and endure if it is not based on popular opinion and consent. Freedom of opinion is the soul of a democratic set up. Any attempt to monitor and regulate public opinion is dangerous to civilized political process.

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MARRIAGE SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STATUS OF NAMBUDIRI WOMEN IN KERALA – A HISTORICAL STUDY

T. Thushad

Marriage is a union between two individual souls. All the religious sects defined it in different ways. But it was a burden for women especially Nambudiri women before the midst of the twentieth century. This paper mainly discuss about marriage system of Nambudiri women, its social impact and status of this clan before and after marriage.

Before explaining this system we must dig out early history of Nambudiries in Kerala. They were known as 'Aryans of Kerala', because they were migrants from the northern India and so they had many similarities of northern Aryans. But there were many differences regarding marriage system of northern and southern Aryans. *Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapathi, Gandharva, Asura, Paischacha, Rakshasa, Anuloma, Prathiloma* etc. were the important marriages existed among the northern Aryans¹ and *Veli* and *Smabandham* were the Keralite's marriage. The features of all these marriages were to enslave the women.

"Never be born as a woman even if born as dust. This helplessness was reflected even in the fondness of the mother". Lalithambika Antharjanam said this above facts in her *Autobigraphy, Adhmakadhaykoramukham*². It shows the problems that faced by the women in general and *Anthrjanams* in particular. Patriarchal social condition is also shown here. Nambudiri *Illam's* celebrated the birth of baby boy and if it was a girl, sorrow depicted everywhere and this condition continued until she dies. She had no right to conceal upper part of her body while she was staying inside her

Illams. She gets only nominal education which was shattered after her marriage and no right to go outside that was why they were called *Anthrjanas*. Sometimes, especially in full moon days, they were allowed to go to temples and at that time their body were covered with long shawl (*khosha*) and they also use palm leaf umbrella which was called *Marakkuda*. They were assisted by Nair maid called *Thunakkari*. Her duty was to arrange the way of Antharajanam and prevent the lower caste peoples passing by their path³. The society imposed 'certain qualities' such as dignity, beautiness, obedience etc on women. She had no right to laugh loudly, no right to walk making noise, no right to walk in common place and were allowed to walk only in some particular time. They were not allowed be rational. They were controlled by the male authorities.

A Nambudiri female before she attains puberty was known as *Unni Kitavu*, after puberty till marriage was known as *Penkitavu*. There was no ceremony on the attainment of puberty. But the on the appearance of menses, the girl has to sit apart in a place and is held unclean. According to *Sankara Smrithi*, the following rules have to be observed by a woman in her periods. She should not touch the roofing of the house. She should not sit apart inside the house specially reserved for this purpose. She should not clean her teeth. If he does this, her children will have blackened teeth or have deceased gums or have irregular teeth. She should not take an oil bath. It will make her

children look rough. She should not adorn hair with flowers, for her issue became bald-headed. She should not use sandal paste etc. for that will bring her children skin problem. She should not sit outside the house, for her children will subject to epilepsy. If she walks on the road at this time, her children would become lame. If she takes her meal from bell – metal – vassals, her children will have to beg for their living. If on the other hand, she is served with a plantain leaf, her children will shine with *Brahma Tejas*. i.e the effulgent light of the Brahman.⁴ The above these sayings showed that she should not be free from barriers that imposed by men.

In Nambudiri *Illams*, the elder male member had the right to marry from their own community and it was called *Veli*. The younger males lived with Nair women and it was known as *Sammambandam*. These two systems were badly affected the life of *Antharjanas*. It increased the number of unmarried *Antharjanams* within the *Illams*. The elder male could marry more than four or five females from his own community. Last marriage might be when he was of seventy or eighty and the age his wife would be thirteen or fourteen. Sometimes she would become widow at the same age.⁵ If the father was financially weak his daughter's condition would become worse. She was compelled to marry old men or north Indian Brahmin.⁶ No sympathy showered on *Antharjanas* because they were not given any dignity at that time.

After marriage their lives become more severe than earlier. In *Illams* there were many members and so from dawn to dusk they had to work hard. One Nambudiri had more than four wives at a time there, the older wives would become the leaders and they torched the youngsters. Poverty and starvation depicted almost all the *Illams* and this mostly affected the females. A male oriented culture existed there and so the elder Nambudiri would decide everything and other members especially women should obey his orders and had to lead a life of slavery. In Aryan concept husband is the God therefore she bore all the torcherings herself imposed by him. For example she had no right to have her meal before her husband and should have the balance of food which was eaten by her husband.⁷

Early widowhood was one of the problems affected by the *Antharjanas*. Women were treated like slaves. As man becomes stronger, the women were suppressed more.⁸ If she engaged in a relationship with any other men, she would be expelled from her community. This is known as *Bhrushtt*. Before expelling, she must face one trial which was known as *Smartha Vicharam*.⁹ *Smartha Vicharam* of Kuriyedath Thathri was such a famous one which happened in the early decade of twentieth century.¹⁰ The above things shows that there were no personal freedom given to these women. A Namboothiri woman had no right to meet men other than her husband and father. It was also another kind of slavery. Simone de Buavoir, the feminist writer clearly explains that it was the domination of men that diminished the position of women.¹¹ They enslaved the women by many ways. Apart from other communities, female members of the Nambudiries had to suffer a lot.

The likes and dislikes of *Antharjanas* were not at all considered. Even the marriage of an *Antharjanas* was decided by the male authorities within the community. The shocking fact was that the Nambudiri females met their life partner for the first time at their marriage ceremony. As far as the married women were concerned, they had to stay inside the *Illam*.¹² The dowry system that existed among the Nambudiries, compelled the parents with less financial background to marry their daughter to old Brahmins outside Kerala.¹³ This custom was known as *Penkoda*.¹⁴

Apart from the *Smarthavicharam*, there were many more reasons for the expulsion (*Bhrasht*) of the Nambudiri women from their community. In the autobiography of Lalithambika Antharjanam, *Atmkathykoru Amukam*, depicted that a young widow girl had faced *Bhrasht* because she did not use *Marakuda* while she went out of the *illam* after a quarrel that occurred in the family. She died in the street due to starvation.¹⁵

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Nambudiri *Illams* began to weak on. Land recovery was a usual incident in Nambudiri *Illams* in those days. Men usually borrow money for *Penkoda* (marriage of Daughter). When they fail to give back the money, the

PaattaBhumi (lease land) will lose. The consequence of this very much experienced by women. All of a sudden the supply of grain stops, Nambudiries gained food from *Uttupuras* (Kitchen at temples) and they also got salary from priesthood. When the condition became worst, men were forced to seal their own *Illams*. The women especially wives were sent to their own *Illams*. If there was food to eat, younger girls had to live some other relative's house. Men went their own way. Thus the destruction of the *Illam* was completed.¹⁶ This destruction badly affected women's life because they would lose everything including their kids.

At the beginning of the 20th century their life continued to be tragic, especially life after the marriage. Advent of Europeans and the charity activities done by the Christian Missionaries made a drastic change in social life of Kerala. As a result there arose a number of Social reform movements such as SNDP Yogam, NSS, *SadhujanaParipalanaSangham* etc. With the influence of all these movements Nambudiries started their own organization namely *YogakshemaSabha* in the year 1908.¹⁷ This movement was a strong lash of all the problems in the Nambudiri community. This organization helped to improve the pathetic condition of men as well as women. The activities of great men such as V.T.Bhattathirippad, Kurur Nambudirippad, EMS Nambudirippad, MR Bhattathirippad helped to strengthen it. More over the activities of Arya Pallam, Devaki Narikkattiri, Lalithambika Antharjanam, Devaki Nilyangod etc empowered the organization. The activities of *Atharjana Samajam* (1937) pulled out the Antharjanas, from their miserable life to the brightness of life.¹⁸ *Yogakshema Sabha* and *Atharjana Samajams* had conducted several meetings in different parts of Kerala to aware them of the necessity of being uplifted from their piteous state. To strengthen the organization, they published two magazines, *Unninamboothiri* and *Yogakshemam*. They powerfully worked against the social evils that existed within the community such as, *Athivedhanam*, *Sambandam*, *Khosha*, *Smarthavicharam*, *Bhrushth*, etc. "Make Namboothiries Humanbeings" was their motto. As a part of it, several plays such as *Adukkalayil Ninnun Marakkudaykkullile*

Mahanaragam, *Savithri Adhava Vidhava Vivaham*, *Thozhil Kendrathillekku* were performed in various stages in Kerala.¹⁹ This created great movement among the Namboothiri community.

Several women writers, through their writings and orations, tried to uplift the Namboothiri Women. Some of the activities conducted by their organizations were Picketing the marriage function of Old men, encouraging mixed marriages, establishing educational institutions, hostels and work place for Antharjanams. We can assume that these activities energized the Namboothiri women. The real objectives of the formation of *Antharjana Samajam* 1937 were marriage within the community, widow remarriage, adult female education, freedom for women to work.²⁰ The light of renaissance made the Antharjanas eager to break the chains of their marriages and come out from the rules and regulations of it. They were not ready to lead a horrible life as one of the wives of old Namboothiri. They decide to liberate their souls and breathe the fresh air of freedom and thereby live a life of dignity. They were ready to face the *bhrushthu* from their *Illams*. They indulged powerfully in Indian freedom movements also. This change eventually affected positively in all phases of Namboothiri women especially education, marriage and employment. As a result of this they acquired higher education and thereby high profiled jobs and got the courage to marry from other castes. *Yogakshemam* magazines reported such kinds of mixed marriages.²¹

The Namboothiri Bill helped to smoothen the post marriage life of Namboothiri women.²² This bill also encouraged widow remarriage. Though this bill failed to abolish polygamy, it created a new era for upraising them. So by midst of the 20th century they changed a lot. Marriage system was the great barrier for them and they broke its chain by the help modern education, British rule and social reform movements. Mixed marriage system and widow re marriage was common after 1950s. Finally we can assume that marriage was a weapon of the male for enslaving the Nambudiri women and the *Antharjanas* violated the rules and came in to fore front.

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PEASANT STRUGGLES IN KHAMMAM DISTRICT – A STUDY

Dr. Vakadani Pullarao

Introduction

The name of the town Khammam has been derived from "Kambam Mettu" to "Kammammet" or "Khammam Mettu" to the present "Khammam city". The district is also named as Khammam. The City is located on the banks of a river called Munneru which is a tributary of the Krishna River. Khammam district has a lot of historical importance in Telangana. Khammam City, which was the seat of Taluk Administration, was part of the larger Warangal District, until 1 October 1953. Five taluks of the Warangal district viz., Khammam, Madhira, Yellandu, Burgampadu and Paloncha (now Kothagudem) were carved out and a new district Khammam with Khammam as District Headquarters. In 1959 Bhadrachalam Revenue Division consisting Bhadrachalam and Nuguru Venkatapuram Taluks of East Godawari district, which were on the other side of the river Godavari were merged into Khammam on grounds of geographical contiguity and administrative viability.

History of Khammam shows that it has produced a number of leaders who were part of the Freedom struggle, such as first generation Communist leaders Peravelli Venkata Ramanaiah, Pendyala Satyanarayana Rao, Sarvadevabhatla Ramanatham, K.L. Narsimha Rao, and Chirravuri Laxminarasaiah First Municipal Chairman of Khammam; Congress leaders Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Chepuri Nenkanna, Madapati Ramchander Rao, Sardar Jamalpuram Keshava Rao, Bommakanti Satyanarayana Rao, Hayagreeva Chary, and Nizam Rashtra Vimochanam Jalagam Vengala Rao, former Chief Minister of AP,

This area, bordering eastern part, had special economic features, somewhat distinct from the rest of the Telangana area. It was economically better developed, with the growth of a rich and middle peasantry. It had greater social and economic links with the Andhra area. Here the movement was based more than in other areas on the demands of the middle peasants and rich peasantry rather than those of agricultural labour and poor peasantry. During 1942-45, agitation was carried on against grain

levy, for supply of agricultural goods like iron bands for wheels for bullock carts, etc. It was also a stronghold of the Andhra Mahasabha. Most of the Andhra Mahasabha leaders like Comrades Chirravuri lakshmi Narsayya, S. Ramanatham and others had joined the Communist Party in 1940 itself. And it was under their leadership that in 1945, the Telangana Andhra Mahasabha held its last and biggest session here, more than 20,000 persons attending the open rally. When the Nizam refused to join the Indian Union and the State Congress started a satyagraha movement, the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha actively participated in it. They led big demonstrations, broke forest laws; customs posts were made a special target of attack.

The Jagirdari system came to signify the most oppressive kind of feudalism and its overthrow became a rallying point on which the peasantry was mobilized. The feudal ownership of land had resulted in poor productivity and the system of land tenure failed to provide any incentive to the tillers of the land and hence, there was an urgent need for the radical restructuring of land relations in the Telangana region.¹ The class structure in rural Telangana broadly corresponded to the structure of the caste system. There was a strong correlation between the tendency towards land concentration and membership in upper caste. The social distribution of land generally overlapped and corresponded to the prevailing caste hierarchy.² The situation in the Andhra and Rayalseema region was only marginally better.³ If one were to look at the Andhra region, it was predominantly a peasant economy. The Circar districts or the Coastal districts were relatively better developed economically, socially and politically when compared to the Rayalseema districts which were backward in all respects with 'a backward agriculture dominated by feudal relations and oppression'.⁴ The condition of the Scheduled Castes and the OBCs was one of 'contempt and they faced extreme forms of oppression under the high caste feudal landlords. The land question and the power and authority in the rural countryside were invariably linked to the question of caste.

The inequalities in the distribution of land, the concentration of vast tracts of land in few

hands and the resultant problems of inefficient cultivation, absenteeism, abuse of the economic power by the high caste landlords coupled with the demand for land to the tiller set the stage for militant struggles of the peasantry and for their mobilization around the slogan of agrarian reforms.

Unlike the claim of Khusro that Land Reforms in India was 'at best an official measure' that emerged from the 'minds of an intelligentsia' that was sympathetic to the small man,⁵ we shall see that it was actually the result of class struggle and popular mobilization that forced the implementation of whatever semblance of Land Reforms we have had.

Destruction of Camps

With the increase in enemy raids, the squads and people took up the programme of destruction of camps to arrest these raids and put the enemy on the run.

Attack on Atmakur Camp: There was a military camp in Atmakur village (Suryapet taluka) with 50 men in it. To the north and south of this place in the nearby Epuru and Enumamula villages, there were big camps. To attack the Atmakur camp, 100 guerrillas and local squad members and 600 people gathered near the village at midnight. With the help of village informers and goondas the enemy had forcibly made the people there keep watch all round. It was not possible for the squads to surround and attack the camp if those on watch gave the alarm and the enemy came out on the roads. On top of this, the enemy would have the upper hand and the squads would have had to take shelter in self-defence. So, according to the information received by them earlier, they planned out the raid. Some squad members without being seen by the sentries on watch, climbed the walls from one side of the village and entered it. Surrounding the camp, they shot dead the sentry on duty and simultaneously opened fire at others. At the first shot from the guerrillas, the other members and people wiped out the sentries on watch all round the village and entered it. They kept armed watch to prevent help to the enemy coming from nearby big camps. The enemy hearing the shots quickly went inside the camp house locked them in and started continuously firing through the windows.

While getting into the house, two men died, hit by the squad's bullets. But afterwards, the squad's fire could not reach the enemy. The squads had surrounded the house, and finding that they were not able to smoke out the enemy, decided to throw hand grenades through the windows. But just then one comrade in great excitement, in his eagerness to hit the enemy through the windows, went running along the wall across the windows. He was hit by an enemy's bullet in the neck and fell dead on the spot. It was morning by then. The squads carefully brought out the dead body. They tried hard to throw the grenades but due to the alertness of the enemy, could not succeed. At the slightest sound near the windows, they used to fire. The guerrillas tried till 10 in the morning and then called off the attack.

Attack on Errapadu Camp: This attack took place after great preparations. Jannareddy Pratap Reddy's house was like a big fortress and a camp was put up in that house. People and the squads were anxious to destroy that camp. They thought of blowing up the whole fort. So armed with crowbars and pickaxes, about 2,000 people went there at midnight. They approached the house and kept sentries on all sides of the house and roads from where the enemy was likely to get reinforcements.

They had brought three country cannons (*jhajjayi*) which they set up on carts and tied up with ropes and chains, fixing them in proper positions facing the houses, and fired one of them. The cannon went off with a loud bang which shook the surrounding area but the shot went astray without hitting the wall of the fort. The cart got broken for the reason that at the time of firing the shot, no effort was made to see that the cart did not move. With this experience, the squads tied up the other cannons with more ropes and chains to a banyan tree and fired them. These shots could only shake the walls but did not even make a hole. Everyone was disappointed at this failure. (From that day, it was called the cannon plan. It had become a commonplace to call a well-prepared plan which turns out unsuccessful or one which appears to be impossible, a *jhajjayi* plan).

Destruction of Kodakandla Camp: Kodakandla is a village in Jangaon taluka, on the border of Suryapet taluka. It was a big

Razakar military centre. The Suryapet taluka squads decided to destroy the centre. At dead of night, in great numbers they surrounded the village. At dawn the fight began. The enemy was firing back taking the cover of walls and was not allowing the squads to enter the village. Remembering the Kotapadu experience, the squads set fire to the Razakars' houses to smoke them out. The enemy gave up the battle front and retreated. The squads entered the village. But the enemy taking cover behind house after house, were resisting. The squads pressed ahead towards the camp, destroying the enemy route.

The guerrillas divided into small groups of four each and went ahead, at places entering the houses and finishing off the enemy. Those houses which they could not enter were set on fire with the enemy inside. They killed all men who fell into their hands. Guerrillas appealed to women to clear out and not a single woman got hurt. Fighting at every step, and at every house, the squads reached the camp and surrounded it. There, also, a fierce battle took place with the military. At last, the building was set on fire and destroyed. This great battle went on till the evening. The enemy suffered innumerable losses. The squads found 15 corpses which the enemy could not take with them while running away. Upto 50 wounded were counted by the people. Fifteen .303 rifles, one sten-gun, many muzzle-loaders and spears were caught. The squads came out victorious without any losses. They had shown their courage, bravery and fighting skill.

Military Methods

The Congress military regime in Hyderabad, the police, military and the Congress Razakars had let loose vandalism, terror and fascism on an unprecedented scale with a view to crushing the heroic struggle of the people of Telangana.

- Military camps were erected all over fighting areas in Telangana at every 4th or 5th mile. Twice or thrice a day, villages around these camps were raided by the military and the people were systematically tortured. People in every village were herded at a place and brutally beaten. They forced the people to accompany them through forests, gardens,

hills, etc., in search of Communists and compelled them to give information. When they could not find anyone in the search, people were again beaten.

- In Toruru and other villages of Manukota taluka and in Huzurnagar taluka, people were tied to ropes and drawn up and suddenly dropped to the ground with a pulley system (like the one used to draw water from wells). Men were tied in gunny bags and soldiers threw them over a wall from one side to the other.
- Some soldiers caught hold of the arms and some others the legs of the people and swung them while some others kicked those swinging men with their nailed boots like foot-balls are kicked.
- People *en masse* were made to lie down in sand under the hot sun and were beaten. Some were tied to tree-tops upside down and were swung, and at the end of each swing, were beaten. Some were made to lie face downwards, a wooden plank placed on their back, two soldiers got on it at each end, and swayed and danced.
- Pins were thrust under finger-nails; branding bodies with red-hot firewood or iron was a common feature. People were also tortured with electric current.
- In Manukota-Khammam talukas, 10-25 villages were raided at a time. Hundreds of people used to be severely beaten up and made to run in front of running Lorries. Whoever could not run ahead of Lorries were tied behind Lorries and dragged.
- The hands and legs of Comrade Veeraswamy, village leader of Tettalapadu, were tied half way back and he was forced to crawl on the road on his knees and elbows. When blood flowed and he was unable to crawl anymore, his head was bashed with lathis and with stones, because he refused to reveal the whereabouts of his zone commander, Satyam. At this ghastly sight, women and children in their anger, threw dust at the police and abused them.

- All the people of Betalapadu of Illendu taluka were beaten. They were made to lie down, heavy stones were placed on them and soldiers started dancing with nailed boots over their bodies asking the people: "Say now, where are the Communists?" "Is Congress rule better or Communist rule better?" After this torture, they were thrown into the Khammam cage.
- In Mannegudem, Pullepalli, Jayyaram of Manukota taluka people were made to lie down and men on horses rode over their bodies.

In Loyapalli and surrounding villages, people were thrown into thorny bushes and were trampled upon by the military with their boots on. At 12 noon, in hot sun, people were made to crawl on those thorny bushes on their knees and elbows. The whole place was splattered with blood. Three hundred men became unconscious. When soldiers asked the people after all this nazi torture, whether they would give up the Communists, the people replied in one voice: "never will we give them up in our lives". In more than 2,000 villages of Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam, Karimnagar and Hyderabad districts, 3 lakhs of people were tortured in the above fashion and about 50,000 were arrested and kept in camps for a few days to a few months. More than 5,000 were imprisoned for years.

Palvancha (Kothagudem) Forest Area

Even during the Razakar days, the base of operations had been the Godavari forest area. This had become the main base after the Indian Union army intervention. In the later days, the party and the squads extended beyond River Godavari to the Bhadrachalam area, a part of old Seetharamaraju's Koya *revolt* area.

The Government concentrated its efforts to clear us from the forest areas. It adopted the Briggs plan of evacuating the koya tribal people to the outskirts of forests. For this, it burned down their hamlets and resorted to mass beatings and mass murders. In the Banzara village of Soyam Gangulu, a small hamlet of 10-15 huts, between 15-20 people were shot dead. In the Gadepadu camp alone, 1,500 koya people died of cholera within 2 months. In the whole area about 10,000 koya people died of cholera, another 300 were shot or murdered by

the police and military and landlord goondas. In that camp, 18 Party members died of cholera. In the Allapalli camp, in Palvancha, 45 were shot in one day. Among them were 18 Party members who were killed after two or three days of torturing. In this camp, in four days, 119 were murdered. Some were shot dead, some burnt alive.

Aerial reconnaissance was resorted to and bombs were also dropped two or three times. Raping of women by police and military was quite common, especially where military and police camps were situated. Children were brutally killed before the very eyes of their mothers. In a number of villages, people defended their womenfolk against this atrocity. Guerrilla squads and village Party members, especially from among the Koya people, were butchered by the enemy on a large scale.

In Nereda, which was one of the strongest villages of the movement, the D. S. P., Sreenivas, and Vellodi, the Special Administrator, threatened that the whole village would be burnt. Once 70 women were beaten with tamarind birches. They were forced to wear pyjamas and chameleons were put into these pyjamas and at the bottom the pyjamas were tucked up. The reptiles started biting and the agony of the women was indescribable. Red chili powder was also sprinkled on the wounds. For five months they were ill. Another day, they did not allow mothers to give their babies breast-feed and all the children were crying for milk. Yet, the people were not cowed down. It was in this village that a squad leader was once surrounded. The women promptly dressed him up like a girl who had just reached puberty, kept 'her' in a corner of the room to be seen and after the police and military left, escorted him to a safe place.

Movement in the Godavari Belt among Koya People

By the end of February 1949, after thousands of members of village squads and village Panchayaths had either been caught, and even those who had resigned and surrendered were thrown behind prison bars by the Military Government, the remaining retreated to the forests while some others reached the towns. Only a few remained in their own areas.

The Party in Suryapet and Manukot talukas as also from certain parts of Khammam and Illendu talukas extended itself to the forest areas of Narsampet, Mulug of Warangal, Manthana taluka of Karimnagar and Chennur in Adilabad district, bordering the Godavari River forest area.

The Party in Khammam and Madhira talukas extended into the forests of Palvancha and Illendu. The Party organization in Huzurnagar and Miryalagudem talukas and in the southern parts of Suryapet taluka found its way into the Nallamalai forest areas. The Party machinery in Nalgonda and Bhongir talukas extended itself into the Rachakonda hillock areas near Hyderabad City. Karimnagar and Adilabad forests received Party organizers from Jangaon and other talukas.

People in the forest areas of these talukas were far away from the towns and with no communications facilities; they lived their own lives in poverty. Men and women could afford only some scant clothing. Though rising of cattle was their main occupation, they equally depended on agriculture as well as forest produce. Agriculture was shifting cultivation (*zoom* or *podu* cultivation). Unable to maintain themselves with the produce from agriculture, they used to collect all sorts of wild fruits, ripe and unripe, different varieties of leaves, and used to live on them.

The exploitation of these innocent people was horrifying. Landlords of the plains were the village authorities (patels and patwaris) for these tribal people who collected ten to hundred times more than the land revenue payable to the Government. They secured pattas on these lands for themselves, keeping the tribals as temporary occupants. Only to a very small extent, the land was registered as patta land in the name of koyas. Forced labour was the order of the day; even the small amounts they earned by hard labour did not reach them.

Forest officials were devils incarnate vis-a-vis these tribal people. They exploited the labour of these people in a thousand and one ways for official and personal work, but did not allow them to collect a few pieces of firewood for cooking purposes or such material required for construction of small huts without mulcting heavy bribes. Any tribal seen with an axe in the

forest was beaten up; the only way out for these poor people was to somehow pay some bribes to forest officials and manage to exist. The one pretext they always trotted out was that the land under the cultivation of the tribals came within the "reserve forest areas" and hence tribals should not cultivate those lands, but on the other hand, they were not allowed to till any other new areas. One can imagine the fate and lot of such tribal people. Everything grown in the forests was put to auction by the Government. And the tribal people, who were born in these forests and grew up there and had to live there, could get not even a leaf, except by paying a price to the contractor or forest guard and officer.

Contractors and sahuks paid very low wages to the tribal labourers and amassed huge amounts of wealth, as is seen in the case of the forest contractors. Further, these tribals could manage to secure only very low prices for tamarind or honey, or other agricultural products. In return, the sahuks sold them salt, chillies, oil, clothes, and tobacco at fancy prices.

The social set-up among them was equally intolerable. The traditional leader was a dictator, a corrupt person. No one had the right to oppose him. He took bribes from contractors and sent labourers from under his control on a few wages, he was an accomplice of the sahuks in the exploitation of the people. For every festival or for every wrong committed, people had to pay *mamools* (bribes) to this traditional leader. The life of women was much worse and wretched.

The movement also grew among the Chenchu people in the Nallamalai forests in the Krishna River forest area and the Gond tribals in Adilabad district. The Communist Party spread into the whole tribal belt in the Telangana area.

Plain areas adjoining these forests were also brought into the fold of the movement. Distribution of landlords' lands, cattle and paddy was undertaken by the people on a large scale. However, extension of the movement in these plain areas was not much due to the increase in the intensity of raids by the police on the squads.

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PEASANT REVOLT OF MYSORE IN 1830-31: A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF TUMKUR DISTRICT

Dr. R. Venugopal

The insurrection of Mysore in 1830-31 is known as Peasant Revolt of Nagar in the history of Mysore. Outburst of the Revolt took place in Nagar Division, although it was not confined to that Division only. Many Taluks of the Mysore State actively participated and enshrined the flame of upheaval and brought broader canvas to the protest started by Nagar Ryots. Many Taluks in Tumkur District recorded their role significantly.

After the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799 the whole kingdom of Mysore including region of Tumkur with all its resources was placed at the disposal of the British. As result of subsidiary treaty in 1799 and from that up to 1831 this area administered by the wodeyars of Mysore. During this period the most significant event happened was "The Peasant Revolt". When insurrection occurred there were five Fouzdarries in Mysore. Many Taluks at present in Tumkur District spreaded over the then Mddagiri and Bangalore Fouzdarries.

Genesis of the unrest

The causes for the outbreak in the Tumkur District and its Taluks i.e., Sira, Madhugiri, Medyagassy, Tumkur, Devarayanadurga, Chikkanayakanahalli, Honnavalli etc., was inherent in the nature of the System of government itself.

Poornaiah's Revenue policy and its consequences were not felt during his tenure. Shirty (shurtee) or contract system which had been introduced by Poornaiah, though it was promoted in its aggressive rapacious nature and nurtured during Maharaja's period. When a new Amildar was appointed to any Taluk, to require that he should enter into an engagement with government, to increase the Jummuabandy to a certain sum, and to prove so much of the public revenue to have been collected and misappropriated by his predecessors. This was called the 'Shirty System' which necessarily gave birth to the practice of embezzlement and over collections.¹ At the same time to check this malpractices Shurtee Amildars, they were bound not to oppress the ryots in any way.² Although, the Shurtee System proved Exceedingly injurious to the interests both of the government and ryots. It's pernicious operation was further aggravated by a practice that of removing Amildars as often as other persons came forward with offers to realize a larger revenue. Many times a new person made a higher offer. Then even within the year in which the Amildar in possession had entered into his engagement and obtained his appointment, the farmer was removed and the office given to the latter.³ Naturally, they obtained all the money they could during their precarious continuance in office by every method in their power.

Under Rajah's government in Sira since 1818-19, there had been eight succession Amildars Appointed.⁴ They outbid each offer at the Hoozoor and thus Superseded each other. In Maddagiry Six Amildars have been appointed under the Shurtee Agreement.⁵

In the year 1830 before the insurrection broke out, Amildar Thimmaiah came to Sira Taluk, having entered into an agreement at the hoozoor to pay 28000 Rupees more. As soon as he reached the Taluk, the insurrection began.

Amil Thimmaiah sent for all the Patels and Ryots. He demanded them to pay more which had already been agreed at the Hoozoor. Patels and ryots replied; "we have enjoyed no profit from cultivation and have no means of paying more". He exercised many Tyrannical measures towards the people, putting heavy stones on their heads, applying the thumbscrews, beating them with Kerdahs (slippers), making them stand on one leg. This drove the Ryots desperate, Many of the Patels and Ryots deserted to Mudkseerah a Taluk in the East India company's country. What happened in Sira Taluk same phenomenon was in other taluks also.

In Mudgeery in the year 1824-25, Amildar Venkata Krishnaiah came to the Taluk an engagement to increase the Revenue 10,000 Rupees after the jummuabandy had been arranged by Amildar Venkata Row. He sent for all the patels and forcibly obliged them to add the above sum to the amount already paid. When Patels did not obliged they were molested. During the whole period of amildar Venkataishnaiah the taluk was kept in the lowest state of distress. Instances following that, took away the patels lands, telling them they had too much and were paying too low a rent and that they must pay up the full rent from the period they had cultivated the lands, refused their privilege of Munday (Right of Grazing land). In this manner many Patels have been forced into executing the Bonds demanded by Amildars.

It is likely, that all these causes namely the unfavourable season, over Taxation, burden of debt, corrupt and inefficient Amildars, prevalence of robberies, Exaction of unpaid labour contributed enormously to the impoverishment of cultivators.⁷ This spurred the causes of the cootum in these Taluk. Ultimately the insurrection which broke out in 1831-32.

Progress of the Insurrection:

In the beginning insurrection took place in Nagar province, North-Western part of the Mysore in Aug 1830. The ryots of Nagar circulated a letter in the remaining fouzdarries on 23rd Aug, inviting other ryots to assemble in cootum.⁷ Consequence of letter received from the people in Nagar, in the Taluks of Tumkur

district responded. Some ryots and Patels of Mudgery Taluk having assembled near Mudgery. The Amildar Thimma Arasaiah was sent for and carried as far as Dodderi.⁸ Patels and Ryots said to the Amildar : ' the ex-amildar Venkatakrishnaiah was indebted 900 pagodas to us, the amount of land paid to him on account of the Sirkar. Venkatakrishnaiah promising to credit the amount with Sirkar. But he has gone away without paying ryots or making any adjustment of the accounts.⁹ Venkatakrishnaiah amount indebted to following patels – Taddy Bikkanagaiah gowda, Maloor Nanjay gowda, Dibbanahalli Nullay gowda, Itkalotee Gowley Gowda. Naturally these affected Patels actively participated in the cootum.¹⁰ In the meanwhile some sowars arrived under the Commander of Cullyance sahib and news has been reached to Mudgery that three men had been hanged at Tumkur and great number killed at Devarawosahalli which was nearby Tumkur. This news reached and threatened to Rebellions in Mudgery Taluk.

The ryots of Tumkur, Devarayadurga who were also in cootum having information that troops were coming from Bangalore. They dispersed in all directions. But those of Nidjgul remained stationary.¹¹

The ryots of Sira also received a messages from the rebels in the neighbouring Taluks, that if they did not join them bones, horns and Margosa leaves should be thrown in to their houses. Consequently ryots of Sira rose in insurrection¹². It began with about 2000 ryots assembling outside the village of Tavarekery. In meantime five to six thousand of the ryots in cootum at Sira, mostly they belongs to Hosoor and Bukkapatna Hoblis. They determined to siege the Amildar, Serishtadar, Killadar and other functionaries. Consequently Amildar Thimmaiah and Serishtadar Sham Rao were seized and brought to Pettah Gate.

At this time ryots received a neroop from Hoozoor (Maharaja) who halted at Tumkur. Then they were preparing to proceed to the Rajah at Chennarayapattana. But in meantime one alarming incident took place in Sira. That was Meya Khan Kulayance Regimentdar arrived with 300 regiment (of horse) to Sira arrested two leaders of ryots and hanged one Marangerry Goonda near the Eedgah close to

Sira Town. After this incident Patels and other ryots got alarmed and went to Mudaksira.

When Rebellion was in swing, the resident casamajor written a letter of Maharaja on seriousness of insurrection in his yadust on 22nd November 1830, stating that 'Ryots of Kadaba Hobli, Honnali, Kundikere and Chikkanayaknahalli, who were extract the many from Amildar'.¹³

One interesting to note here that the Brahmins alone were held the office of Amildar. The whole Mysore State filled with Brahmins. Even though they committed faults any punishment does not being awarded by Diwan Poornaiah or Raja of Mysore. Amildars in Tumkur District cited above in some instances proved that they all belongs to same caste i.e., Brahmins.

Aftermath of the Revolt migrated Patels and Ryots returned to their Taluks only after the transfer of the Mysore country to the British Authority in 1831. British Administration assured the ryots be taken action against notoriousness and fraud natured Amildars and other Revenue Officials.

During early years of the commissioner's rule, the Land Revenue System was brought back as far as possible, to the state in which it was left by poornaiah but liberalized in all its details and vigilantly superintendent in its working.¹⁴

We have not clear picture of Social Composition of Ryots participated in Rebellion. Although some of the names mentioned when they were hanged, confiscated and mutilated their parts of body. In one letter written by Amil Narasiah of Tumkur to Fouzdar Thimmaraja of Bangalore. As he stated in his letter one Musalman, Thimmegowda, Shetty, Kataya, Yalakkagowda etc., in another list enumerated by Amil Halepaika, Gangadikar, Banajar, Mahar, Dungan and Vaddar.¹⁵

It clearly discloses that the peasants of different castes participated in the Revolt and achieved and enshrined the unity among themselves when they were being crushed under the load of Government machinery, Land Lords and Money Lenders.

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A DALIT NATION BUILDER – BABU JAGJIVAN RAM

Dr. K. Vidyadhari

Babu Jagjivan Ram occupies a distinctive position in the history of modern India. He was a veteran freedom fighter, great organizer, brilliant orator, committed social and political activist, an active trade union leader, champion of the depressed and oppressed classes, distinguished Parliamentarian, true democrat and an able administrator. Indeed he was a multi-faceted personality.

Babu Jagjivan Ram always espoused the cause of establishing a society based on social justice, political and economic equality. Throughout his life, he had fought for eradicating the evils of casteism and for mitigating the sufferings and deprivation of the depressed classes. He was one of the titans who symbolised the dawn of a new era of assertion, equality and empowerment of the depressed classes. From the very beginning of the life, was a crusader for the crestfallen and crushed humanity. He became a national figure when he put the Dalit movement on the right path and connected it with the national struggle for freedom. His participation in the freedom movement as a Congress leader greatly encouraged the national leaders to earnestly take up the cause of the Dalit uplift. He followed Congress ideals for building a prosperous democratic socialist society.

Babuji was born in a small village, "Chandwa", situated at one and half mile west of Arrah, in Bihar on 5th April, 1908. His father Shobhi Ram had to struggle hard to make both ends meet. The family lived in a small house

which Shobhi Ram built after a long struggle in life. He observed pujas in his house and several persons assembled to attend the religious functions. He was a hard working person and always advised the younger generation to work hard in order to build up their careers.¹

Jagjivan was put to a village primary school in January, 1914. The school was held in the Verandahh of Kapil Muni Tiwari's house, which was situated in the middle of the village in the Mohalla of 'Brahmins'.²

At the age of eleven, he passed the Upper Primary examination. In 1920, he was admitted in the Aggarwal School of Arrah. While he was at school he read Gandhi's Navjivan and Tarun Bharat. Indeed he was influenced by these writings having bearing on the socio-economic, cultural and political life of a common man of India.

As a student, young Jagjeevan never had any idea of inferiority when compared to his classmates belonging to upper class. He always maintained self-respect by burning midnight oil to achieve his academic goal. One incident that happened in his school days deserves mention. There were two water pots in the school – one pot for the Hindus and other for Muslims. Jagjivan took water from the pot for Hindus. A boy noticed it and reported to the Headmaster observing that Jagjivan was an untouchable. Jagjivan did not like the arrangement of third pot and broke it twice. This was the first time he came face to face with the oppressive caste discrimination and bigotry of the upper castes

that shackled his community for centuries and put abhorrent limits on him and his community's life.³

In 1925, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya visited Arrah and Jagjivan, on the basis of his being the best student in the school, was asked to read the welcome address. Deeply impressed by the erudition and panache of Jagjivan, Malaviya invited Jagjivan to study at the Banaras Hindu University. He was to face further caste based prejudices and hostility at Banaras Hindu University. Servants would not serve him or wash his plates in the students' mess. But even as a new student, recommended respect and loyalty that the entire student body stood up in his support and resolved that henceforth each student would wash his own plate.

After passing the Inter Science Examination from BHU, Jagjivan joined B.Sc. at Calcutta University and passed with distinction. Within six months of coming to Calcutta he organised a Mazdoor rally at Wellington square with about 35000 people. The huge success of his rally brought him into limelight and leaders like Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose took notice of him. During this period he got acquainted with Chandra Sekhar Azad, Manadh Nath Gupta and other leading revolutionaries. He read Das Kapital, Communist Manifests and other Socialist literature that greatly influenced his ideology of a casteless and classless society. Since childhood Jagjivan had dreamt of being a scientist. But as he grew up he could no longer ignore the socio-political situations enveloping the country and he sacrificed his personal ambitions to answer the call of his motherland.⁴

Jagjivan soon came to know the Marwari money Lords, Jugal Kishore Birla, Sita Ram Seksaria etc. He also knew J.M.Sen Gupta, Dr. B.C.Roy, P.C.Ghosh and S.C. Bose. Before Jagjivan had known a single important Congressman of his home state Bihar, he became personally known as rising leader of the 'Achhut' community of Calcutta to many of the top leaders of the Indian National Congress.

When Jagjivan attended Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928, the restive mood of country touched him. From his early days, he was very much interested in social reforms. The problems of untouchables

attracted him. Inauguration of Anti-untouchability league on 30 September, 1932 took place in Bombay. The aim was to educate caste-Hindus with a view to eradicating all vestiges of untouchability and to work for the uplift-educational, social and economic status of the untouchables. G.D.Birla was elected as the provisional President of the league. When Gandhi evolved a new word 'Harijan' for untouchables while in jail, the league was renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh.

The Mahatma's epic of Yerawada fast which had started on 20th September, 1932 found Jagjivan engaged in his social reform work, study and contemplation. He was not convinced by Gandhi's logic that he had opposed reservation of seats for Harijans at the Round table Conferences because he considered any form of separation bad for the Harijans as well as the Hindus. His reputation as a budding 'Harijan' leader had travelled ahead of him and about this time the Congress leaders of the district of Shahabad contacted him. His name was forwarded as one of the nationalist 'Dalit' leaders for participation in the Leader's Conference which was being held in Bombay from 19th September, 1932. The Bihar Provincial Anti-Untouchability Conference was held at Patna in the Anjuman Islamia hall under the Presidentship of Raja Radhika Raman Singh of Surajpura. Jagjivan was one of the invitees.

Jagjivan became the Secretary of the Bihar Branch of the Anti-untouchability league, later known as 'Harijan Sevak Sangh'. Thus began his public career in Bihar. The Depressed Classes Leaders Unity Conference Meet at Kanpur in May 1935. Quite a large number of representatives, Dalit leaders participated. A well-knit, united, all-India political movement of the Depressed class conducted from a common platform, was a historic necessity. At the same time it was essential not to keep out themselves adrift from the main national current. The idea found a great response. The All India Depressed Classes League was formed. Rasiklal Biswas was elected as the President and P.N.Rajbhoj and Jagjivan Ram as the Secretaries of the new organisation.

In 1936, Jagjivan Ram had been nominated a member of the Bihar Legislative Council. His reputation as the leader of the

Depressed Classes League was on the increase. About this time, Orissa was separated from Bihar and formed into a separate province. After this separation, there was left no Depressed classes member in the Council in Bihar, in the vacancy thus caused it was proposed to nominate a caste Hindu. Jagjivan announced his intention of starting province-wide agitation if it were not filled up by a Dalit from Bihar. The Government nominated him. Congratulatory message poured in from all over India.

Development, Co-operatives and Industries were the portfolios attached to Jagjivan Ram as a Parliamentary Secretary when the Congress assumed office in Bihar on 1st August, 1937. He sponsored the organisation of the Rural Development Department and was responsible for setting up the mechanical and electrical committees in the Industries section. In 1938 he was elected a delegate for the Haripura session of the Congress and has been so elected a delegate ever since then. He had become the symbol of the "Depressed Classes" hopes and aspirations. He was thus fast became an eminent and National Congress personality.

In 1940, Jagjivan Ram contested and was elected Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, which post he held till 1946, when he joined the Interim Government Cabinet at the centre on 2nd September, 1946. He was also elected a member of the All India Congress Committee in 1940. On 10th December, 1940 Jagjivan Ram offered individual Satyagrah in the Shahabad district. He was arrested at Piru, brought to Arrah, sentenced to a year imprisonment and transferred to Hazaribagh Jail. This was his first experience of jail life.

By June 1942, India was anticipating the possible advent of the Japanese. The masses were so enerbitted that they were prepared to think of them as liberators. The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on 7th August, 1942 and adopted a resolution assuring the British that an Indian Government would resist aggression with all the armed as well as non-violent forces at its command and urged immediate declaration of Independence. The whole of India was in revolt the next morning Gandhi had given only two slogans.

He had given the declaration to the British : "Quit India". And to his countrymen : "Do or Die".

Jagjivan and Prof. Abdul Bari from Bihar who were putting up in a hotel were informed in the early hours of the morning, of the arrest of the national leaders. Gandhi had expressed his desire to see both Jagjivan and Abdul Bari on 9th morning. There was a complete 'Hartal' in the Bombay city and no conveyance was available. Police and army men were seen everywhere in Bombay.

Jagjivan left for Patna immediately. As Secretary of the Bihar Congress he would have much to do on reaching there. Satya Narain Sinha and others also left via metre gauge. Jagat Narai lal left for the rural area and Singheswar Prasad who was guiding the movement at Patna was arrested. Unfortunately while Jagjivan Ram was fighting for the nation's freedom and rights of the Depressed Classes, loyalist Dalit leaders were enjoying the favours of the imperialists.

The August movement was ebbing away. There remained pocket of resistance which continued to defy the might of the British and held the banner of freedom flying. Jagjivan Ram's dream of 1942 movement had visualised thousands of such pockets in each province, resisting with all available means the imposition of the British rule, springing into action simultaneously and making it possible for the depleted army units to cope with the situation. Jagjivan had been having indifferent health after release from jail, he spent a few months at Simla. After return to Patna from Simla in September 1944, he undertook an extensive tour of Central Provinces, and Bombay both for Congress and Depressed Classes League work.

In September 1944, Gandhi and Jinnah met several times, but the talks of partition ultimately broke down on the two-nation theory. Nehru was commissioned to form a Provisional Government on 12th August, 1946. Nehru tried to make Jinnah agree but, when he failed, he formed a Provisional Government.

By 1946, Jagjivan had emerged as the undisputed leader of the nationalist Scheduled Castes. On 16th June, 1946 Wavell addressed a letter to Jagjivan Ram and other enclosing the

text of his statement issued the same day inviting him to become a member of the Interim Government. Jagjivan Ram entered the Executive Council as India's Labour Minister and was sworn in on 2nd September, 1946, till May 1952. During this period he led the Indian delegation to the ILO Conference at Geneva and was elected President of the Asian Regional Conference of International Labour Organisation. The most important Legislative enactments during this period were, the Industrial Employment Act, 1946; the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947; the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, the Factories Act, 1948; the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, the Employees State Insurance Act, 1948; etc. All these labour laws brought betterment and tremendous change in the service conditions of the working class. Communication Ministry from May 1952 – December, 1956. During the period he proposed for the formation of a statutory corporation, which was introduced vide Bill 1953 (27 of 1952) providing the establishment of two Air Corporations –

a) Air India to operate International Services.

b) Indian Airlines to operate domestic services within the country and neighbouring countries.

Defence Portfolio in the Morarji Government, though he was very much sure to become the Prime Minister, while J.P. was in favour, Charan Singh opposed him. He remained Defence Minister till 1979, but large scale defections forced Morarji to resign. Though Charan Singh became Prime Minister, he could not face Lok Sabha and in 1979 December elections, Indira Gandhi recaptured power.⁵

Babuji played a great role in drafting many of the fundamental elements of the Constitution, like the Directive Principles, and the Fundamental Rights. He was a harbinger of peace, equality and social justice. He served as a Minister in the Indian Parliament with various portfolios and also served as the Deputy Prime Minister of India in Morarji Desai Government. He served the country in various capacities as a nation builder.⁶

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HISTORICAL SUBJUGATION OF A VOICELESS COMMUNITY THROUGH IMPOSED PRACTICES

Vijaya Kumari. K

Introduction

History will become rich only, if the history of the less privileged or marginalized people are included in it. There are a few sections of people who are not part of the mainstream of the society and their socio-economic and cultural life was not recorded in history as they were considered as polluted and backward and their stories have not been discussed in history, and their voice was not heard in history substantially. The present study is about the Koragas, original inhabitants of

land now considered as a primitive vulnerable tribal group who lacks written records to expose the tradition and socio-economic life situations. Koragas, subjugated during different historical periods and now under threat due to marginalization and backwardness, need serious attention.

Methodology

The study is based on analytical and descriptive method and followed an interdisciplinary approach especially combined

methodology of historical research, participatory observation of psychology and anthropological field-study. As Koraga community are mostly illiterate and not well conversant with social science investigations, interview and participatory observation techniques were applied as pertinent tools of data collection. Extensive primary and secondary sources have been utilized. The documents from archives files, records from tribal departments, education department and oral traditions from elders. Simultaneous to the Primary sources, Secondary sources are utilized prudently for this work from the prominent repositories. Archival documents, oral history, secondary sources and extensive field study enabled to collect data for analyzing the distinct social life of Koragas.

Aborigines

The aboriginal tribes of India are the oldest inhabitants of the country, but for millennia, tribal societies have been subjugated by outsiders; their land was taken away, they were pushed further into the hilly gorges and wilds, and they were forced to work for their oppressors often without payment.¹ In India, the oldest inhabitants were pushed in to remote tribal tracts by groups that migrated from abroad at different phases of its history- as nomads and pastoralist, or as invaders.² It is also viewed that the quality life behavior of any community is influenced by various factors including social, economic and political ones. There are people living in isolation in natural and unpolluted surroundings far away from civilization with their traditional values, customs, beliefs and myths intact. In terms of their cultural ethos – language, institutions, beliefs, world views and customs- they stand out from the other section of society.³ The so called aboriginal tribes were wrongly believed to be the different from the plains population in ethnical and racial terms, the chief difference being only in economic term.⁴

The tribal population differs from one another in racial trait, language, social organization, economy, religion, belief, culture and population. It is a complex system of customs and traditions, resembling anthropological aquarium. The characteristics of each tribal society are unique from other.⁵

There are people who fall outside of such linguistic-cum-regional societies and thereby are excluded from the caste system as well. They have been generally described as tribes with their own language, religion, culture, and geographical territories. They regulate their social and cultural life according to their own traditions, norms, and values.⁶ Primitive society is fundamentally democratic, and that class and caste appear only when society becomes more complex and mature.⁷ Analytically, Koraga society can be treated as a simple one. Koragas have no social institutions above the level of the nuclear family.⁸ Tribal society tends to be egalitarian, with its leadership based on the ties of kinship and personality rather than hereditary status.

Tribals are the marginalized population everywhere in the world. Among the tribals in India, the Primitive Tribal Group, now named as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) are the most backward among the backward and are on the verge of extinction. Koragas of Kasaragod are one among the five PVTG in Kerala and bear the outcome of social evils and deprivation from time immemorial. The criteria of geographical isolation, distinctive culture, primitive traits, pre-agricultural level of technology, less than five per cent literacy, stagnant rate of growth, shyness of contact, economic backwardness coupled with discrimination and exploitation are generally considered relevant among the primitive tribes. Among the 75 Primitive Tribal Groups in India, five PTGs Koraga, Cholanaickan, Kattunayakan, Kurumbar and Kadar are in Kerala. Koragas found in Dakshina Kannada, Udupi and Kasaragod districts.

Koragas

The Koraga are considered as aboriginal tribe found mainly in the Dakshina Kannada &Udupi districts of Karnataka and the Kasargod district of Kerala, South India. They are the aboriginal tribes of Dakshina Kannada district notified as 'Primitive Tribes' in 1986. Their existence is believed to be prior to 6th Century A.D. Though the Koragas are tribals, they are regarded as ceremonially impure and unclean in the local Hindu Society. The Koragas are the most backward and regarded as the lowest rung in the caste system and as untouchables were not allowed inside temples

by upper caste households in the local conservative Hindu society. But still in Karnataka Gazetteer, Koragas were categorized as Hindus. With the invasion of Aryans began the process of economic marginalization, political subjugation and cultural assimilation of tribal people.⁹ The effects of the caste system introduced by the Aryans to subjugate the vanquished peoples of this country and thus to maintain social order, did not spare even the tribes living in mountain tracts and forests.¹⁰

Distinct way of life of Koragas

Koragas possess unique characteristics. Basket making is Koragas' mainstay of economy, but do all kinds of work. While nomadism is one of the main characteristics of the other communities, such a trait is entirely absent in Koraga community. The intelligence of Koragas is subdued and hidden while that of the other communities is flamboyant and even in keeping with their wandering and adventurous nature. While ingenuity is the hallmark of other communities character, ingenuousness is that of the Koragas.¹¹ Traditional joint families of the Koragas were not as large as in the main stream of Indian society. House of Koragas were huts made of branches, wood and muds. Male wore black cloth pieces and female wore old and dirty cloth pieces. Men and women wore hat made of spathe locally known as 'paala thoppi'. Earlier, only a very few Koragas had Koppu, huts, but some don't had that also. They depended on shadow of trees without having any food. They had a wounded history of starvation, hunger and marginalization. They were addicted to betel leaves, they chew it from morning time of the day itself and their lips look like red¹². They said during interview that they could tolerate starvation but could not live without betel leaves. Even in utter poverty, they laughed like innocent children. They rarely took bath as they had no dress to change and scarcity of water. During field visit, researcher found several remains of skeletons and bones of cows and buffaloes near their huts which show that they used to eat animals. They clearly knew that they were degraded by others. But they are destined to adapt insult, oppression and exploitation. Koragas live with nature, shun society, and suffer hardship. In fact, they are at the abysmal bottom of suffering and

misery. In other words, they endure hardships with stoic stance.¹³

Primitive tribes like Koragas lived in the region of bamboo and the reed. Some of the tribes lived in rock shelters or huts made of jungle wood posts and thatched with leaves. Earlier their huts was in conical shape. Later they build square cornered huts which seem to be the result of acculturation. Each village has a common place of worship and in some villages there are chavadi for visitors and separate dormitories for boys and girls. It is an important means of preserving social life. Koraga huts are isolated, hence, they lead the life of isolation. Forests give shelter and subsistence to the Koraga tribes. Their physical features, technology, art, religious lore and concepts point the real historical aspect of food gathering tribes of Kerala.

The Koragas are perhaps the poorest among the scheduled tribes in Kerala who are living in Kasargod district and in the adjoining area of Karnataka state. They were predominantly food gathering community, but this activity was prevented due to restrictions on free and easy entrance to forest and use of forest produce. Their principal occupation was basket making and food gathering. But Koragas engaged in basket weaving facing many problems which depend on the availability of raw materials and majority of them work as wage labourers. They used to get very low wages and hence could not save for future.

They accepted "daana" as paapaparihaara or solution of sins of others. Every Saturday, Brahmins and other uppercaste gave food, dress and oil for the solution of sanidasa to Koragas. Koragas usually wandered in villages in search of raw materials for basket making or honey. If they felt thirsty they ask for "kanjivellam" or rice water. Upper caste people were ready to give water but not in their vessels. So, Koragas showed paalathoppi which was not hygienic but they drank water from it. Koragas were not bothered about the type of food or food items. Koragas were given food for once in a day.

Social Status of Koragas

Social Status Status of a caste depends upon the degree of purity of blood and extent

of isolation maintained by the social group. Both high and low caste groups maintained purity either due to superiority and inferiority mind sets. Its basis is fear among higher castes of pollution which result from contact or proximity with lower castes. When a Brahmin received a gift from another person of his own caste, he had to acknowledge it in a loud voice, when from a kshatriya in a gentle voice, when from a vaishya in a whisper voice, when from a sudra he acknowledges it only in his mind. This indicates the deep concept of pollution involved in accepting gifts from the lower castes.

Attributing polluting power to the inferior races was distinctively an Indian element.¹⁴ Francis Day wrote that an Ezhava must keep 36 paces from a Brahmin and 12 from a Nair while Kaniyan pollutes a Namboodiri Brahmin at 24 feet and a Nair by touch.¹⁵ Barbosa make the observation about the caste Hindus, especially of Nairs, that when they go anywhere they shout to the peasants that they may get out of the way where they have to pass, and the peasants do so, and if they did not do it, the Nairs might kill them without penalty.¹⁶ From the work, Rev. George Matthan writing of agrestic serfs in 1850 said that their persons are entirely at the disposal of their masters by whom they are bought and sold like cattle and are often worse treated. The owners had formerly the power to flog and enchain them and in some cases to maim them, or even to deprive them of their lives.¹⁷ Though these cruelties are not sanctioned by law their condition does not, in a practical view, appear to be improved as they have no means to get legal redress. The slaves are of course paid in kind. They are also entitled to certain portions of the produce of their labour which in a great measure, make up for the low rate of their wages. They are valued differently in different places. S. Subbarama Aiyar argued that in Malabar there existed class of slaves and semi slaves.¹⁸ 13 The agricultural serfs attached to their master's soil and actually transferred to the buyer of land to which they are attached. They are mere agricultural workers and have no sort of proprietorship in the land. They regarded themselves as their masters' property.¹⁹ They behaved well, obedient, honest and loyal to their masters, very earnest about their work, but are completely illiterate.

Caste system considered innumerable aborigines as depressed and downtrodden classes. Accordingly, they were degraded and driven away to remote places, even beyond see able distance by treating as untouchables or slaves. In other words, the aborigines were left out as outcastes and untouchables from the mainstream of society. Thus aborigines were compelled to live in inaccessible places, primarily forests and hills.

The criteria of geographical isolation, distinctive culture, primitive traits, and shyness of contact with the community at large and economic backwardness coupled with discrimination and exploitation by the outsiders are generally considered relevant. Government of India has listed about seventy four communities as primitive tribes so that intensive development activities can be undertaken among them.²⁰ Even official documents indicates that the most characteristic attribute of primitive tribal group is their relatively small population size, together with pre agricultural level of technology, extremely low level of literary.²¹

A remarkable fact is that the stipulated Koragas attributed as subjugated primitive tribal group, landless, manual labourers led a pathetic life. Koragas are a very backward. tribe, chiefly found in Kasaragod, South Kanara and Bellary districts. They are quite and inoffensive, and live in the outskirts of villages.²² They traditionally live in forests, hills and undulating inaccessible terrain in plateau areas, rich in natural resources as isolated entities for centuries untouched by the society around them. This seclusion has been responsible for the slower and dissimilar pattern of their socio-economic and cultural development and inability to negotiate and cope with the consequences of their involuntary integration into mainstream society and economy. Some tribes have been more isolated than others but at least in the interior areas where the bulk of the tribal population is to found none has been completely free from the influence of civilization. Their isolation by means of self-imposed or imposed by others blocked the growth of their material cult.

Koragas had the primitive traits including distinctive culture, shyness of contact with the

community, backwardness, diminishing population and very low literacy rates. They have suffered more, compared to other tribal communities due to geographic isolation, segregation by mainstream and cultural exclusiveness. They are food-gatherers and engaged in hunting and traditional occupation such as basket making or mat making but abstaining from the habit of agricultural practice. The caste prejudices and desire for domination of Savarnas did not allow the Avarnas to uphold the dignity and basic human rights. With the help of superstitions religious practices, pollution laws and exploitation of the ignorance, the Savarnas maintained their authority as the ruling elites.²³ Upper castes monopolised each and every aspect and institution of society, language, literature, culture, temple land, means of production and military and political authority, for the same. The study reveals that the non-inclusion of Koragas even into the four fold caste system forced them to lead despicable life in society. This culminated in the bringing of the respective segment in the Primitive Tribal group of the country.

Slavery

It is presumed that the Koragas were enslaved and therefore treated as slave labourers and sent to forests. The District Gazetteer of Dakshina Kannada reveals that till the beginnings of the 20th century, Koragas were treated as slave labourers in weekly and yearly fairs in the district. The price of a male slave was three pagodas equal to Rupees 14 whereas female slave, five pagodas. Slavery existed among Koragas. There are references of slave trade; There was some variations in the rate for those who following marukkathayam, Koraga male rate was 14 and female was 24 but those who followed makkathayam, female rate was 14 and of male was 24. Why female rate was high among Marumakkathayam followers because female's owner could claim the right or authority over Koraga children, as female has more power in this system. But in Makkathayam system, Koraga childrens were the property of Koraga male owner. Female's owner has no right on Koraga children. The study reveals the fact that the economic condition of Koragas is basically pre agricultural food production.

Koragas were forced to become slaves. They live only in the huts of leaves called "Kappus". They were agrestic slaves, bought and sold with land till recent times.²⁴ They were apportioned amongst the Brahmins and original landholders. In short, this made to watch crops and cattle and involve in drudgeries, which are still allotted to the existing slave castes.

Ajalu Practice

They followed different customs which validate the prevalence of slavery among Koragas. In other words, different customs and rites to were followed.²⁵ For example, the Koraga amle put oil on body and then take bath. Then the person would get a new cloth to cover the body. Then the owner puts a vessel full of water and one gold coin before Koraga. He has to drink whole water from the vessel and catch the gold coin. The sanctity of this custom is not known. It might be to make the Koragas psychologically subjugating by gifting gold coin and drinking the whole water full of vessel. Reliance on this reveals that, Koraga was agreed to obey all the conditions and demands of the owner. He has to do all the works ordered by his lord. Still recently this custom was followed. Koragas were able to live on one corner of owners land mostly in hilly regions. To marry a Koraga woman, a male member has to get the permission of the owner. He has to request the owner by bow or lie down. After the marriage, he has to bring his bride before the owner. There existed the custom of existed, pouring of oil on the head of bride by the owner and used to give cheaper gifts to them. Another interesting custom prevailed here shows that if the landlord or owner dies, soon after hearing this news, Koraga elderman should shave the moustache and hair of Koraga slave to show his sincerity and obedience as a slave and thereby observe obituary for his owner. There also existed different types of unjust punishments in the case of Koragas. No doubt, all these, show the existence of slavery among Koragas for centuries. This long time slavery, oppression and exploitation made them more subjugated. Even after the abolition of slavery, Koragas gained nothing. Their pathetic living condition continues even today, to a considerable extent.

Another interesting custom is that, if a child is born in a Brahmin family, they have to take all precautions to please the Koraga Gods. Brahmin mothers would call Koraga women and donate rice, oil and money and handover the new born child to Koraga women to carry and kept for some time. They even need to give breast milk to infants. It is believed that the infant won't get infected by diseases and chances for long life if touched by Koraga women. After this, child was given back to Brahmins. This custom was followed to pacify Koraga God and to prevent angry and curse of God.²⁶ In other words, it is believed that if they follow this custom, Koraga God won't disturb the Brahmin children.

Another peculiar custom was followed with regard to the symbolic transfer of sufferings and diseases to Koragas by giving nail and hair of upper caste. During festivals in temples, Brahmins stand near the temple, while Koraga has to stand far away from the temples even though rituals are for Koraga God. This shows the adherence of the concept of purity and pollution, eventhough Koraga should dress like Koraga God by wearing silver hat instead of Paala thoppi, a hat made of areacanut leaves or spathe.

Economic life

Koragas had lived mainly by hunting gathering fruits, roots, leaves and honey. They collected these without damaging nature and forest. They considered nature as mother. From this concept, nature worship, tree worship was practiced by Koragas. They knew very well the art of basket making and mat making. The external interferences and acts, behavior and practices of mainstream society, drastic changes have been occurred in the life of Koragas and thereby they were treated as down-trodden segment.

Koragas were considered as untouchables. Hence, they are forced to perform less desirable menial jobs, especially sweeping, cleaning of excreta, removal of dead bodies, and leather works. In some areas, Koragas are employed as scavengers. They have to remove hide, horns and bones of cattle and buffaloes which die in the villages. They accept food left over after the feast held by various castes. Koragas is one of the primitive

tribes which ate dead cows, buffaloes because they have no other option during unbearable starvation. To make it tasty, they add chilli and salt to this²⁷. They ate whatever they got. They need to wear the dress, given by others. They had no complaints about anything. They never tensed or bothered. They had a strong mind and never shown emotional instability during misery or death. This shows that, Koragas cultivated a strong mind and heart to face anything and everything²⁸. In the field study, it is proved that they carry meat on their head and happily walk to their huts by interacting with other Koragas cheerfully.

Another outstanding fact is that, due to poverty Koragas are forced to eat the leftover food from the plantain leaves, thrown during marriages and functions. They are practicing this custom from a very long time and even today they are resorting too. During the time of marriage of upper castes, Koragas gather at a place, near to the marriage house. They are ready to wait for hours for the leftover food. As their turn occurs, the Koragas take away the leaves on which people have partaken food, to eat the leftovers. They compete for this food among themselves. In sum, Koragas are considered as eaters of leftover food and dead animals. The study reveals that, till about two decades back, the Koragas were given water, tea etc., in coconut shells especially in hotels even though this action is coming under the penal provisions of law especially untouchability.

Conclusion

The regular interaction of Koragas with the members of other castes and communities is too limited. Koragas can visit others localities to remove the dirt from streets and beat drums and participate in oxen race during social and religious functions. For rendering these services, they are entitled to collect some leftover food and old cloths. The paradox is that, according to historical accounts, the Koragas were once powerful rulers in the south. Today, they are largely regarded as a sub-human race and are enslaved within the Hindu caste system. Till twentieth century, they were called upon to perform derogatory traditional duties, comprising Ajalus, for the upper castes. They were forced to beat ritual drums during

festivals, run before buffaloes during a local festival, checking the soil by their bare foot and accept leftover food and second-hand clothes. By the enactment of the Karnataka Koragas Prohibition of Ajalu Practice Act, 2000, Ajalu practice is eradicated even though there exists its after-effects. In sum, they are relegated to the sidelines, having no territorial presence and scattered among the majority communities with the lack representation in the local self-government institutions.

Koragas lived under centuries of colonial oppression and marginalization. The deprived communities like Koraga tribal groups were pushed on the corner of society. They were

unaware about their rights both human rights and political rights. The process of modernisation favoured this segment to a little extent. Based on inhuman treatment and subjugation, Koragas become mild, docile and fearful. They are the most marginalized and backward tribal community.²⁹ They are regarded as ceremonially impure and unclean by the Hindu Society and so that considered as untouchables by the mainstream. They faced highest degree of untouchability which resulted in social oppression. Their social and economic conditions have worsened due to inequality, denial of education, social injustice, and laxity on the part of government agencies.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF FRENCH INDIA IN PONDICHERRY

V. Balachandar

The French did not attempt to alter the social structure of their settlements in India. In the south there existed only a tripartite division of the whole population wherein the kshatriya and the Vaisya had no place. Caste came to the south comparatively late and for many centuries was not rigid. In this tripartite division there were only Brahmans and non Brahmans, the latter comprising the higher and lower castes. The status of women in the society was execrable. Early marriage deprived them of education. A widow was doomed to vegetate. Even child marriage were freely taking place in French India. The economy policy of the

French, their Indian colonies could be characterized as one of the most exploited in the world. To monopolize trade in India, the English East India Company terminated the French in every possible way. In the sphere of religion, there were instances of intolerance indulged in by the French. In this, they differed fundamentally from the British. They extended all toleration to the religion of the Indians, respect its institutions. French mixed a little more than freely with the Indian than did the British. The size of Pondicherry, which was much smaller than any of the British possessions, had of intercourse easier.

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

Dr. V. Deepthi

India has made considerable progress in the field of education offer independence. There has been an emphasis on the expansion of education, as a result of which the percentage of literacy in on the incase. It is now more than 36 percent against 16 percent in 1951. India the main responsibility for education rests with the governments of the states, At the same time, the central government has also provided free and compulsory education to all children up to two age of fourteen. All the states have made education up to classes VIII free but taken necessary up to two age of fourteen. Adult education forms an important part of the spread of education Effort is being made to educate those persons who did not get a change to get an education during their childhood. This is

being done through night schools, reading rooms, libraries, the cinema, and the radio. Besides this extensive measure are being taken to impart education to the weaker sections of society like Harijans, hill people. Tribals and similar other groups with smaller means. The government has made provision for a large number of scholarship and grants to students of these groups. Special efforts have also been made to promote higher education in the villages. A National Council for Higher Education in Rural Areas was Established in 1956 to advise the government on this subject. As a result, there has been a considerable increase in the number of educational institutions in the villages and small towns.

H.M.D.P SABHA IN VADAKKEKARA AND ITS SOCIAL SCENARIO

Aleena Anto & Greshma K P

Hindu Madha Dharma Paripalana Sabha shortly called H.M.D.P Sabha is constituted of members belonging to Vadakkekara an area lies at the north-western tip of Ernakulam district Kerala. It is founded by Brahmasri Ashtavadhani Parisudha Visishta Venkatagiri Sastrikal an andhrith theologian. The village contains a temple to sankara narayana called sree narayana mangalam temple, the idol which was consecrated by sree narayana guru in the

early part of 20th century. In past the village was totally neglected area where the population consisted mostly, of the people belonging to the ezhava community they were considered to be a part of untouchables. H.M.D.P Sabha played a vital role in moulding the socio-economic developments in Vadakkekara. Another prominent social reformist is Sahodharan Ayyappan.

LEATHER WORKING CASTES IN UNITED PROVINCES UNDER COLONIAL RULE

Ishan Khan

United Provinces are well-known for its diversity i.e. many castes were survived since ancient times. In this respect, many of the leather worker castes also survived there. Leatherworkers were engaged from the Muslim and Hindu communities in this province. The Chamar caste was the largest caste which was hereditary engaged in leather work since many years ago in this province. Most of the sub-castes were come out of the Chamar caste and another caste in different parts of the province

which was engaged in leather work during the colonial rule. This paper will explore the many castes which were engaged in making leather in different parts of the province during colonial rule. This paper will highlight on some of the leather worker castes in United Provinces which were engaged in making different types of leather i.e., Chamar, Jatavs, Mochi, Dhalgar, Dabgar, etc. This paper will also focus on the condition of leather worker castes in this province.

THE BACKWARD CLASSES MOVEMENT IN HYDERABAD STATE 1920-1950

Kotecherla Srinivasarao

In this Article, an attempt is made to discuss The Backward Classes Movement in Hyderabad State, its origin and growth in the state of Hyderabad. It is worth to note that backward classes movement in Hyderabad State is shaped and guided by some of the most distinguished leaders of the backward classes. Deprived sections of society in different parts of the world have organized themselves into protest movements to fight against discriminations of various kinds based on colour, religion, caste, and tribe. Their problem has been one of establishing a new identity, the kind of image that they want to protest in order to gain self-respect, honor and status. While the question of identity has been common to all the

deprived sections, the answers that they have sought to provide have been different but homogenous. This Paper deals with the question of how the majority of depressed Classes were brought into the ideological conflict, keeping in view the backward class Reform Movement and with due respect towards their liberation. Their ideological groundwork aims at the complete transformation of the social evil of caste or did they only aim at rectification that did not break tradition since their socio, political interests demanded them. BojjamNarasimhlu, Konda Lakshman Bapuji, Sangam Lakshmi Bai, Krishnaswamy Mudiraj worked to last resort for the development of backward class families.

MAHATMA JYOTIBAPULE: A PIONEER OF ANTI-CASTE SYSTEM IN MODERN INDIA

K. Krishnapriya

In Indian socio, religious reform movements Mahatma Jyothibapule was played a vital role. He was first leader of the suppressed people in modern India. Before him reform movement was never a mass movement. This was a great movement as in those days it was a crime to write and speak against the Brahman's. Phule was a role model to youth of that time. In his writing's also he depicted about self-respect of downtrodden people. His wife Savitri Bhai Phule also a learned woman of those times. She was a first teacher and she establish a school for girls. Both of them faced

many problems together. Phule wrote new marriage ceremonies, following many Present traditions without the use of Brahman Priest and stressing equality between men & women. Phule stressed need for religion on a code of morality for an equalitarian society, attacked Hinduism on a systematization of superstition, hierarchy & exploitation. The present paper highlights the life of Jyothibapule, his courageous activities against Brahmanism in Maharashtra. He is pioneer of all anti-caste movements.

DEPICTION OF 'WOMEN' IN *CHEITHAROL KUMBABA* (A ROYAL CHRONICLE) OF MANIPUR DURING THE 15TH TO 17TH CENTURY

Moirangthem Suresh Singh

This paper analysed the Meitei women's contributions during 15th to 17th century in administration, warfare, economy, trade, and commerce. Historiographical analysis shows that there is a vast amount of information on women's contribution in diverse intellectual and skill-oriented capacities in different periods. These references are found in the Cheitharol Kumbaba, evidenced by numerous cultural artefacts showcasing traditional skills, ranging from weaving, trading as warrior ethic etc. Cheitharol Kumbaba is an account of the royal court and common people written in ancient Meitei Mayek scripts. The paper highlighted how Meitei women played an important role in

economy and shaping the policies programmed by the state at individual and collective capacities. The paper discussed Meitei women of different age groups with different qualities and also well known for their courage to fight and protect the native land if the kingdom faces eventualities. This paper is not to make condescending claim about egalitarianism in the society but significant roles in which Meitei adult women engaged with no opposition whatsoever. In all probability, this historical precedence could be an account for the present day large-scale participation of women in all walks of life in contemporary Manipur.

DALIT PARTICIPATION IN TELANGANA ARMED STRUGGLE CASE STUDIES OF PROMINENT LEADERS OF NALAGONDA DISTRICT

Potharaju Venkateswarlu

Dalits suffer from the interconnections of multiple oppressions of class, caste, gender and cultural at all levels by both men and women, from all castes and classes. This article made an attempt to study the life of committed forefront leaders of Telangana Peasant Movement. In a country like India, immortal sacrifices made by people of downtrodden castes have always got either obliterated or ignored. The dominant class sections of society have their small acts recorded in the history on a grand scale. The sacrifices of downtrodden people have always rejected by the historians. Telangana caste society has turned into class society. Thus leaders of dalit bahujan communities lost their

identity against backdrop here, case studies of prominent leaders and their heroic deeds in the Telangana Armed Struggle are examined Madiga Maisaiah, Gajula Ramachandraiah, Chitram Gopal, Erpula Gopaiah, Pedda Rajaiah all their significant role in the peasant movement should discussed in this article. Access to resources such as land, water is out of reach to these women. The extreme perennial economic deprivation has also resulted in illiteracy, malnourishment, poor health conditions, besides this they are also overworked, oppressed and victimized by a number of factors, including patriarchal attitude within the family and community.

DEVASAHAYAM: A MARTYR FOR JESUS CHRIST IN TRAVANCORE

Dr. P. Pushpa Raj

Travancore was the first and foremost among the princely states of India to receive the message of Jesus Christ. According to tradition, St. Thomas the Apostle came to India in 52 A.D. He made many conversions along the west coast of India. It had to the beginning of Christian Community in India from the early

Christian era. He attained martyrdom in 72 A.D. at Calamina in St. Thomas mount, Madras. He was the first to be sacrificed for the sake of Christ in India. During the close of the second century A.D. the Gospel reached the people of southern most part of India, Travancore. Emperor Constantine deputed Theophilus to

India in 354 A.D. to preach the Gospel. During this time persecution of Christians in Persis ed to have bought many Christian refugees to Malabar and after their arrival it strengthened the Christian community there. During the 4th century A.D. Thomas of Cana, a merchant from West Asia came to Malabar and converted many people. During the 61 century A.D. Theodore, a monk, visited India and reported the existence of a church and a few Christian groups at Mylapore and the monastery of St. Thomas in India. Joannes De Maringoly, Papal Legate Who visited Malabar in 1348 has given evidence of the existence of a Latin Church at Quilon. Rosten noted many settlements from Karachi to Cape Comorin and from Cape Comorin to Mylapore. The Portuguese were the first European power to establish their power in India. Under the Portuguese, Christians experienced several changes in their general life and religion. Vas-co-da-gama reached Calicut on May 17, 1498. His arrival marked a new epoch in the history of Christianity in India. Many Syrian Catholics were brought into the Roman

Catholic fold and made India, the most Catholic country in the East. Between 1535 to 1537 a group of Paravas were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese. In 1544 a group of fishermen were converted to Christian religion. St. Francis Xavier came to India in the year 1542. He is known as the second Apostle of India. He laid the foundation of Latin Christianity in Travancore. He could make many conversions. He is said to have baptized 30,000 people in South India. Roman Congregation of the propagation of Faith formed a Nemom Mission in 1622. The conversion of the Nairs was given much priority. As a result, several Nairs followed Christian faith particularly around Nemom about 8 k.m. south of Trivandrum. Ettuvitu pillaimars, the feudal chiefs began to persecute the Christians of the Nemom Mission. Martyr Devasahayam, belonged to the Nair community and was executed during the reign of Marthandavarnna (1729-1758). It is an important chapter in the History of Christianity in South India in general, and of Travancore in particular.

PERCEIVING TRIBAL IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN THE WRITINGS OF VERRIER ELWIN

Dr. T. Srinivas

Harry Verrier Holman Elwin was born on 29 August 1902 in Dover, the son of Edmund Henry Elwin, Bishop of Sierra Leone. He was educated at Dean Close School and Merton College, Oxford, where he received his degrees of BA First Class in English Language and Literature, MA, and DSc. He also remained the President of Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (OICCU) in 1925. In 1926 he was appointed Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford and in the following year he became a lecturer at Merton College, Oxford. He came to India in 1927 as a missionary. He first joined Christian Service Society in Pune.

Verrier Elwin was an English-born Indian self-trained anthropologist, ethnologist and tribal activist, who began his career in India as a Christian missionary. The first time he visited

the central India that covered modern Indian states of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and parts of eastern Maharashtra, here he was assisted by an Indian, Shamrao Hivale from Pune. Their studies are on the tribes are some of the earliest anthropological studies in the country. Over the years he was influenced by the philosophies of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. While at Merton (one of the old oxford colleges found in 1264), he was taught literature by H W Garrod, he was authority on Keats and Wordsworth. Garrod created a literary group called as Bodley club to discuss on literature and it was presided by Garrod. Verrier developed bond with his literature teacher and even became member of Bodley club but left it when his evangelical interests clashed.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN WARANGAL DISTRICT-2010-2011

Dr. K. Swarupa

Empowerment of women is essentially the process of upliftment of economic, social, political and health position of women in the society. It involves the building up of a society wherein women can breathe without the fear of oppression, discrimination and general feeling of persecution which goes with being women in a traditionally male dominated structure. Although the Indian constitution advocates women should have equal rights and status to men. It seems the present day society treats women on par with men and they are taking part in all fields and progressing forward as Engineers, Air-hostess, Entrepreneurs, Hotel Mangers, Astronauts and other modernized sectors proved their talent. But this is one side of the coin. Though women are leading in all the fields such as education, business and

pioneers in political fields still harassment on woman continues.

The following objectives of the present study: To find out the various kinds of violence against women in Warangal district during the year (2010-2011) To examine the status of violence cases such as reported, convicted, Acquitted, compromised, and pending etc., according to data from District Crime Bureau (DCRB). The present paper tries to focus on some of the facts about the atrocities on women in Warangal district on the basis of daily news papers 'EENADU', 'ANDHRAJYOTHI', and 'NAMASTHE TELANGANA', for a period of one month i.e., from December 1st to December 31st 2011. Data is also collected from District Crime Record Bureau (DCRB) Warangal District.

THE SUB-SUBALTERN VOICE : A STUDY OF SELECTED TELUGU DALIT WOMEN'S WRITINGS

T.Thushara

In the history of telugu trterature there have been many literary movements reflecting telugu history and culture from the varied perspectives. There have been classical writers, prabanda poets, romantic literature, revolutionary literature, feminist literature and now we are moving to **DALIT LITERATURE**. Historians also looked at telugu history from different perspectives- **colonial, nationalist, new cambridge schoot, revolutinary, marxist, modern and subaltern**. Dalit women continued.

to define the boarders of the community, class and race. They tried to express their agony and dissatisfaction through their works. Though dalit women writers try to depict the women as strong and focused in their vision to succeed in lives, they were, however, ablest to succeed in their lives only in the space allotted to them by many pape deats with selected dalit women writings and literature. It formation about untouchability and outlines the history on writing.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT ADDRESS - ECONOMIC HISTORY SECTION
TEXTILE PRODUCTION, TECHNOLOGY AND CENTRES ON THE
COROMANDEL COAST IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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At the outset, I express my sincere thanks to the Executive Committee and General Body of South Indian History Congress for having selected me to Chair the Economic History Section of the Thirty Ninth Annual session of the South Indian History Congress being held at Osmania University, Hyderabad. I am delighted by this immense recognition accorded to me. I deem it to be an appreciation for my minuscule contribution to the field of Economic History. I am glad to share some of my views with my fellow fraternity assembled here to take part in the academic deliberations.

Economic History is the study of our past development particularly in terms of labour and business. It includes production, technology, economic development, business enterprises and the organisation of work. It encourages diverse but rigorous approach to understand our economic past, which draws upon theories, concepts and a wide range of historical information sources. In this backdrop, while considering my privilege to stand before you, restricting myself to the topic "Textile Production, Technology and Centres on the Coromandel Coast¹ in the Seventeenth Century" as part of Economic History.

History of Weaving

The textile industry was the most important industry of India next to agriculture, providing employment to major sections of population in the pre-industrial era, maintaining the heritage and culture of the country. Evidences reveal that the handloom industry is the most ancient industry of India and played a very significant role in the country's economic development from a very long time. The ancient Indian temples give us information about styles of weaving and wearing. Each region of India has its own textile tradition and is known for the production of distinct varieties of material. The art of ornamenting handloom fabrics is an age-old traditional technique and custom from time immemorial in India.

The Western Imperial Gazetteer of India states that, India is the oldest cotton producing centre of the world; it was world famous for its craftsmanship in cotton weaving and dyeing.² The excavation work undertaken at Harappa in 1921, reveals that the spindles and spindle whorls found there indicate that spinning of cotton and wool was very common.³

In the Rig Vedic period spinning and weaving became highly advanced occupation. In this era the art of dyeing and embroidering were also started. A woollen thread called "*urna sutra*" is mentioned in the later *Samhitas* and *Brahmanas*.⁴ Before the Christian era, the popularity of Indian printed cotton fabrics had spread all over the world. Indians produced the best quality clothes with wide varieties and designs. From the excavation it is evident that considerable quantities were carried by the Romans from India.⁵

When the Muslims came to India in the early part of the eight century CE, they were surprised by the wide varieties of painted and printed cotton fabrics. The Mughal poets have described the scintillating muslin and brocades by various names like *Abe-ravan* (running water), *Shabnum* (morning dew) *Sarbatt* (sweet as *Sherbat*), *Bakt-hawa* (woven in air), etc.⁶ In Arab countries it was famous as '*Abe hayat*' and in Greece as '*Garjetice*'.⁷ Many European travellers like Bernier, Tavernier, Mandelslo, Niktin, and Daniel Defoe have spoken about the beauty, sensitivity and uses of Indian textiles.⁸ Later, when the Europeans reached the shores of India they used textiles of the Coromandel Coast to barter for the best varieties of spices from the Southeast Asian region and exported them for European consumption.⁹

Weaving is a method of textile production in which two distinct sets of yarns or threads are interlaced at right angles to form a fabric.¹⁰ A person who makes fabric by weaving yarns together is a weaver. Most weavers use a loom, a device that holds the threads tightly as they are being woven. The longitudinal threads are called

the warp and the horizontal threads are called the weft or filling. The method in which these threads are interwoven affects the characteristics of the cloth.¹¹ The precise shape of the loom and its mechanics vary but the basic function is the same.¹² A weaver sits on his shaded mud veranda at a simple wooden loom constructed in a variety of ingenious ways (no two looms are ever the same) his legs dangling in a pit below and gets to work. The rhythmic clacking of bamboo and chiming of metal rings is absolutely beautiful and astonishing. India's weaving traditions and styles are rich and diverse. Hand loom weavers were mainly men due to the strength needed to batten.¹³ The weavers worked in home and sometimes under the shade of a tree. The women of the house would spin the thread and attend to finishing work.

Production Process

In the Coromandel Coast the entire process of manufacture of cloth was initially done by the weavers at their own houses with the help of their family members. Cotton, the primary raw material was directly bought from the farmers. It had to be turned into thread before the weaver could spin it into cloth. The weaver and his family would make them into thread or yarn on their spinning wheels. The spinning of thread was an established process in textile manufacture.¹⁴ It was essentially a subsidiary occupation for many social groups and one in which women participated in great numbers.

The weavers themselves could turn the cotton into thread and possessed the necessary tools such as the spinning wheel (called *ratnamu* or *rattai* in local terminology).¹⁵ In fact, evidence is available to suggest that spinning was undertaken by all the members of the weaver's family, especially the women. However, certain kinds of threads required highly specialised skills and such threads were produced by skilled groups.¹⁶ Yarn was woven into cloth on a loom and dyed to give beautiful colours. In almost all the important pockets of Coromandel, the weavers could purchase thread directly either from retail shops or from thread markets operating in some specific places.

Weaving Tools

The weavers of the Coromandel Coast followed different techniques in their production

methods, from simple weaving to the creation of complex patterns on the loom, printing, painting and dyeing of fabric. Tamil and Telugu literary works provide a great deal of information on the process of turning cotton into thread and thread into cloth and the instruments used in these processes.

Before turning cotton into thread, there was an extensive sequence that brought the cotton to the spinner: selection of cotton, combing, ginning, cleaning, carding and silvering. For separating the seed from cotton or ginning, an instrument called *ratnam* or hand mill was used.¹⁷

The *Suka Saptati*, a late seventeenth century text by Palakaveri Kadiripati, describes not only the process of turning cotton into thread but also the various stages involved while preparing thread of different dimensions.¹⁸ Most of the village women had taken up spinning as occupation and were closely associated with all the processes involved in the arrangement of warp threads. They used the *kaduru* and spindle for turning the cotton into fine thread. Often, the *ratnamu*, the spinning wheel, was employed for large work, although the thread produced by it was much coarser.¹⁹ In fact, the *ratnamu* was one among many devices which a weaver possessed during this period.²⁰ According to *Suka Saptati*, the women at home prepared a yarn of 3 or 4 intertwined threads and *punjums* of thirty skeins of thread.²¹ The *pante* was a weaver's whirl, shaped like a pyramid, on which the thread was wound. Further, the women prepared the *padugu*, the woof or threads that ran the whole length of the warp, and the thread was woven as a piece work called *kuli padugulu*. *Kande* was a ball or role of thread on a straw, which was put into the shuttle.²²

Native literature provides a comprehensive description of weaving in a loom. After completing the process of turning cotton into thread and loading the loom, the weavers generally used throw shuttle pit looms for simple patterned and pre-dyed fabric weaving.²³ It is quite remarkable that the transformation of cotton into thread, the dyeing of thread, and the production of cloth, were all accomplished through the use of the simplest technology.²⁴ This home spun craftsmanship has not changed much over the centuries. Even the increased

requirement created by the European Companies did not spur any major technological innovations, because the abundance of skilled labour could meet the rise in demand.²⁵

According to a Tamil literary source *Senguntar Kummi*, a rhythmic folk song popular in the fifteenth century, patterned horizontal loom was used for figured weaving called *pukkatu* in the Tamil region.²⁶ In the sixteenth century there was a technological change from the patterned loom to the draw loom.²⁷ The terms *Sadirasakudam* and *achukattu* literally mean a four-cornered frame and a bunch of cords used in the particular type of weaving; a draw loom.²⁸ It is also mentioned that this particular type of weaving with specific number of threads ranging from 60 to 120 was a monopoly of Muslim weavers.²⁹ Possibly, the growing demand for textiles necessitated the invention of the draw loom, a method associated with the Islamic community, newly introduced in the Tamil country during the sixteenth century.³⁰

Colouring Process

Dyes are crucial for textile manufacturing. The most commonly used dyes in the region during this period were those produced from indigo and *chay* root and to a lesser extent from cochineal (Red dye from insects).

Indigo was grown in most of the villages on the Coromandel Coast. The crop was usually raised in the months of August and December. The seeding had to be preceded by three ploughings each time, and provided the rains came on time, the crop could be harvested.³¹ Hyderabad area also supplied a little for use in the Coromandel region.

Chay root was mainly grown in a stretch of land from Peddaganjam to Nizampatnam, covering nearly thirty miles in Guntur. The availability of this dyeing material in the vicinity of Masulipatnam was one of the causes for the *chay* goods manufacturing centres being located at Perala, Ventapalam, Mangalagiri, Rajahpeta, and Battipole.³² *Chay* root was a crucial element in the production of textiles, it acquired an extraordinary economic value, at times even being stolen.³³

Out of the three primary colours, red and yellow were easily extracted from flora and fauna found all around. Blue, the third primary colour

could only be generated from indigo. Hence, blue was known to be the rarest and the most regal colour. Since Indus Valley civilisation, India has been the fore runner in dyeing and printing techniques. This knowledge of extracting blue colour from green leaves of indigo was closely guarded within the family and passed on to the next generation.

Indigo was produced in Northern Gangetic plains, Sindh, Sarkhaj, the Deccan region and along the east coast of India, i.e. the Coromandel Coast. The finest quality of indigo was produced in Biana, around fifty miles north east of Agra.³⁴

The process of extracting blue colour from green leaves of indigo is magical and unique. It involves various steps to be carried out with proper timing. The indigo pigments get detached from glucose as the leaves are soaked in water and fermented. The leaves are removed from the water. The indigo in the water turns blue when exposed to air. The water is whisked to settle the blue coloured watery clay. The sludge is then heated or sundried to be made into cakes.³⁵

It was used to colour everything and it is the oldest natural dye known to mankind. It can be used to dye any kind of fibre and it is a vital constituent to attain shades of green, purple and black. The colour blue is undoubtedly the legacy of indigo.

Textile dyeing centres existed at Devikapuram, Tiruppaarangadu, Kulathur and Manimangalam in the North Arcot and Chinglepet of Tamil region. Huge brick vats were used for dyeing cloth in various colours. Portuguese sources record that lac from Pegu was used as a red dye.³⁶ Scarlet in grain dye was imported from West Asia to Pulicat.³⁷ The root of the *chay* plant, which yielded a fine red dye, was widely used. Sapan wood was also used in dyeing textiles in San Thome and Chandragiri regions.³⁸ The dyeing centres in the Coromandel region were jointly owned by many Kaikolas.³⁹ There were many small scale and large scale textile production centres on the Coromandel Coast.

Most of the weavers used to make coarse cloth for everyday use for common folk. However, some weavers became skilled at making fine cloth. The rich began to buy good quality cloth of various designs. Indian weavers

became experts at making superior cloth and their fame spread across the seas. Indian cloth was much sought after in China, Iran, Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa. Traders reaped huge profits by selling Indian cloth in these countries.

A large number of weavers came to live together in small villages and towns after 1200 CE. Settlements of hundreds and thousands of weavers came up in certain towns such as Kanchipuram, Salem, Chenglepet, Cuddalore, Masulipatnam, Pulicat, etc.⁴⁰ Due to increasing demand for the clothes the yarn production was stopped at home. The demand for cloth was much greater than what they could produce. The whole family started to concentrate only on weaving.

Some people in villages and towns found it profitable to just make yarn and began to devote themselves entirely to this. They came and settled near the weavers. They would buy cotton from the market and then spin it into thread and sell it to the weavers. Gradually different groups of people began to produce different things. One would clean the cotton and another would whip it and a third would buy it from them to spin into yarn. In due course of time, all the various steps of cloth making began to be done in a specialised way by different families. Ginning (removing seeds), carding (whipping to make the cotton fluffy), spinning and weaving and dyeing were earlier done by the weavers themselves. Now each of these was done by separate craftsmen.

The seventeenth century was a period of fluctuating fortunes for the weavers. The European companies figured largely on the Coromandel scene and their impact was especially felt on the handlooms which was one of the principal items of export from the Coromandel region.⁴¹ At the beginning of the seventeenth century only, the Portuguese had a sphere of influence in South India, but by the second decade of the century both the Dutch and the English had entered the commercial fray and the Portuguese power had begun to wane. While the Dutch dominated the first half of the seventeenth century, English had definitely emerged as main commercial power in the south by the end of it.

Portugal had been the first European nation to get a foothold in India displacing the Arabs. They held Goa, Diu and Cochin on the West Coast and Nagapatnam and San Thome on the Coromandel Coast. The commercial interest of the Portuguese was essentially concerned with the export of pepper and spices from Cochin in the Malabar Coast and the Malay Archipelago. The Coromandel textiles were used as the principle article of barter in the spice trade.⁴² Thus, the struggle for a commercial empire in South India in general and the Coromandel Coast in particular in the seventeenth century was mainly among these three European powers.⁴³ This commercial monopolistic trend in turn boosted the production of textiles in different varieties to meet their requirements.

Textile centres, location of weavers, availability of raw material and transport were the primary considerations in the emergence of textile centres. Clusters of weaving villages gradually emerged around the European factories established on the Coromandel Coast. Undoubtedly, new weaving centres emerged into prominence depending on the demand generated by the companies for a particular variety of cloth by and large the companies established their factories within the nucleus of the textile centre surrounded by weaving villages. Every traditional textile centre which was also a flourishing commercial town of the medieval period was ultimately taken over commercially and linked to the factory town established by the Dutch or the English on the Coromandel Coast. This tendency greatly increased production of all the textiles in different dimensions to meet the demand generated by the traders.⁴⁴

Types of Textiles

The type of textiles which were in demand in the indigenous market did not seem to have changed much from the earlier period. But the textile varieties meant for the export market had however a much greater significance in view of the particularity of the various markets where Indian textiles were sold.⁴⁵ A large variety of cotton clothes were manufactured on the Coromandel Coast for local consumption and foreign markets. The textiles for the export market were produced according to the taste and demand of the market concerned. (Table – 1)

The nature of demand of textiles in Southeast Asian countries varied. Calico⁴⁶ dominated the export item from the coast to the Southeast Asian region. Textiles like muslin, dress or fancy goods were on a high demand. They were plain, either bleached or unbleached, and in various colours called *baftas*.

Textiles in great demand in Southeast Asia were *Salampuris*, *muris*, and *Chintz*. The *Salampuris* were made out of staple cotton and woven in wide range, from coarse to fine in many colours with length of 16 yards and width of 1 yard.⁴⁷ *Muri* was also woven out of staple cotton, was of finer and superior quality, usually 9 – 10 yards long and 1 yard 28 inches wide for making *chintz* on it. It was used for painting and was sold in the Southeast Asian region as painted *chintz* or *Pintado*.⁴⁸ It was manufactured by the skilled craftsmen in the villages in and around Nellor, Pulicat, Arni and Madurantakam.⁴⁹

Percallas, were a high grade plain cotton cloth of 8 yards long and 1 yard wide, mostly in white and red and produced mostly in Pulicat, Masulipatnam.⁵⁰ Guinea Cloth was a type of cotton cloth dyed in bright colours with stripes and checks and a texture similar to *percallas*. It had a huge demand amongst tribal population in Southeast Asian region.⁵¹ Besides, *kaingulong* (rolled cloth), *chelas*, *medaphons*, *drogangs*, *dupatty*, *gingham*, *tapichindes*, *sarassagobars*, *tapi-sarassas*, *tapigulong*, *tapikachil*, handkerchiefs and short dyed pieces of calico goods were also produced for export from the Coromandel Coast to Southeast Asia.⁵² *Dungari* was a plain white coarse cloth used by the poor as loincloth, exported to Malay Archipelago.⁵³ *Sucatoon* was a variety of heavy cotton cloth used for packing and as blanket, mostly produced in North Coromandel. There were many other clothes like *matafon*, *pattas*, *allejaes* and *dutties*.⁵⁴

These cotton fabrics of both coarse and fine varieties were used for producing *kalamkaris* or *chintz*, painted cotton cloth of several colours. They were in great demand in the Moluccan Islands. The centre of production was Pulicat.⁵⁵ These textiles were in high demand because of their low cost, durability and attraction achieved by dyeing, painting and printing.

The Coromandel textiles had a high demand in Malay Archipelago. The painted calico of the south Coromandel were very much in demand in the markets of Moluccas, Macassar, Sumatra, Borneo, East and West Coasts of Malay Peninsula, Siam, Tenasserim, Pegu, Achin, Java and Arakan.⁵⁶ Various textiles like *baftas*, muslins, white and striped *sarassas*, *chintz*, Indian *lungis*, Narasapur *joories*, white cloth and *dragong* cloth from Masulipatnam were much sought after in Central Asia.⁵⁷ Muslins were very much in demand as they were of thinner texture and of lighter weight than calico. They were most suitable for wearing in hot climate.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, most of the textiles despatched from the Coromandel Coast were taken to the Southeast Asian markets. Later in the second half of the seventeenth century, the nature of foreign demand for Coromandel textiles changed in markets with tastes and requirements very different from each other. The consumption pattern in Europe was changing. The demand of calico for curtains and coverlets, *bettilles* as fashion wear, and calicoes as utility items of clothing became popular.⁵⁸ Calico became a utility item for all classes because of its use as a soft and lighter inner garment. This started the demand for calico shifts, *izzarees*, diapers, and calico stockings.⁵⁹

The textiles sent to Europe consisted of different kinds in varying sizes, qualities, textures and colours. Naturally the price of each type differed according to its quality and texture. Cotton goods both plain and designed found a greater demand in the European markets. The plain textiles of India displaced the more expensive linens imported from Holland and Germany for household use. The designed varieties were very much used for hanging and decorative purposes in houses. Thus, the Coromandel textiles become competitors to the linens imported from Holland and Germany in the European markets. In 1624, the Governor of the English East Company stated that England annually saved quarter million sterling by importing Indian calicoes through eastern trade instead of costly foreign linens within the continent.⁶⁰ Indian calicoes were used as table cloth, coverlets, napkins and wall-hangings in England.⁶¹

Different types of textiles were produced on the Coromandel Coast to meet the demands of the European companies for export to Europe. They were *percallas*, *muris*, *salampuris*, and *chintz*.⁶² Long cloth, either plain dyed or figured *chintz*, was highly demanded in the London market in the mid seventeenth century. The products from Madras were considered the best.⁶³ Besides, many other varieties of textiles were also exported for European consumption. They were *beathilles*, Golconda *beathilles*, *izzarees*, *allijaes*, *dungarees*, *sailcloth*, *ginghams* (striped cloth), *gobar* (curtain cloth), and *sarassas* (multi coloured).⁶⁴ The sale of cloth was ordinarily made by piece or *corge*.⁶⁵

The export of cotton fabrics increased in the first half of the seventeenth century because they were very much in demand in the continent. In 1621, the English Company exported nearly 12, 500⁶⁶ pieces from the Coromandel Coast and in 1639 it increased to 18,225 pieces.⁶⁷ It increased up to 52,000 pieces in 1652.⁶⁸ In 1650 the English company wrote to the President and the Council at Surat that the Coromandel textiles are more preferred before any of the Surat textiles because they were best suited for France and other foreign countries.⁶⁹ In 1658 the company exported to England from Fort St. George 84,000 pieces comprising of long cloth (50,000), *Salempores* (20,000), and other types including muslins, 14,000. In 1659, the company specified over 90,000 standard pieces, including long cloth 50,000, *Salempores* 30,000, and other varieties 11,000. A standing order was also given to procure roughly 100,000 pieces in future years.⁷⁰ With increase in the export of Cotton fabrics, the Coromandel region began to emerge as the principle supplier for West European markets. In England, the calico craze reached its peak around the 1680s because calico became utility item for all classes. Instead of merely being used on the outside, its possibility as a soft and light inner garment began to be realised. This started off the demand for calico shifts, *izzarees*, diapers and also calico stockings.⁷¹ In 1682 the English company placed an order for 200,000 shifts at Fort St. George, specified that some should be of the coarser cloth, and finer varieties meant for different groups of people like seamen, common people and the ladies (Table – 2). The cloth was also intended for re-export to other European countries.⁷²

The English Company earned huge profits on the sale of the Indian commodities in England and Europe especially cotton textiles. For example, "in 1630s a piece of cloth bought in India for seven shillings sold in London for a pound sterling, i.e. a profit of 300 per cent. A pound of clove or nutmeg bought in India for eight to nine pence sold in England for six shillings at a profit of about 800 to 900 per cent".⁷³ Thus the English Company exploited its own countrymen and amassed huge profits.

As there was no demand for European goods in the East, precious metals (bullion) occupied first position among the lists of imports from England. The increased demand for textiles from the coast by the European companies gave a fresh fillip to the maritime trade and development of production on the coast. Earlier spices were the major export of the European companies but in the latter half of the seventeenth century textiles dominated the trade. Agricultural production on the coast was boosted in tune with the increasing demand for various textiles in the Southeast Asian and European markets. It is evident from the increase in weaving activities. There is no clear idea regarding the extent of land brought under cultivation of commercial crops due to lack of data, but it is justifiable to say that the cotton cultivation was given a push to furnish the necessary raw material for weaving. In 1630s, the price of a candy⁷⁵ of cotton was nine pagodas and it had gone up to fifteen pagodas in 1650s. It shows the increase in demand of cotton for weaving industry. So large scale cultivation of cotton, probably even to the detriment of other crops (e.g. paddy) was done on account of the greater demand in the market.

Textile Production Centres

The increasing demand generated by the European companies geared up production in the secondary sector. Clusters of weaving villages gradually emerged around the European factories established on the Coromandel Coast. A large number of villages were engaged in weaving and other activities connected with the textile production. Undoubtedly, new weaving emerged into prominence depending on the demand generated by the companies for a particular variety of cloth, but by and large the companies established their factories within the

nucleus of the textile centre surrounded by weaving villages. The best example of this kind of development is explained in the account of Daniel Havert (1671-1685).⁷⁶ He says that at Warangal (then a town) and twelve villages, which lay seventy two miles northwest from Masulipatnam (Dutch factory), the weavers produced *betillie*, *arral*, common *sarongs* and also finer sorts of cloth. At Ellur and eight villages, twelve miles from Masulipatnam, they wove fine *salempores*, *percallas*, and unbleached *betillies*. At Mustabad and ten villages, which lay at a distance of roughly twenty miles from Masulipatnam, blue *tapechindes*, *boolongs*, Negro cloth, i.e. coarse *salempores*, *madapollams* (also the name of a weaving centre) and every kind of blue cloth were made. The other nuclei of textile production with their clusters of weaving villages were – Linga with ten weaving villages; Mangalagiri with fourteen weaving villages; Maliporo with twenty two weaving villages; and Ventapollam with twenty four weaving villages were actively involved in weaving. It is evident from Havert's description that every traditional textile centre which was also a flourishing commercial town of the medieval period was ultimately taken over commercially and linked to the factory town established by the Dutch, i.e. Masulipatnam, which was almost equidistant from these textile production centres.⁷⁷

Similar description is also given in the narration of Havert about the textile centres and their surrounding cluster of weaving villages for south Coromandel.⁷⁸ In the Thanjavur area, Nagapattinam, Tranquebar (a Danish settlement), Tirumullaivasal near Karaikal (a French settlement) are mentioned. Havert also comments upon the significance of Porto Novo as a harbour getting supplies from the neighbouring villages. The English at Cuddalore (Fort St. David) received their supplies from the villages in and around their settlement. Pondicherry (the French settlement) drew its supplies from the villages surrounding it as far as Tindivanam and Villupuram. Sadras, Kanchipuram, Madurantakam, Chenglepet and other places dealt with the establishment of the Dutch factory at Pulicat.⁷⁹

The tiny settlement of Chennapattinam (Madras) started to grow in tune with the development of trade in leaps and bounds

getting supplies from the surrounding production centres. They were Triplicane, Egmore, Purasawalkam, Tondiarpet, Nungambakkam, Vasalavada, Trivatore, Satangadu, Vepery, Perambour, Poodoupak, etc.⁸⁰ By the second half of the seventeenth century, Madras replaced Surat as the principle supplier of textiles.⁸¹ The important weaving centres in the hinterland were Salem, Ariyalur, Udayarpalam, Madurantakam, Kanchipuram, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Chidambaram, Chenglepet, etc.⁸²

The policy adopted by the companies in the establishment of their factories is indicated by the letter in the Consultations of Fort St. George in 1677 in which the Agent and Council take credit for the fact that Madapollam was 'so well seated' since it 'lies among the weavers'.⁸³ All the European factories were established on the Coromandel Coast to get supplies from the hinterland and in turn to export to different destinations. Some of the company settlements like Masulipatnam, San Thome and Madras were traditionally surrounded by weaving villages. The settlements were chosen purely for shipment and supplies.

In the seventeenth century there was a partial shift in the dwelling place of the weavers. The majority of them shifted to the company settlements from the temple premises.⁸⁴ The European companies did their best to attract weavers to their settlements. The idea behind this step was to make the procurement of cloth very easy and minimise their dependence on intermediaries.⁸⁵ The weavers were offered inducements like paddy at cheaper rates, lowering of customs and taxes, higher wages, etc. This policy was fairly successful, evident from the records of weavers and washers to the Portuguese, Dutch, English and the French settlements.⁸⁶ The Europeans participated in the trade between the Coromandel Coast and other parts by exchanging pepper for Coromandel cloth and reaped rich benefits.⁸⁷

The European market for Coromandel textiles was dominated by the European companies. There was an enormous growth in the volume of textile export to Europe both by the Dutch, and the English.⁸⁸ In 1642 the Dutch had shipped between 8000 and 10,000 pieces of Guinea cloth from Coromandel to Holland.⁸⁹ In 1681, forty years later, 23,500 pieces of Guinea

cloth were shipped from Masulipatnam to Holland, together with an additional 40,000 pieces from the various factories in Coromandel.⁹⁰ Similarly the English company's export of calicoes from the Coromandel Coast substantially increased.⁹¹ By 1684 it stood at more than a million and half pieces and their relative share of textiles to total volume had also increased to eighty three per cent.⁹² In spite of the transportation charges and other miscellaneous expenses the companies must have made huge profit of 300 – 500 per cent through textiles trade alone.⁹³

In the last phase of the seventeenth century, the calico export began to decline. It was widely believed that the sale of Indian calico was achieved at the expense of the indigenous wool and silk industries resulting in the displacement of hundreds of weavers.⁹⁴ The riot of the Spital field silk weavers broke out in 1697. Another pressure group was the mercantilist lobby which argued that the import of Indian calico meant the drain of bullion from England.⁹⁵ The result of all the lobbying was the Passing of the Act of 1701 prohibiting all Indian printed and painted calicoes.⁹⁶ The ban was not particularly effective because the government admitted in 1721, on the eve of second Prohibition Act, that 'more calicoes are worn in England that pay no duty than are painted and worn here that do pay duty'. The export of Indian calicoes and piece goods into England continued right till the 1820s, though it never touched the peak achieved in 1680.⁹⁷

Conclusion

Textile industry was one of the most important industries of India since ancient times particularly on the Coromandel Coast. In the early days the weaver worked at home and produced for his own use and for the consumption of local populace. When the demand increased weavers began to live in

settlements and towns. Each part of the process was done in a specialised way by different groups specialised in the craft. When the Europeans reached the Coromandel Coast they used the textiles of the coast to barter for the best varieties of spices from the Southeast Asian region and later exported the textiles for European consumption. This trend paved the way for the production of different types of textiles and a number of production centres emerged around the European factories. The settlements like Masulipatnam, Pulicat, Chennai, San Thome, Pondicherry, Cuddalore and Porto Novo attained name and fame for the supply of wide varieties of textiles in the international market. The textiles for the market were produced according to the taste and the demand of the market concerned. The textiles sent to Europe consisted of different kinds in varying sizes, qualities, texture and colours. The plain textiles of the coast displaced the more expensive linens imported from Holland and Germany for household use. They were in high demand because of their low cost, durability, texture and attraction achieved by dyeing, painting and printing. In the seventeenth century, the majority of weavers shifted to the companies settlements from the temple premises. The European companies did their best to attract weavers to their settlements by giving some concessions. The change of interest in the commodities of export from India especially Coromandel Coast shown by the Europeans gave a new direction to the maritime trade of the region and production was boosted. It brought about considerable changes in the agrarian and non-agrarian sectors of production. These changes also had their impact on the socio-economic conditions. The interest shown by the European companies in the export of textiles could be considered as a chief reason for the emergence of Coromandel Coast as significant region in the world markets.

Table 1: Varieties of textiles exported from the Coromandel Coast to Southeast Asia

<i>Allejeas</i>	Striped cotton cloth with checks, either red or white, sometimes decorated with gold and silver threads, 16-17 by 1.25 yards.
<i>Bafta</i>	Plain cloth, average length 15 cubits (18 inches), either white or dyed.
<i>Cachchai</i>	A loincloth made of coarse cotton.

<i>Chelas</i>	From Telugu <i>ceera</i> or sari. A cloth both striped and chequered.
<i>Chintz</i>	Coarse painted cloth worn in Malay Archipelago as sarongs, required no stitching. They were also known as <i>tape-sarassas</i>
<i>Drongang</i>	Cheaply dyed cotton cloth. It was described as black and red, either striped or chequered.
<i>Dungarees</i>	Plain white, coarse calico.
<i>Dupatty</i>	A cloth in double width used for wrapping.
<i>Ginghams</i>	Pure cotton cloth woven of dyed yarn, either striped or chequered.
<i>Kaingulong</i> s	A variety patterned in the loom and usually incorporated gold thread.
<i>Muri</i>	Finer variety of this used for making chintz on it, usually, 9-10 yards long and 11 yard and 28 inches wide.
<i>Matafon</i>	A striped cloth woven chiefly in Golconda and exported to Malay Archipelago.
<i>Patta</i>	A cheap dyed cotton cloth, usually striped.
<i>Percallas</i>	High grade plain closely woven cotton cloth, 8 yards long and 1 yard wide. Mostly in white and red.
<i>Salampuris</i>	Made out of pure cotton ranging from coarse to very fine, either plain white, blue or brown. Length 16 yards and width 1 yard.
<i>Tape-chinds</i>	A cheap painted or printed cloth made for spice islands.
<i>Sarassa and Sarassa gobars</i>	A cheap multi-coloured patterned cloth used as waist cloth and curtain cloth.
<i>Tapi Sarassas and Pulang</i>	Multi-coloured skirts, decorated with patterns.

Table 2: Varieties of Textiles exported to Europe

<i>Allejaes</i>	Striped cotton cloth with checks, either red or white, sometimes decorated with gold and silver threads, 16-17 by 1.25 yards.
<i>Beetellaes</i>	Muslin cloth used for veiling. Much in demand in Europe as neck cloths. Dyed in red and sometimes striped or flowered colours with embroidering. Long 14-15 yards and 1.25 yards wide.
<i>Dungarees</i>	Ordinary staple cotton cloth of the coast, esteemed for its usual length (37 yards long and 1.25 yards wide).
<i>Ginghams</i>	Pure cotton cloth woven of dyed yarn, either striped or chequered.
<i>Muri</i>	Finer variety of this used for making chintz on it, usually, 9-10 yards long and 11 yard and 28 inches wide.
<i>Percallas</i>	High-grade plain closely woven cotton cloth, 8 yards long and 1 yard wide. Mostly in white and red.
<i>Salampuris</i>	Made out of pure cotton ranging from coarse to very fine, either plain white, blue or brown. Length 16 yards and width 1 yard.
<i>Sarassagobar</i>	A cheap multi-coloured patterned cloth used as waist cloth and curtain cloth.
<i>Tapi-sarassas</i>	Multi-coloured skirts, decorated with patterns.

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COINS AND MONETIZATION DURING THE PALLAVA PERIOD: THROUGH EPIGRAPHICAL LENS

Amol Saghar

Coins of the Pallavas may be divided into two broad categories namely those issued in the pre-Mahendravarman I and those issued in post-Mah¹ndravarman I years. The basic difference between the two varieties lies in their physical features. While the coins of the early Pallavas carry only symbols which are distinctive to the dynasty; prominent among which are the bull, the lion (according to C. Minakshi, the former replaced the latter sometime during the reign of Narasimhavarman II, Rājasimha, however, later researches like those of B.D. Chattopadhyaya have argued that a closer reading of the of the

fabric and style of each of two varieties of coins reveals that the lion variety was of a comparatively later period than the bull variety).¹ kumbha, srivatsa, horse and ship and no legends; those issued from Mahindravarman I reign have in addition to these symbols legends also. Mahalingam and others have, in fact, gone on to suggest that many of these symbols represented some kind of numbers and fractions.²

Legends on coins from Mahindravarman I's period are basically royal epithets including Udduti, Curumpu (both having Telugu origin),

Lalitankura, Mahamegha and Sri Vampu, Srinidhi and Sribhara. While the coins with the first five types of epithets as legends were in all likelihood issued during the reign of Mahendravarman I, since these were titles borne by him; there is a slight confusion about the coins having Sribhara and Srinidhi as legends. Both these epithets were common to Narasimhavarman I as well as Narasimhavarman II. One is not sure, therefore, to whom such coins can be described. Though in recent studies like those of R. Krishnamurthy coins with these legends have been described to Narasimhavarman I.

Apart from these rulers; coins carrying titles of many of the later day Pallava rulers are yet to be found. Recently, however, a coin carrying the legend 'Danti', which is associated in all likelihood with Dantivarman has come to light, but a closer scrutiny of it is yet to be done before it is ascribed confidently to him. Dates, not surprisingly, are absent from all the coins of this dynasty. In fact, it is only through corroboration with other contemporary sources including epigraphs and literature that it has been possible to ascribe many of the Pallava coins to the dynasty's rulers.

The coins in circulation during the Pallava age were of varied denominations. Some of the types which make regular

appearance in the inscriptions are ma^ṛcaḍōi, poḍ, kaēa^ṛcu, paēa^ṛikācu, kāḍam, cempoḍ, tāypp^ṛkkucempoḍ, kācu, vió^ṛlvīougu^ṛtūēaiyiñña cempoḍ and paḍam among others. The value of these denominations, of course, depended on the respective weightage of a particular coin which in turn was depended on its fineness. In the inscriptions terms of technical nature such as ^ṛempoḍmāçcu have been used frequently to indicate this aspect of the coinage.¹³

A reading of the Pallava inscriptions gives us an impression that taxation was an important source of revenue for the state. A large number of taxes seem to have been imposed from time to time by the ruling dispensation on its population.¹⁶ Apart from almost all sections of the society being taxed more or less everything of the social and economic life was brought under the ambit of the taxation system including gambling (tax on this activity was referred as dyāta), marriage (tax is mentioned as vivāha), oil-mills (tax imposed is known as ^ṛekku), looms (tax is referred a taçi), shops (kālam), toddy (tax is referred as ā^ṛampāñci), weights (tax on them was known as ā^ṛoipāñci), cotton threads (tax was referred as paññkaēi) as well as houses located within a village (tax on them was known as uē-irukkai).

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14. See Dayalan, *Indian Epigraphy* (Volume III), p. 1129. In the inscriptions where the two— kaēa^ṛcu and poḍare referred to together we come across phrases like poḍāçukaēa^ṛcu, nāçukaēa^ṛcupoḍ, ^ṛeu kaēa^ṛcupoḍ. Instances where poḍ was to be treated as a gold coinage is indicated usually by the phrase 'nāluṇḍa appaōuv^ṛmān^ṛm' as is read in Minakshi, *Administration*, p. 92. For an interesting and a detailed description of these various types of denominations see Minakshi, *Administration*, p. 92 and also Dayalan, *Indian Epigraphy*, p.1129
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- ioaipārciamong others. It may be noted that though on first reading the number of taxes in this period seem quite huge on a closer reading one realises that only some were widely prevalent while majority of the taxes were primarily local in nature and were imposed occasionally. For a detailed list of the names of taxes and customary duties see Mahalingam, *Inscriptions*, p.cxxvii. For an in-depth discussion on each of such taxes we may see Minakshi, *Administration*, p.71-83. Also for a recent analysis of most of the Pallavan taxes we may see Dayalan, *Indian Epigraphy (Volume I)*, pp.871-922.
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 20. The term *veññi* or *viññi* as occurring in the Pallavan inscriptions was basically an "obligation to render labour services that labour rent". The term may be understood more or less as being the same as *corvée* labour. The occurrence of this term makes it clear that it was the most preferred and prevalent form of labour in these centuries. In fact its frequency it is noticed increases manifold by the time one reaches the middle centuries of the Cōōā rule. It would in fact not be wrong to suggest that labour rent comprised the core of the surplus extraction in this period. At the same time rent paid in kind— also an important part of the process of extraction of surplus—was, as is clear from the inscriptions only secondary to labour rent. See Veluthat, *The Early Medieval*, pp. 103-104.
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MARKETS AND TRADING CENTRES IN NORTH MALABAR : A STUDY OF NORTHERN BALLADS

V.K. Anjana

Northern ballads is a vast and exhaustive branch of Kerala folk literature which include many songs extant today.¹ These are a group of songs orally transmitted from one generation to another. The songs are sung by the agricultural labourers while they toil in the fields.² The ballads of north malabar is popularly called as Vadakkan Pattukal. The language used in the ballads is simple malayalam. The themes of these ballads centered around Kadathanadu and nearby areas.³ The ballads of north malabar describes the socio-political condition of North Malabar. This ballads contains many historical elements. Ballads of North Malabar are generally divided in to three categories. Puthuram songs, Tacholi songs and otta songs.⁴ Puthuram songs describe the story of Puthuram Chekavar family lived in Elavannur Desam. Historians often argued that Elavannur is situated in Kadathanadu. The main characters of these ballads are Aromal Chekavar, Kannappa Chekavar, Chantu and Unniyarcha.⁵ Tacholi songs describes the story of Meppayil Tacholi Manikkoth tharavadu, a Nayar noble family. Tacholi Manikkoth Tharavadu situated at Mepparil five kilometer away from Vatakara. At present there is a temple and the deities of the temple are Tacholi Othenan and his brother

Koma Kurup. The main characters of the Tacholi songs are Othenan Uppatti, Vadakara Vazhunavar, Chindankurup, Chanthu etc.⁶ There are many diverse opinions among the historians regarding the chronology of the ballads. The terms and words used in Puthuram songs indicate that this ballads are composed in the 16th century.⁷ The Tacholi songs are composed in the 18th century.⁸ The Tacholi songs mentioned about the European invasion in Kadathanadu. Market places and trading centers in Kadathanadu and surrounding areas are mentioned in Northern ballads.⁹ Forms of exchange, commodity transformed in the markets are mentioned in Northern ballads. The present paper is an attempt to analyse the market places and trading centers existed in Kadathanadu as described in Tacholi and Puthuram songs.

Description of Markets and trading centres in Northern Ballads

Market places and trading centres are largely mentioned in both Puthuram and Tacholi songs. The market centres and type of commodities sold in the market are also mentioned in it. Puthuram songs mention

Nagapurathangadi.¹⁰ Scholars argued that it is the place situated on the trade route between Wayanadu to Tallicherry. Today the place is called as Nadapuram. In Puthuram songs Unniarcha goes to Allimalarkavu to see Pooram festival. On her way to Allimalarkavu she reached Nagapurathangadi, a trading centre.¹¹ The majority of the traders in this region are Mappilas. In ballads Mappilas are called as Jonakar.¹² Nagapurathangadi is mentioned as Jonakar pulappu ulla nadu (a region of Muslim dominance). The head of the trading group in the area was Negappan Chetti.¹³ Chettis were the merchants of gold and they came from Tamil Nadu and settled there. In Nagapurathangadi Unniarcha defeated Nagappan Chetti in a fight. The Nadapuram situated in between Kuttipuram Kovilakam and Purameri Kovilakam. Presently Nadapuram situated in Vatakara Taluk.¹⁴ Divergent views exist among the scholars regarding the location of Nagapurathangadi. Some scholars argued that this market centre located somewhere in Valluvanadu area. But the evidences support that it was a famous Mappila marketing centre located in Kadathanadu.

Puthuram songs mention Jonakar theruvu (Muslim Street), Nayar theruvu (Nayar Street) and Nazrani theruvu (Christian Street).¹⁵ The main commodities sold in the streets are grains, pots, gold, silver, bronze pots etc. Valarkkottangadi, Edavattath Angadi and Thanur Angadis are mentioned in Puthuram songs.¹⁶ Valarkkottangadi, Edavattath Angadi and Thanur Angadi are mentioned in Puthuram songs.¹⁷ Velakottur Angadi and Edavattathangadi were situated near Nagapurathangadi. These markets are famous for pepper trade. The name of Thanur Angadi is perplexing. Scholars argued that the name of the Angadi was Tinur situated in Kadathanadu.¹⁸ Chaliya theru was also mentioned in Northern ballads. The Christians, Muslims and Chettis are the communities of trade.

In Tacholi songs also market places and trading centres were depicted. Kozhikode angadi, Vadakara angadi, Mundoor angadi, Kayannur Angadi and Tazhe Angadi are mentioned in Tacholi songs. The hero of Tacholi

songs Othenan goes to Kozhikode angadi for buying silk cloth.¹⁹ Mundoor Angadi was situated in Cheruvannur, Kayanna Angadi was situated in Perambra route. All types of commodities are sold in these markets.

Vadakara is a port town and a huge trading hub of Kadathanadu. In Tacholi songs Vatakara is mentioned as follows.²⁰

Tazhe Angadi located in Vadakara was famous for copra (dried coconut) trade. Tacholi songs mention Vadakara Bappan, a merchant in Vadakara angadi.²¹ Vadakara was a Muslim majority towns. Silver and gold coins are widely used for transactions.²² The realization of custom duties on the articles was also prevalent in those days. Tacholi Othenan demanded Chunga paisa (toll amount) by Pulimondoth Nair and his brothers and the former refused to give the amount.²³ Trade with foreign countries are also mentioned in the ballads. The silk from China was a highly desirable article of import.²⁴ Malabar having trade relation with China and West Asian countries. The reference to Ezhukadalodi Vanna pattu in the song denotes the foreign imported silk. The place Puthupattanam mentioned in Tacholi songs was also a trading centre. Arabs, and Chinese settled there for buying indigenous products. Angadithazha is a place near Puthupattanam.²⁵ This name indicates the existence of a town in the region.

Conclusion

The markets and trading centres described in Northern ballads existed mainly in Kadathanadu and its surrounding areas. The Puthuram and Tacholi songs gave a detailed description of the commodities sold in the markets, types of measurement used in the trade and the types of transaction existed in the region. By analysing the Northern ballads a clear picture on the socio, economic and political condition of Kadathanadu is found. The market places and trading centres mentioned in Northern ballads still exist. It proves the historical importance of the region.

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INDIA - SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS DURING NELSON MANDELA YEARS (1994-1999)

E. Arunkumar

Introduction

India's relation with the Republic of South Africa has grown from strength to strength over the years. This is due to historical links, mutual support of their struggle against colonialism and racism, the presence of Indian diaspora in South Africa and common perceptions of major global issues.¹

Following the commencement of talks between the South African Government and the ANC, India's relations with South Africa were restored after a gap of over four decades, with the opening of a Cultural Centre in Johannesburg in May 1993. Formal diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa was restored in November 1993 during the visit to India of the then South African Foreign Minister PikBotha.²

In the light of the above background, South Africa's relations with India in the post-apartheid period have improved considerably. Subsequently, Nelson Mandela visited India in January 1995 as the Chief Guest of India's Republic day celebration. Again in March 1997, visited India the Red Fort Declaration on Strategic Partnership between South Africa and

India was signed.³

The Red Fort Declaration on a Strategic Partnership

The Declaration was signed in March 1997 by the Prime Minister of India Deva Gowda and President of South Africa Nelson Mandela in New Delhi. The declaration are,

- South Africa and India look ahead with faith and optimism to journeying together towards the larger goals of their political freedoms, economic development and social justice. As a new millennium draws near, they also pledge to work for a global order that is marked by peace, security and equity.
- shared mass struggles began with initiatives against racial discrimination launched in South Africa by Mahatma Gandhi, the two countries rededicate themselves, to the ideals and vision of the Mahatma and symbolised by their common commitment to the preservation of the Gandhi heritage sites in South Africa, Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm.⁴

- Recalling the spirit of the Asian Relations Conference held at the Red Fort fifty years ago and the Asian-African Nations Conference held at Bandung in 1955, South Africa and India reaffirm their commitment to the goal of universal human freedom and equality among nations.⁵
- Convinced that the United Nations structures need to be more representative of the concerns and diversities of the developing world, South Africa and India reemphasise their belief in the need for UN reforms. They stress, in particular, the need for an equitable balance in the composition of an expanded Security Council to provide a constructive voice to the aspirations of the developing countries.
- Recognising that the end of the bi-polar world has re-defined global equations, South Africa and India reaffirm their belief in the vitality and crucial importance of the Non-aligned Movement as a vehicle for safeguarding the independence of thought and autonomy of action of its members, as an instrument for extending the principles of democracy and freedom in international affairs; in promoting the objective of a world free of nuclear weapons; and as a mechanism for furthering the impulse for an equal world. South Africa and India, therefore, resolve to work for NAM's increasing effectiveness in the promotion of political and socioeconomic justice and disarmament.⁶

From the above declarations, it can be seen that the present day relations between South Africa and India derive their Strength from the strategic partnership agreement signed between the two countries in 1997.

Emerging Areas of Cooperation between India and South Africa

After the establishment of diplomatic relations in November 1993, South Africa and India have signed around 15 agreements/MoUs on various spheres including economic, defence and cultural cooperation.

Economic Cooperation

An active trading relationship existed even before India's independence in 1947 and India was a major supplier of commodities like jute

and tea to South Africa. In the economic sphere the total trade between India and South Africa From US \$ 575.6 million in 1995-96 to about US\$ 2.5 billion in 2000. The main items exported from India are textiles, leather hides, skins, chemicals, machinery and equipment, and vegetable products. Major imports from South Africa are - base metal and products, chemicals, wood pulp and paper and mineral products. Another important development has been the establishment of India South Africa Commercial Alliance (ISCA). The terms of reference for the establishment of this alliance were signed during the visit of the then Prime Minister I.K. Gujral to South Africa in October 1997.⁷

Defence Cooperation

The Defense sector is one of the significant areas of co-operation between South Africa and India in the post 1994 period. In 1994 the exports by the Armament. Corporation of South Africa (Armscor) amounted to ₹ 1,097 million but by 1996-97 Armscor reported exports of only ₹ 302 million.

In defence cooperation a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the field of defence equipment was signed between the two countries during South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's visit to India in December 1996.⁸ At the time of Prime Minister, Gujral's visit in October 1997, the South African Defence Minister Joe Modise announced that the two nations would "enhance and intensify defence cooperation", with South Africa offering a whole range of military hardware to India. In 1998, Gen. V. P. Malik, India's Chief of Staff announced that India had bought 90 Casspir mine protected. Armoured personnel carriers from South Africa's Reumech OMC. South Africa supplied 155-mm'gun ammunition worth \$47million at very short notice during the Kargil conflict in 1999.⁹

The Indo-South African Joint Committee on Defence cooperation was held in Pretoria in August 1998. During this meeting it was agreed that progress in the defence sector was a concrete manifestation of the desires of India and South Africa to build a strategic partnership between the two countries. Views were exchanged on the security environment in their respective regions and on issues and developments that affect regional security and stability.¹⁰

Cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region

The major aim of establishing the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional cooperation (IOR - ARC) was to promote greater economic interaction and human resource development across the region, what is paradoxically both the world's poorest and richest country's region. The formation of an Indian Ocean Rim Association was a manifestation of a combination of events that had transpired at the time with respect to regionalism among the countries of the Indian Ocean. The Mbeki government has renewed its interest in the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation (IOR-ARC). India and South Africa, along with Australia, Mauritius, Oman, Singapore and Kenya are founder members of the Indian Ocean Rim Initiative. The IOR-ARC was formally launched in Mauritius in March 1997. Both India and South Africa have played a leading role in the formation of the organisation.¹¹

Conclusion

South Africa's relations with India in the post-apartheid era have progressed considerably. Since the establishment of

diplomatic relations in November 1993, India and South Africa have signed around 15 agreements/MODs on various spheres including economic, defence and cultural cooperation. It can be seen that the present day relations between South Africa and India derive their sustenance from the strategic partnership agreement (the Red Fort Declaration) signed between the two countries in 1997. "Focus Africa Plan" of the government of India in the year 2001- 2002, has focused initiatives to strengthen Indo-African Cooperation. The guiding principle during Mandela's (1994-1999) foreign policy was the promotion of human rights, democracy, justice, international law and peace in the world. Another important principle during his presidency was the economic development through regional and international co-operation. The end of apartheid and the reconciliation efforts that followed during the Mandela presidency accorded South Africa a certain degree of moral stature in international affairs. India relations with the Republic of South Africa during Nelson Mandela was strengthened.

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DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR – INSTRUMENTAL IN CREATING THE MULTI PURPOSE RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

Dr. J. Chalapathi Rado

Introduction

Ambedkar's forty years immense academic scholarship facilitated to understand the important national issues that the country faced and to find solutions. The important among that are drafting of Indian Constitution, the problem of minorities and issue of Pakistan, reorganization of States, reform of the Hindu social and religious order, social policy and

labour policy. And above all with profound knowledge in the spheres of economics, law and constitutional matters, he helped the central government forming all- India policy with regard to the development of river valley multipurpose projects for irrigation, generation and development of hydro- electric power and internal navigation were evolved and brought a definite shape during 1942- 1947.¹

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar – Minister of Labour Department

An independent Labour Department was established in 1937 that was combined with Industry and called as Department of Industry and Labour. Later subjects like irrigation, electricity and other related to public works were reassigned to the newly formed Labour Department. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as minister of Labour Department and Member of the Viceroy's Council on 20th July 1942.

Ambedkar was directly associated in policy making of the country minimum at two occasions. One was as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in charge of the Labour, Irrigation and Power portfolio during 1942-46. In this status he made significant contribution to the development of country but astonishingly this aspect of his life not known to many of us. Later India got independence he was officiated as Law Minister in the Central Cabinet of India during 1947-51.² The achievements of Ambedkar as the Labour, Irrigation and Power portfolio might be shadowed by the framing of constitution.

Ambedkar and His water Policy

India is a land of rivers and rightly said that the land of inter-state rivers. India is fortunate in having plenty of rivers which are reasonably well spread over its territory. Many of the principal rivers of India, their tributaries and sub-tributaries are inter-state in nature; some of them are also international. But many such rivers have not assured distribution of water in all parts of its territory even not mitigated constant demands of river waters due to the dearth of the natural supply of water on such rivers. The subject of water is come under control of the state and provincial government list as per Government of India Act of 1935³ therefore the states or provinces fight always for water. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar accentuated that water is wealth of country and it must be used with proper planning and conserves it. The natural wealth must be nationalized and properly distributed among the people of the country. The subject of water development should be under the control of national level not at local or provincial level. So that it must be a national issue it must be adjudicated at national level only. Ambedkar recommended that the rivers in India run

through various states and provinces should be regulated by the Central Government and take the responsibility of all these rivers to be utilized as the national resources.⁴

So, river water in India still remains limited renewable resource. So that Indian water policy had evolved under directions of Ambedkar's as part of the post-war economic plan and long-sighted framework of a multidimensional achievement.⁵ With Ambedkar active initiation the Labour Department accepted his recommendations and assumed the best way of developing inter-state rivers. Ambedkar helped the central government forming all-India policy with regard to the development of river valley multipurpose projects for irrigation, generation and development of hydro-electric power and internal navigation were evolved and brought a specific shape. The multi-purpose projects like Damodar, the Mahanadi, the Sone and Kosi were initiated but the significant work relating to the Damodar Valley Project was completed during 1942-1947.⁶

Damodar Valley Project

The Damodar river project is the first multipurpose project in this line.⁷ The River originates in West Bihar (at present in Jharkhand state) and flowing through West Bengal. During the rains the abundant flow of water erodes Bihar and floods in Bengal with water and sand which causes for much suffering and loss of life and property to both states. Because of devastating tendency of the river is earned the name as the river of sorrows or sorrow of Bengal. To control the sorrows of the river many schemes were introduced and committees were nominated from 1855 to 1944 but all are in vain.⁸ The Government of Bengal appointed Damodar River Flood Enquiry Committee in 1944. The Committee expressed the views that have both on the particular problem of dealing with floods in the Damodar River and in general problem of the best usage of the water resources of the country. As the Labour minister of Central Cabinet Dr. B. R. Ambedkar addressed and discussed to representatives of the Central, Bengal and Bihar Governments at a conference held in the Bengal Secretariat in Calcutta on January 3, 1945. He stated that the committee has short vision and to consider only damming of Damodar project for stopping the floods. So

that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar thought that it must be multi- purpose policy which includes not only preventing floods but also provision for irrigation, electrification and navigation.⁹ Ambedkar led the Conference furnished on both issues. And there has not been enough realisation that our policy for waterways must be multipurpose policy as to include provision for irrigation, electrification and navigation."¹⁰ He was very much pleasing to implement such policy which helped for the economic development of India. He also felt that it is very difficult to unite India is separated on the basis of caste, class, religion, region and customs. But use of the water resources for irrigation and navigation can ward off flood and famine; it may help to unite the provinces on the common issue.¹¹ If the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar co-operated each other and accepted to overrule the Provincial barriers their progress would possible.¹²

Conferences at Calcutta

For the quickest and most effective way of completion of project three conferences were lead and presided over by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as the head of pre-independent Cabinet Minister of Labour Department, Government of India. The scheme of the Damodar valley project was a model to the Tennessee Valley Scheme in the USA.¹³ The first meeting was held on January 3, 1945 at Calcutta¹⁴ participated by the Governments of Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces and the Central Government as representatives.¹⁵ There was two aspects as an agenda of the meeting (1) the possibility of exploiting Damodar for multipurpose use and (2) The procedure and method for collection of hydrological and other connected data and their scrutiny. Then the Central Government Technical expert would prepare a Preliminary Memorandum laying out the prospects for a coordinated scheme for multipurpose development of Damodar Valley.¹⁶ As the head Ambedkar addressed the conference on both topics. He remarked that "it is not far from the truth to say that so far there has been an absence of a positive all-India policy for the development of waterways. And there has not been enough realisation that our policy for waterways must be multipurpose policy as to include provision for irrigation, electrification and navigation."¹⁷

The second conference on the Damodar scheme was held at Calcutta on August 23, 1945. The speech of Ambedkar attracted the participants¹⁸ attended the conference on two points that is (1) matters of policy and (2) questions of method and procedure.¹⁹ He stated about the policy that flood control was the major policy and the scheme drawn up in the Preliminary Memorandum did provide for full measure of safety. In the Preliminary Memorandum, unified development plan for the Damodar Valley a series of eight dams were planned at Tilaiya, Deolbari and Maithon on the Barakar, at Bermo, Aiyar and Sanolapur on the Damodar, on the Bokaro and on the Konar which were designed to control one million cusecs of flood water. Ambedkar affirmed that the project would give concrete requisites "(1) an aggregate controlled reservoir capacity of about 4,700,000 acre-feet (2) Sufficient water for perennial irrigation of about 760,000 acres besides water for navigation purposes, (3) electrical energy amounting to 300,000 kilowatts and (4) it would serve to promote directly the welfare of 5 million people and indirectly of many more millions."²⁰ As to methods of Procedure the Preliminary Memorandum suggested the following: " (1) Selections of dam sites to be taken up first; (2) further detailed investigations as to the selected dam sites before construction could begin; (3) the agency for such furthers preliminary investigations; (4) The agency for designing and construction of dams;..." Ambedkar impelled in the conference summarizing these points and reminded the Provinces of their collective quick decision. Then Bengal and Bihar approved the multipurpose development of Damodar River.²¹

Third Conference: April 1946

The third conference was held in April 1946. W. L. Voorduin²² had prepared the reports of the Central Technical Power Board jointly with the comments of the American technical mission. The three Governments concerned officials had been approved its reports at this conference. It was accepted the proposals of the Mithon and Tilaiya projects which were approved by American technical mission and their Indian Associates and determined to begin the construction of the Maithon dam in the month of October 1947.²³ In this meeting the problem of resettlement and rehabilitation was

discussed by the Labour Department on April 22, 1946 chaired by Ambedkar and recommended that 'dispossessed cultivators should be compensated and, as far as possible, given land for land.'²⁴

Damodar Valley Project is an outstanding achievement of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who presided over, guided and gave a lead to the three conferences as well as slowly and successfully negotiated and overcame the obstacles with great concern and skill. With his bold political plan and political sense decided that Damodar would be developed as the Minister of Labour for the benefit of Bengal and Bihar provinces. But he did not attend the fourth and fifth Damodar Valley Inter-Provincial Conference because resigned his Cabinet post.

Mahanadi Hircud project

In Orissa Mahanadi is the biggest river which cause for regular disaster on its milieu. The havoc of the flood was awful. A lot of temporary measures had been attempted to control the devastation of the river but not much success. The Province of Orissa was visited by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1858 and giving an advice on controlling the flood water of Mahanadi. He advocated that the construction of a complete system of irrigation and navigation canals, on lines of the schemes for the Godavari and Kistna.²⁵ Later Mr. Rehand also enquired the same in 1872 but nothing seems to have been occurred till 1928. From 1928 to till 1945 there have been appointed a series of committees to undertake the flood problem. The first of these the Orissa Flood Enquiry Committee of 1928 was head by Mr. Adams Williams the well-known Chief Engineer of Bengal. After that the enquiry in 1937 was assigned to Sri M. Visvesvarayya submitted two reports one in 1937 and another in 1939. His work was followed by the Orissa Flood Advisory Committee which submitted a preliminary report in 1938, three interim reports till 1942 and the last report March 15, 1945²⁶ but all these efforts were ineffective. At the moment the Government of Orissa approached Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to think about the construction of project on Mahanadi on lines of the Damodar Valley Project. A nationalist leader from Orissa H.K. Mahtab also requested him to pay special attention to the flood problem of Orissa.²⁷

Cuttack Conference: November 1945

On the request of Orissa Government the Labour Department arranged a Conference on November 8, 1945 at Cuttack. The conference was attended by the Government of India, the Government of Orissa, the Central Provinces and Eastern States as representatives to discuss the possibilities of developing Orissa river.²⁸ The conference was chaired by Ambedkar declared that "I see the problem in somewhat different light. When I think of Orissa, the picture that comes to my mind is that of a people subject not to one affliction, but many." He mentioned three afflictions one is floods, deterioration in health is another affliction of the people and the third affliction is internal communications of Orissa which is locked-up province. "There is no means of communication either by railway or by canal to connect the vast hinterland with the sea coast." Dr. Ambedkar applauded that Orissa is not wretched province "it has natural resources, and they are by no means meagre. Orissa has coal, Orissa has iron, chrome, graphite, bauxite, limestone, mica, and Orissa has also bamboo, to mention only some of its important natural resources" in addition that "there is another precious possession which Orissa has, namely her water wealth. The amount of water that passes through the Orissa delta is just vast."²⁹

Even though substantial natural wealth distributed in the Orissa province which was faced many difficulties like floods, droughts and famines inflicted the people under development and high poverty. Babasahib Ambedkar shows the way and ward off all the evil of floods. He stated that "Orissa wants to raise the standard of living of her people and advance their prosperity by irrigation, by navigation and by producing cheap electrical power. All these purposes can fortunately be achieved by one single plan, namely to build reservoirs and store the water which is flowing in her rivers"³⁰

The Cuttack conference concentrated first on surveys and investigations for construction of the Hircud project. It was also received priority because Viceroy Lord Wavell had shown interest in it. The Chairman³¹ of Central Waterways Irrigation Navigation Commission (CWINC) made the primary survey on Mahanadi River to identify the site for dam. The Governor Lewis laid the foundation for the Hircud dam on 15 March

1946 before he retired two weeks later. Fortunately before the completion of foundation work of Hiracud Dr. Ambedkar laid down the office in the Central Cabinet three months later. It was completed finally in 1957.³² Dr. B.R. Ambedkar outlined the history of Orissa up to the modern times and would begin her an era of happiness and prosperity.

The Sone River Valley Project

The Sone River Valley Project was another multipurpose project initiated by the Labour Department of Central Government during 1944-45.³³ The river Sone originates at Amarkantak in Maikal ranges³⁴ Madhya Pradesh and flows forward to Uttar Pradesh before merging with Ganga.³⁵ The Government of the United Provinces approached the Labour Department to the chances of development of Sone river in the month of November 1944. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his ministry had given favourably response for the demand of United Provinces and wrote a letter dated December 8, 1944. The Department observed immense possibilities for multipurpose development scheme on the river Sone. The Project provides increasing supplies of water for irrigation, perennial hydel power plant, provision of hydel power for pumping from tube well or from rivers and for industrial development, supplies of water for navigation on the Ganga and improved flood control. Moreover this project was necessary and hoped for the regional development. The project benefited not only the United Provinces and Bihar but also to the Central Provinces and some states. The Central Government was willing to participating in the project but in the financial and technical aspects of the scheme should bring agreement between the provinces and states.³⁶

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16. As representatives of the Conference was attended by the Hon'ble Mr. B. P. Paine, Minister for Communications and

Conference on Sone : March 1946

The Labour Department convened the Inter- Provincial Conference for the Sone project at Delhi on March, 1946. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar headed the conference and its opening he accentuated that for the economic improvement of the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, some of the Central India States and the Central Provinces Sone project very significant. Under his guidance the Labour Department prepared and bestowed the shape to the concept of regional and multipurpose development and the concept of River Valley Authority for the management of water resources on inter-State rivers. At the first Calcutta conference on Damodar Valley Project Ambedkar referred the concepts but in the Sone conference the concepts were spelled out in detail. Because of that the Sone conference was torchbearer for the development of multipurpose schemes and significant in the development of India's policy on waterways.³⁷ The Sone multipurpose project not only benefited to United Provinces but also water policy of Central Government got success. Dr B. R. Ambedkar was very resolute for the success of Sone river valley project.

Conclusion

Ambedkar helped the Central Government forming all- India policy with regard to the development of river valley multipurpose projects for irrigation, generation and development of hydro- electric power and internal navigation were evolved and brought a specific shape during 1942- 1946. For his priceless contribution for the developing and forming different policies for water and power sector during pre and post-independence period so that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is called as father of water resources sector in India.

- Public Works, Bengal Government, Mr. B. Sarkar, I.C.S., Secretary, Communications and Public Works Department. Mr. B. L. Subarrwal, Mr. J. F. Russel, Chief Engineer, Bengal, Mr. Man Singh, Special Engineer (Irrigation), Mr. N. K. Bose, Director, River Research Institute. Mr. N. Dar, Secretary, Post-War Reconstruction Committee, Mr. H. M. Ishaque, Development Commissioner and Mr. A. Karim, Deputy Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, represented the Government of Bihar. Mr. H. M. Mathews, Chairman, Central Technical Power Board, Mr. W. L. Voorduin, Hydro-Electric Member of the Board and Mr. D. L. Mazumdar were also present to represent the Central Government. Vasant Moon (ed.), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches, vol-10, op.cit.*, pp.224-225.
17. *Ambedkar's Contribution to Water Resource Development, op.cit.*, p. 92.
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 19. The second conference was attended by the following representatives of the Central Government and the Government of Bengal and Bihar. From the *Government of India* Mr. H. C. Prior, Secretary, Labour Department ; Mr. D. L. Mazumdar, Deputy Secretary, Labour Department; Mr. M. Ikramullah, Joint Secretary, Supply Department; Mr. H. M. Mathews, Chairman, Central Technical Power Board ; Mr. W. L. Voordin, Hydro-Electric Member, Central Technical Power Board ; Mr. C. Coates, Deputy Secretary, Supply Department; Mr. J. R. Harrison, Deputy Coal Commissioner, *Government of Bengal*—Mr. O. M. Martin, Adviser to H. E. the Governor, Communication and Works Department; Mr. R. L. Walker, Adviser to H. E. the Governor, Finance, Commerce, Labour and Industries Department; Mr. B. B. Sarkar, Secretary, Communication and Works Department; Rai Bahadur S. K. Gupta, Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, West Bengal; Mr. Man Singh, Superintending Engineer on Special Duty, Damodar Scheme ; Major M. Jafar, Director of Public Health and Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Joint Secretary, Post-War Reconstruction Department. *And from the Government of Bihar* Mr. S. M. Dhar, Development Commissioner and Mr. W. G. Caine, Chief Engineer, Irrigation and Power were represented. Vasant Moon (ed.), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches, vol-10, op.cit.*, pp. 289-290.)
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 23. He was the member of Central Technical Power Board CTPB (hydro -electric expert from the Tennessee Valley Authority, USA).
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 31. A.N. Khosla the first chairman of Central Waterways Irrigation Navigation Commission (CWINC)
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 35. Sukhadeo Thorat, *op.cit.*, p.95.
 36. *Ambedkar's Contribution to Water Resource Development, op.cit.*, pp.114,115.
 37. Sukhadeo Thorat, *op.cit.*, pp.95-98.

ENGLISH UTILITARIANISM AND LAND REFORMS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA: THE CASE OF TRAVANCORE

C. Gopalan

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explicate the doctrinal underpinnings of these reforms. It is suggested that the principles and precepts of utilitarianism, with Jeremy Bentham as the founding father, James Mill as its propagator and John Stuart Mill as its interpreter for the next generation, may have influenced the direction that these reforms took. It is important to emphasize that public policy enactments are the outcome of complex interplay of social forces, interests and ideologies, and are seldom attributable to any one factor or force. It is the objective of the present exercise to examine the role of the ideology of utilitarianism in the reforms under review.

2. Travancore Circa 1860

The responsibility for the administration of the realm rested with the *Dewan* who was appointed by the Maharajah with the concurrence of the Governor of Madras Presidency of British India. Lieutenant-General William Cullen was appointed Resident in 1840 and remained in that position until 1860. From 1846 to 1857, V. Krishna Rao was the *Dewan*. He appears to have obtained the position of the highest ranking bureaucrat due to his proximity and unflinching loyalty to Cullen.¹ Cullen subordinated the office of the *Dewan* to that of the Resident, and the influence and control he had over the administration was such as to cause alarm in the Government of Madras.²

The incentive offered by the state to extend cultivation to waste lands, rising agricultural prices, and light land taxes contributed to a contented peasantry. However, in the early 1850s the government was in the throes of a severe financial crisis. Besides budget deficits year after year, reports of government employees unpaid, sometimes for months, surfaced from various parts of the country.³ Also, inefficiencies arising from the state monopoly in the purchase and distribution of pepper added to the financial woes of the state. Corrupt officials siphoned funds from the pepper monopoly and refused payment for the pepper purchased from producers. Driven to despair, some pepper producers destroyed their vines while pepper smuggling to British Cochin, the neighbouring state, assumed unprecedented proportions.⁴

Slavery, though abolished in British India by Act V of 1843, had legal sanction in Travancore. Christian missionaries, in March 1847, demanded that slaves be emancipated. Slave owners and the government were further incensed when missionaries started schools to educate the slaves. They feared that the higher social status that education could bestow on them would be detrimental to the interests of agriculture. With the appointment of Lord Harris as the new Governor of Madras Presidency in 1854, a devout Christian and a committed crusader for the liberation of slaves, the stage was set for the abolition of slavery. The proclamation of 1855 abolished slavery.⁵

The Hindu society of Travancore observed rigid caste hierarchy with strict rules governing even seemingly innocuous aspects of life such as the type of apparel to be worn by women of different ranks. The Christian missionaries had secured for the low-caste Nadar women converted to Christianity the right to wear a blouse to cover their breasts in 1814, for hitherto they could only wear clothes that wrapped the lower body, and leave exposed the breasts. However, the right did not extend to wear a sheet of cloth over that blouse a breast-cloth as was the custom among the superior castes. While this privilege was accorded only to women who had embraced Christianity and not to all women of the Nadar community, such legal artifices could not restrain their Hindu counterparts. Not only did both Hindu and Christian Nadar women begin to wear a blouse to cover their modesty,

they overstepped the limits of social tolerance by wearing the breast-cloth as well. Caste Hindus unable to countenance this social insubordination were outraged. Matters came to a head, and a series of clashes between Nadars and high-caste Nayars erupted in the southern areas of the state between October 1858 and February 1859.⁶

The sorry financial state of Travancore, the prevarication of the government on the abolition of slavery, and the breast-cloth controversy prompted Harris to recommend to Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, the annexation of Travancore into British India. Dalhousie, however, refused Harris permission for such an extreme measure. Travancore, he argued, had never been delinquent in the payment of the tribute to the Company, and therefore annexation was deemed unwarranted.⁷ In any case, the outbreak of the Mutiny in May 1857 removed any threat of annexation that hung over Travancore. The transfer of control of India from the British East India Company to the Crown of the United Kingdom in the aftermath of the Mutiny brought about a change in British attitudes towards princely states. New policies that reduced the degree of interference of the paramount power on the princely states were unveiled. Lord Canning who succeeded Lord Dalhousie, however, made it very clear that the British were in no way retreating from its role as a civilizing force. The princely rulers would be held responsible for misgovernment, and that they would not be reluctant to intervene in the affairs of the princely states as they were morally responsible for all its subjects under the British Indian empire, not just those under its direct control.⁸ In consonance with the changed policy environment, as regards Travancore, political despatches of the Home Government to Madras unequivocally outlined its policy and intentions: the Resident had usurped the powers of the Maharajah by his excessive intervention in the internal administration of the state, and opined that Cullen's resignation would clear the air in Travancore.⁹

3. A Sketchy Biography of Madhava Rao

At the close of the 1860s, as was noted in section §2, Travancore was by no stretch of imagination a well-governed state. The ensuing threat of annexation by the paramount power

was not lost upon the powers that be in Travancore, and was given poignant expression by the 19-year old second prince Vishakhram Thirunal: Native States are every day all round falling victim to the all-grasping policy of the Paramount power. The prelude in Travancore is already sung.... Those who ought most to feel, and endeavour to avert it are least aware and mindful of it. The only way of saving the state is to place its management in the hands of a resolute and vigorous minister like Salar Jung¹⁰ of Hyderabad.¹¹

However, the confluence of a series of events brought about a thorough overhaul in the upper echelons of the administration. The inept *Dewan*, Krishna Rao, died in 1857, and his mentor, Resident Cullen, resigned in January 1860 at the insistence of the Madras Government. With the untimely demise of the Maharajah, Uttaram Thirunal, the 29-year old Ayilyam Thirunal ascended to the throne.¹² Krishna Rao was succeeded by T. Madhava Rao in 1858, an event of momentous consequence to the future development of this principality.

Madhava Rao was born in 1828 in a family noted for its contribution to the administration of the principality. His father Ranga Rao was *Dewan* from 1837 to 1838, and so was his uncle Venkata Rao from 1822 to 1830 and 1838 to 1839. He was a brilliant student of the Madras High School under the Cambridge educated E. B. Powell. A recipient of "a Certificate of the highest grade," Powell described his accomplishments as "far more extensive than those of native young men: his aptitude for pure Mathematics and Physics ... decidedly great, and would secure him an honourable position even in the University of Cambridge."¹³ Before the assumption of the position of *Dewan Peshkar* for the southern region in 1855, Madhava Rao served as tutor to the princes of the royal family. The princes were educated in Goldsmith, Shakespeare and Pope; John Locke; and Euclid and Newton; and encompassed the disciplines of history, geography, astronomy, chemistry and Physics.¹⁴ "Madhava Rao's correct principles, his character of intelligence and energy, his perfect knowledge of English, and the considerable experience he has already acquired in the administration of the laws of Travancore, [and] ... the well grounded knowledge of the company regulation,"¹⁵ earned him, two years later in

1857, at the young age of 29, the high post of Acting *Dewan*. A year later, he became the *Dewan*. In 1866, Madhava Rao was knighted for his contributions to the administration of Travancore.¹⁶

Madhava Rao was *Dewan* from 1858 to 1872, and Vishakhram Thirunal's grandiloquent summary of his achievements bordered on the hyperbole: "What Pericles did for Athens, what Cromwell did for England that Madhava Rao did for Travancore."¹⁷ During his term of office, bureaucracy was centralized, and competitive examinations introduced to enhance the quality of appointments to civil and judicial service. Absence of qualified candidates for the civil service motivated him to improve educational standards in both the vernacular and English. In the middle of the 1870s, the length of roads constructed amounted to 1000 miles while there was none in the 1850s, an achievement directly attributable to the inauguration of the Public Works Department in 1860.¹⁸

The state monopoly in the distribution of pepper and tobacco was repealed: "the interference of the State with the private production or distribution was reduced to a minimum and with the exception of salt, abkari [liquor] and opium which still continue as monopolies, the public has been given perfect liberty to import or export ... any article¹⁹ by simply undertaking to pay to the Government at the fixed rates of import and export duties." Perhaps, the high-water mark of his administration was the enactment of two land laws which secured for peasant proprietorship a firm footing in Travancore agriculture. As I have argued below, this was the direct outcome of viewing society within the context of the utilitarian doctrine as espoused by Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill and applying the precepts emanating therefrom. Madhava Rao relinquished his stewardship of Travancore in 1872, a victim of palace politics and intrigue in which his own role may not have been insignificant.²⁰

In 1875, Madhava Rao became the *Dewan* of Baroda, a princely state within the jurisdiction of the Bombay Presidency in the Western region of the British Indian Empire. Indefatigable economic reformer and innovator that he was, his administrative and economic reforms in

Baroda is a study in similarity to those he undertook in Travancore. The parallelism of his careers in these two states, however, was not confined to his reforming zeal and administrative acumen. He seems to have had penchant for attracting rivalry and intrigue. His spell in Baroda came to an abrupt termination in 1882 when he fell into disfavour with the British tutor of the ruler, F. A. H. Elliot.²¹

4. Utilitarianism: James Mill, John Stuart Mill and Bentham

It is paradoxical that standard-bearers of liberalism should ally themselves with the forces of imperialism, and this alliance was consummated when James Mill and John Stuart Mill entered the service of the British East India Company. The elder Mill secured his employment with the Company in 1819, following the publication of *History of British India* in 1817. James Mill's *History* was an attempt to contextualize Indian civilization, and assess its role and place in world civilization.²² From his vantage philosophical position as a utilitarian, James Mill found India in an inferior state to even Europe in its feudal age.²³ James Mill ascribed the backwardness to the abominable tyranny of the priests and the princes.²⁴ Wherein lies the solution? "The form of Government is one, the nature of the laws for the administration of justice is the other, of the two circumstances by which the condition of the people in all countries is chiefly determined. Of these two primary causes no result to a greater degree ensures the happiness or the misery of the people, than the mode of providing for the pecuniary wants of the government..."²⁵

In Bengal, the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis of 1793 had declared a class of people known as *zamindars*—the hereditary tax farmers of the previous Mughul emperor as proprietors, and the tax assessment was deemed permanent and unalterable. In the districts of Madras Presidency, the Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro, sought out peasants or *ryots* and granted them proprietary rights. The Cornwallis tradition was the object of thorough scrutiny in Book IV of *History*, and Mill found very little to recommend it. The paternalistic and improving *zemindari* landlords of Cornwallis were, to Mill, social parasites sapping the life-blood of society. The extensive possessions of

landowners rendered them indolent, and without any desire to improve their dominions. They preferred control over tenants to earning income and their conspicuous consumption left them with hardly any resource for capital accumulation. The only hope for India lie in its multitude of peasants cultivating modest parcels of land expending their own labour and capital, the very class of people whom Cornwallis had sacrificed at the altar of the *zamindar*.²⁶ Mill's philosophical outlook predisposed him to favour the *ryotwari* system of Munro which called for peasant proprietorship. The state would occupy the position of the landlord, and the peasants would lease land directly from the state.

But before peasant proprietorship could be used as a potent instrument for invigorating India, its irrational elements had to be rooted out and supplanted with the rationalism of science. What Mill found objectionable in the Munro tradition was its prescription for the taxation of land: its advocacy of the practice of the Indian rulers of declaring a fixed proportion of the gross produce as the state's share or land revenue. Himself an accomplished political economist, Munro's recipe for land taxation contradicted Ricardo's theory of rent or net-produce criterion.²⁷

While Bentham's theory of law and government constituted the edifice of the utilitarian structure, its foundation was the putatively scientific Ricardian rent theory. As population increased, lands of inferior quality or marginal lands would be taken up for cultivation. The cultivation of inferior land increased the cost of production, and thereby the price of corn. Therefore an unearned increment or rent accrued to the landlords of the superior soil. No rent, however, emanated from marginal lands as there was no surplus over and above wages and profits. In effect, rent is the reward to the landlord due to differentials in fertility of land.²⁸ What is more, net produce could be arrived upon by deducting from the gross produce the normal return on capital and the cost of labour. James Mill, the Assistant Examiner in charge of land revenue in the East India Company House, considered India a fertile ground to experiment with the precepts of rent theory. Mill had foreseen the possibility of the application of rent theory to India—the taxation of the rental amount or net-produce in his *History*.²⁹ Also, he had later

elaborated upon the principle of taxation of the rental income in his *Elements of Political Economy*.³⁰ From his influential position in East India Company, he forcefully urged its application to India.

Nine-tenths probably of the revenue of the Government of India is derived from the rent of land, never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to be the property of government; and to me that appears to be one of the fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country because in consequence of this the wants of the state are supplied really and truly without any taxation. As far as this source goes the people of the country remain untaxed. The wants of government are supplied without any drain either upon the produce of any man's labor, or the produce of any man's capital.³¹ The enunciation of the principle regulating revenue assessment proved far easier than its implementation.³² Despite practical difficulties except for its eclipse in the mid-1830s for a period of thirty years—the principle of net-produce criterion as the basis for revenue assessment was never abandoned.³³

John Stuart Mill's career with the East India Company started in 1823 at the age of 17, and terminated with the abolition of the Company's charter in 1858. Starting as an unpaid apprentice, he retired as the Chief Examiner during which time he worked in the Political Department dealing primarily with correspondence pertaining to the relations between the Company and the princely states of India. After an exhaustive survey of peasant proprietorship in England and Europe, the younger Mill, like his father, strongly defended it in his *Principles of Political Economy*.³⁴ Also, he approved his father's prescription of taxation of the rental amount of the gross produce of the land.³⁵

It, however, would be inaccurate to characterize John Stuart Mill to be of the same intellectual mould as the elder Mill. There were signal differences in the mental and philosophical outlook of the father and the son impelling John Stuart Mill to amend the utilitarian doctrine significantly. The onset of a severe mental depression in the winter of 1826–27, so eloquently described in his *Autobiography*,³⁶ occasioned him to question

the mental landscape of his life, and to seek out alternative ideas and viewpoints. The cold rational regime of life borne out of utilitarianism, inculcated in him from a very early age by his father, was revealed to him as an inadequate philosophy to encompass the variegated richness of life. The search for alternative ideas led him into the company of English and European romantics, conservatives and socialists.³⁷ The exposure to a different set of ideas highlighted to him the importance of cultivated emotions, and "of poetry and art as instruments of human culture."³⁸ Influenced by Coleridge and Saint-Simonians, the Benthamite tradition of attributing sinister motives to established institutions came under scrutiny. The study of history was seen as an opportunity to observe the progressive development of institutions as the response of humanity to continually changing conditions. Coleridge's position of social structures as fulfilling a need came to be appreciated.³⁹

James Mill, it was noted above, was the propagator of the utilitarian philosophy, and succeeded, in some measure, in formulating economic policy for British India according to its dictates. Also, it was noted that John Stuart Mill's enduring contribution to utilitarianism was to emancipate it from its narrow mooring in cold logic to extend its influence to the warmth of sentiments and emotions. But its founding father and origin as a body of systematic thought was due to Bentham—the moral philosopher who strove to transform legislation, economics and ethics into sciences, and who aspired to become "the Newton of the moral world."⁴⁰ The motive for human action, Bentham maintains in *An Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation*, is the desire for pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Actions are to be judged according to the "principle of utility," the moral code of the utilitarians: the "principle which approves and disapproves every action ... according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question...." The party whose interest is in question may be a "particular individual" or "community in general." An action is said to possess utility "if it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness or (what comes ... to the same thing) to prevent mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness." Thus "A measure of government ... may be said

to be conformable to ... the principle of utility when ... the tendency ... it has to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any which it has to diminish it." 41

Actions engender pleasure and pain, and utilitarian morality extolls the commission of those acts that increase pleasure than decrease it. Therefore, Bentham devises a procedure to quantify the relative magnitudes of pleasure and pain the "felicific calculus." 42 The quantity of pleasure or pain triggered by an action can be measured, and is to a person more or less according to its "intensity," "duration", "certainty or uncertainty" and "propinquity or remoteness." The pleasure or pain generated in the " first instance" brings in its train a succession of pleasure or pain and therefore "for the purpose of estimating the tendency of any act," two other considerations namely, "fecundity" and "purity," have also to be considered. If an action generates pleasure (pain) initially to be followed by pleasure (pain) in the second instance, then "This constitutes the fecundity of the first pleasure"(pain); but if, however, the pleasure (pain) is succeeded by pain (pleasure), "then this constitutes the ... the impurity of the first pleasure" (pain). And when it is community's interest that is at stake, one has to take into account, "Its extent; that is, the number of persons to whom its extends; or (in other words) who are affected by it." Bentham, however, hastens to warn his readers the difficulty of applying this "process" of felicific calculus in its entirety "to every ... legislative operation." The process, to him, approached the character of an exact test as the number of criteria included in the felicific calculus approximated to that listed above. 43

5. Utilitarianism Radically Alters Land Relations in Travancore

All lands in Travancore were *jenmom* lands and the holders of *jenmom* lands were called *jenmies*. A *jenmie* differed from a landlord since his title to the land was inherent. He was, therefore, "a little territorial sovereign in a limited sense." 44 There were two classes of *jenmies*: the state and private individuals. The state was by far the largest *jenmie* because of its extensive possessions. Any person holding land in Travancore obtained it either from a private or state *jenmie*, and such a person was called a tenant. The tenant derived his title from the *jenmie*. 45

The state leased its considerable holdings—about 50% of the cultivated lands 46 on a tenure called *Pattom*. The tenants of *Pattom* lands did not possess permanent occupancy rights, though resumption of land by the state was rare. Delinquency of tax payment by the tenant could not be redressed by the sale of land, for there was no market for lands of this class. The state did not compensate the tenant for improvements, if it chose to resume the land. The tenant therefore did not make any improvements, a tenurial system that did not reward thrift and capital accumulation, a state of affairs least congenial to prosperity. The lands of private *Jenmies* about 20% cultivated lands 47 were held by tenants under a tenure known as *Kanapattom*. *Kanapattom* tenure consisted of both a mortgage and a lease. The tenant advanced a mortgage amount to the private *Jenmie* at the inception of the lease. The *Jenmie* was entitled to the full rent, and the mortgagee-tenant to the interest on the sum advanced by him. The rent actually paid by the tenant was the full rent less interest on the mortgage. The tenant had the right of occupancy for a period of 12 years. The *Jenmie* had the right to resume the land after the expiry of 12 years. But resumption was resorted to only in the extreme case of wilful denial of landlords title or accumulation of rent arrears in excess of the mortgage amount. In the event of eviction, the tenant was to be reimbursed the mortgage amount. The tenant's right was heritable, saleable or otherwise alienable 48. There indeed existed a market for tenants right in the *Kanapattom* tenure. With gradual increase in population, and therefore the value of land, *Jenmies* resorted to the eviction of tenants. To understand Madhava Rao's perception of the problem, let a *Jenmie* be called A and his tenant be B.

It is clear from the above that Madhava Rao beheld the land question of Travancore in its utmost generality, and the two types of land tenures as variations on a theme. The general theme was the leasing of land by tenants from the *Jenmies*. The two variations were the two tenures under which land was held by the tenants. In the case of the state *Jenmie*, the tenants held land on simple resumable leases the *Pattom* tenure. In the case of the private *Jemmies* the lease was a mortgage as well the *Kanapattom* tenure. The *Pattom* Proclamation of 1865 transformed the tenants of government

land into its owners. In 1867 government accorded permanent occupancy rights to the tenants of private *Jenmies*. In the *Memo on Kanapattom Tenure* of Madhava Rao, we have the most comprehensive examination of the issues and detailed arguments for undertaking the reform of 1867. Therefore I shall first examine the reform of *Kanapattom* tenure with a view to unearthing the doctrinal influences decisive in the resolution of the problem. Then, by extension, I shall argue that these same forces shaped his opinion regarding the reform of *Pattom* tenure as well.

Bentham, as has been shown by Parekh, found mathematical and scientific methods of proof inadequate to establish the truth of moral issues. Therefore in *Morals and Legislation*, he appeals to the method in which he had been trained the legal method of proof. The jurist believed that the truth of any proposition could be established beyond a reasonable doubt not only by demonstrating its strength, but also by exposing the weaknesses of the propositions rival to it. The principle of utility, he therefore argued, is superior not only because it tips the scales of pleasure and pain on the side of pleasure, but also because of the weaknesses of the principles rival to it, since it tips the scales in the opposite direction.⁴⁹

Madhava Rao, following Bentham, first lays down the principle on which the issue should be resolved under the heading "On what principles the question ought to be decided," to demonstrate their superiority, and later juxtaposes it with its rival principles, to expose their weaknesses, under the heading "On what principles the question ought not to be decided."

Madhava Rao's proposal that the custom of the country be adhered to raises the question as to whether he was advocating a principle antithetical to that of utility. To the Benthamites,

custom and utility worked at cross-purposes; the one diminishing and the other augmenting the stock of happiness. But it may be recalled that utilitarianism was amended by John Stuart Mill to highlight the importance of established institutions. Madhava Rao, in fact, invokes the authority of John Stuart Mill to buttress his argument that custom be given due consideration in public policy proclamations. Hardship of maintaining the custom=hardship of each Jenmie×number of Jenmies×number of days this hardship will last.

It may now be appropriate to direct our attention to the *Pattom* tenure which governed the relationship between the government and its tenants, a reform undertaken two years prior to the reform of *Kanapattom* tenure. Unfortunately, Madhava Rao has not bestowed on future historians, as he did in the case of *Kanapattom* tenure, a memorandum putting forth his justification for the *Pattom* Proclamation. To Madhava Rao, if only to convince himself of the merits of reform, a felicific calculus of the type undertaken in the case of *Kanapattom* tenure would have been a superfluous exercise. As was noted earlier, Madhava Rao had discerned the common thread connecting the *Pattom* and the *Kanapattom* tenures—the leasing of land by the *Jenmies* to the peasants and from this vantage position beheld the two tenures as two subclasses of a general class. In the case of *Pattom* tenure, the state leased out its lands on simple leases, whereas in the case of *Kanapattom* tenure, it included a mortgage also. If his felicific calculus showed that ends of public utility was best served by granting permanent status to the tenants of *Kanapattom* tenure, what doubt can there be that a similar exercise would have tipped the scales, overwhelmingly, in favour of granting ownership to the tenants of *Pattom* tenures as well?

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DEVELOPMENT OF AGRO-BASED INDUSTRIES IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA DESA

Dr. N. Jana Reddy

Introduction

Predominately agriculture is the main occupation of Medieval Andhra Desa and majority of the people in ancient and medieval South India, as at present. The entire economic life of the people revolved around it. Basically the land and water are the principal factors of production combined in the process of production with seeds and livestock. The literary sources suggest plough agriculture. The use of plough is well attested by the references to it.¹ Kamban, the great Tamil poet who flourished during the 12th century A.D. described in his poem "Erelupadu", use of plough and method of cultivation of paddy. A detailed account of a peasant's work in the field was described by the poet.

The medieval literary sources like Hamasavimtisa, panditaradyacaritra and Kumarasambhavam, etc. refers to different types of grains.² Paddy, pulses, oil seeds and fibres, like wheat, millet, barley, ragi, sajja, korra, jowr, blackgram, mustard, gingerly, coconut, kusuma, cotton, tobacco, chillis and hemp, etc, paddy and sugarcane were considered as the important wet crops.

Textile Industry

This is one of the oldest and the most important industry which flourished greatly, particularly during the medieval period. A great variety of designs and different qualities of textiles were manufactured by the weavers.³ The contemporary literature Hamsavimsati and Sukasaptigive a graphic description of the houses of weavers, the implements used in cotton industry and variety of cloth produced by them. Implements used in local cotton industry were maggapugynta, gutamu, paggamupatte, tokkudupatte, palaka, done, parsariyachulu, cheedudaddalu, cheedudaddalu, dande, krovi kotipullalle, padugulu, gandela kappena, gotemu, lakalu, neeli kadava, gampa, kadhuru, nuluratnamu, etc.

Different communities were engaged in the textile industry. There was no large scale weaving factory. All the family members in the

community were involved in the process of manufacturing at home. Generally, female members were engaged in the production of thread on the charakhas. The male members were mainly involved in the weaving on looms and other processing work such as bleaching, printing or painting etc.⁴

During the period the cloth manufactured can be divided into two categories cotton and silk, cotton cloth of all varieties produced on a large scale was exported other interior centers, the kings, queens, nobles and wealthy people loved to wear the clothes of fine texture and beauty, as a result, the textile industry received great encouragement. In Kridabhiramam, there is a reference to a farmer women wearing a reddish orange colour saree designed with horizontal stripes around the waist. Another women, wore a saree having a Kongu with printed flowers. A teliki women mudugu (silk) saree in a single layer. The kapu cast women wore red silk saree with checks and silver lace (jari) border, converted half of the saree into frills and tucked that portion at back. During the function named Akkala aradhana that, the women wore white silk saree (velipattu).⁵ Men and women of those days used to wear silk cloths with gold laced border karakanachu, bommanchu, madugubommanchu, charalanachu, nagabandamulu, hamsavalulu, gajavalulu etc.

The Navanatha caritra refers to Brahmin wore light pink coloured nirkavi dhovati.²⁰ Nannechoda, a poet of the 12th century, while describing the grander of the lord siva's marriage with parvathi states that the pillars of the kalyanamandapa were covered with a fine cloth. This shows that there was a practice of covering the pillars or the kalyanamandapas with a probable beautiful cloth of a good variety. He, further mentions the silk sarees, the ends of which were knit fine golden thread²¹ The ladies of the will do families were wearing, particularly on special occasions. The silk sarees of superior variety which had golden threads interwoven at the edges.

According to Palkuriki Somanatha's Basavapuram 57 kinds of sarees worn by the

women during medieval period.⁶ And Simhasanadwatrimika describes variety of cloths produced the medieval period. Dyeing and printing were auxiliary industries connected with weaving. A variety of dyed and printed cloths were produced which were favoured by the nobles and rich. The literature belonging to the post Kakatiya period refers to varieties of borders both dyed and printed borders adorned with designs of peacock tails, rows of royal swans, parrots, deer, horses, elephants, lions, doves, and other different figures, black border and of many other types were in use.⁷

Salt Industry

From ancient times salt manufactures were in Deccan coastal areas, salt was also a royal monopoly. Kautilya says that "The superintendent of ocean shall attend to the collection of salt and regulate the commerce of the commodity."⁸ In medieval times salt was widely manufactured evidently by means of the evaporation of seawater. That was transported from the producing centers to other places by means of mules and carts.

Fisheries

Fish were, as they still are, an important article of food consumed by a large section of the community. Therefore the industry of fisheries was in a flourishing condition and add much to the economic resources of the medieval states. The state did not bestow its patronage on the fishing industry perhaps, the foundation of agraharas, the austere life of the Brahmins and the strict injunctions of the dharmasatras regarding diet and drinks would have discouraged it. Basavapurana refers to fish as an item of diet.⁹

During the early stage of this period, kings and princes took to fishing as pastime. The Telugu poet, Koravi Goparaju's Dwatrimika Simhasana gives a beautiful description of a prince, who caught many kinds of fish with a long net (baruvala) in a lake (madugu). The various kinds of fish are: Korramila, valugulu, Bapraminalu, maravula, gendal, vemottla, godisel, royya, pariga, jella, etc.¹⁰

Some fishermen took to it as an occupation to earn their livelihood. They sold raw and dry fish in markets and oil also was extracted from them. It was used as a manure to plants and medicine to cure some diseases.¹¹

Sugarcane Industry

The sources of this period show that sugarcane plantations were raised in many places of South India. The sugar manufacturing industry made considerable progress. Literary sources like caritra, panditarayda and Mansollasa refer to khandamu and cherukumagacla meaning (sugarcandy) sugar and jaggery respectively. In Kridabhiramamu, sugar can be found as one among the items of food that was served in the hotels maintained by women. Here the word pandara was used, to mean sugar.¹² (in English).

Bangle, Bead and Glass Industries

These industries also existed on large scale in South India. Basavapurana refers to a woman wearing bangles and bead haras of many colours. Further, literary works like Kamurasambhavamu refer to articles made of glass like winged glass door (gajurekkha talupulu) and mirrors.¹³ But it is not certain whether they were made in the South India or imported from abroad. Though we find many archaeological sources on the flourishing state of bead and precious stone industries, much information is not available in the literary works with regard to the details of manufacturing them.

Bamboo Works

Many articles were made out of bamboo such as mats, baskets, carts, etc. were largely made out of it, Medaras were engaged in this industry. They set up their industry at the activities of villages or town. Kridabhiramamu refers to their habitation outside the entrance gate of the central city of Warangal.¹⁴ The Medaras used to sell finished goods, roaming as street hawkers.

Oil Industry

Oil used for burning lamps was an essential item in daily life. Every village and town big or small, had at least one oil pressing mill, called ganuga, which provided remunerative occupation to a large number of people throughout the country.¹⁵ Among the oils, the gingily oil was in great demand during the early as well as Medieval days. This oil was used for lighting lamps and also as cooking medium. The provision made for the continuous supply of gingilly oil for lighting lamps. The production of castor oil also was very common and it was

used for medical purpose as well as for lighting lamps. It appears that the oil extracted from the purpose. This industry was largely in the hands of a community of people called the Telikis or Telikivevuru which was one of the important merchant guilds. Medicated oils and perfume oils enjoyed great demand in the external trade of South India.

Leather Industry

Leather was used to make a variety of things during the medieval period. They are: 1) dress 2) footwear, 3) Agricultural goods 4) Industrial goods 5) instruments of art and music 6) Domestic articles 7) Goods in military camps, etc. The village cobbler got his raw material from the farmers and the temples of the guardian deities of villages. During the festive occasions such as annual Jatras and Mahanavami celebration, a large number of animals were slaughtered. The cobblers took these dead animals, pecked the skins and processed them to make leather. The remaining was considered as their ayam or income. This was the usual practice of the day. To produce leather from a large number of animals at a time, especially during the festive occasions, a number of tanneries of large size must have existed in the velivadi¹⁶ (hamlets outside the village or town). Carucarya, a work on Health and Hygiene, suggests to put on foot wear not only for good health and hygiene, but also for decoration. Appana Mantri the author of the Telugu version (A.D. 1360), says that it reduces the vatadosa in human body.

Srinatha pandita, the author of samhita parahita (15th Century), a medieval work, also prescribed footwear to set the vatadhatu in appropriate proportion and to reduce the Khandavata, Sthambhavata and fatigue. It increases the strength of the body and protects eyes and sulala (semen) perhaps keeping all these in view and the traditional beliefs in continuation, people of all classes wore shoes, women belonging to rich families used to wear shoes with straps embroidered with silk and golden thread.

Metal Industry:- Mining and metallurgy formed another important industry. A variety of household articles were made of different metals such as copper bronze, and iron, silver, gold was used not only for certain types of utensils but also

for ornaments by the affluent. The gift of vessels of gold, silver, copper and brass given to the temple as a token of the irbhakti (Respect). And images of deities were made of alloy metal (Pancatoha). The lamp stands were of great artistic value often affluent devotees made the gifts of lamp stands resembling a youthful woman or their own images. Iron industry also was in flourishing condition catering mainly to the needs of army and the peasantry. Koravi Goparaju's Simhasana dhwatrimisica incidentally describes a hot red-iron tyre, just removed from the black smith's furnace. It appears from the literature that the production of different kinds of metal lamps stands in various shapes was a highly flourishing industry during the medieval period. This also indicates the technical skill achieved by the smiths of the medieval period.¹⁷

The Chulukya Someswara III mentioned the following methods for detecting the mines; "The place where the lotus having double buds, palm tree having two heads and a flower having two buds may be identified as probable place for mining. There was a chief that the existence of mineral can also be found by putting an anjana (eye-solve). These beliefs and practices reflect the indigenous wisdom and institution.

Someswara praised the diamonds produced at Vairakar and Sopara. The diamonds dug out from the former place were said to have been the best and the latter somewhat dark in color. Diamonds were collected not only from the governmental side, the efforts put forward by the scientists in horticulture and arts and experts in industries, etc. ..real the holistic approach for the technological development in South India during the early medieval days.¹⁸ This naturally gave a fillip to the agricultural and industrial products and consequent development of trade and commerce. The situation also necessitated the division of labour which resulted in the emergence of new castes or sub-division of the artisan and agricultural communities.

Conclusion

The process of agricultural operations during the medieval period, do not appear to have been different from what they are now. Generally, the cultivable lands were small in size and square in shape. Besides there are references to land of triangular or sloping in shape. Besides

there are references to land of triangular or sloping in shape. Some fields were protected by thorny fencing. Many open fields also existed.

These lands were surveyed and their boundaries were fixed. They were enclosed by ridges on all sides.

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FROM MOVING IMAGES TO THE SOUND: SILENT ERA OF MALAYALAM CINEMA-A STUDY

S.R. Jincy

Kerala has its own great tradition of arts, and the influence of folk art and culture is visible in the culture of Kerala. Surprisingly, the traditional art forms of Kerala had a visual appeal. The shadow puppetry, *Tholpavakkoothu* of Kerala was a best example for it. Such shows were exhibited at festivals of village temples. In India there prevailed many kinds of shadow plays with much popular appeal, which effectively exploited the possibility of light and shade using leather cutouts and puppets of gods and goddesses accompanied by live instrumental as well as vocal music¹. Usually, the stories from the mythology were presented in the shadow dance. Thus much before the arrival of cinema, the people of Kerala were familiar with moving images on the screen. The legacy of Kerala's visual culture may have been helped to the origin and development of cinema as a new medium of expression.

Malayalam Cinema before ' *Vigathakumaran*

Following the screening of the Lumiere moving pictures in London in December 28, 1895, cinema became a sensation across Europe and by the very next year the Lumiere films had entered into India. The first cinematography exhibition in India took place on July 7, 1896, by Lumiere brothers, Louis and

Auguste at Watson hotel, Bombay². Thus cinema reached into this subcontinent which was under the British rule. After the exhibition in Mumbai, travelling showmen conducted shows at various parts of India in temporary tents³. Soon after, indigenous attempts were started in different parts of the country. The waves inaugurated by Phalke in 1913 have arrived in the south India by 1917 with the release of *Keejakavadham*, a tamil silent film by R. Nataraja Mudaliar. Being a part of tamil culture, cinema also reached into Kerala society. By the time Malayalam's first feature film *Vigathakumaran* appeared in 1928, the art form was already more than a quarter century old⁴.

Much before *Vigathakumaran*, the cinema culture begins with the touring showmen. Touring talkies in the South India was started by Paul Vincent, a native of Coimbatore. He also toured in Malabar and Travancore with his bioshop pictures. He conducted an exhibition of the same at Muthalakulam ground at Calicut in 1906, in a temporary tent (similar like a circus tent) which could accommodate a very few audience⁵. It was hardly of thirty minutes show which was followed by equal intervals of thirty minutes. During the intervals there will be a band orchestration which will end up with the beginning of the next show⁶. (This orchestration

was a sign of the beginning of the next show so that the people could gather easily.) Similarly eight to ten shows were arranged for a day.

Very soon Paul Vincent got a privileged position in the society. His fame reached to other parts of the region. But he couldn't continue it for a long time. The successful story of Malabar, didn't repeated in the same way. The financial loss forced him to sell out his bioscope instruments to Kattukkarar Varunni Joseph, a film lover from Thrissur⁷. Joseph Kattukkarar (popularly called as Jose Kattukkarar) thus became the first Malayalee touring showman who proved the bioscope shows more successful than his former. For Joseph, bioscope was a profitable business. He conducted several exhibitions during the festivals at Thrissur especially during Thrissur Pooram⁸. Joseph Kattukkarar started an institution called 'Jose bioscope' in 1907. With the introduction of generators in 1912, he started a new concern 'Jose Electrical Bioscope' in 1913⁹. Very soon 'Jose Electrical Bioscope' became popular in entire South India. Initially Tamil, Hindi and English films were screened. Still Malayali had to wait for another decade for a cinema of its own. Therefore, it was nothing to strange that cinema came late into Malayalam.

Silent Era: *Vigathakumaran* and *Marthanda Varma*

If we consider ever best films of history of world cinema three out of ten will be the silent films. The significance of silent films is that its language is universal that everyone can understand. Silent era was remarkable with some outstanding films were made in Germany, Russia and America. It is to be noted that during the early phase (silent phase) of Indian cinema from 1896 to 1930, about 1300 films were made. India's first talkie Ardeshir Irani's *Alam Ara* was made its entry in 1931. The very same year marked the beginning of talkies in Indian languages Bengali (*Jamai Shasthi*), telugu (*Baktha prahlada*) and tamil (*Kalidas*)¹⁰ and was followed by Marathi (*Ayodhiyecha Raja*, 1932), Gujrati (*Narasinh Mehta*, 1932), Kannada (*Dhruv Kumar*, 1934), Oriya (*Sita Bibaha*, 1934), Assamese (*Joymati*, 1935) Malayalam (*Balan*, 1938) etc. . By 1935 the silent era came to an end; but Malayalam cinema remained silent till 1938.

Unfortunately the silent era of Malayalam cinema is a tragical one. The period of ten years is remarkable only by two films *Vigathakumaran* and *Marthanda Varma*. It is accepted that the first feature film in Malayalam was *Vigatha Kumaran* released in 1928, produced and directed by J.C. Daniel, who didn't have any prior experience with film; himself handled the role of a protagonist¹¹. J. C Daniel became the first producer, director, script writer and an actor in Malayalam cinema as he played these roles for this film. The film told the story of a lost child. (When *Vigathakumaran* was released in 1928, world cinema has already progressed itself from movie to talkie with the film *Jazz Singer* (1927). Very soon (after three years) sound reached into Indian cinema with Ardeshir Irani's *Alam Ara*. Malayalam cinema still waited for next ten years to have a talkie.) However *Vigathakumaran* had its own historical significance. Though most of the first movies in other Indian languages retold mythological plots, the very first movie in Kerala happened to be a social drama¹².

J. C. Daniel, a native of Agastheeswaram, a remote village in the Kanyakumari district of the then Travancore province (now it is a part of Tamil Nadu) decided to make a film on *Kalaripayattu*, as he was an ardent exponent and fan of *Kalaripayattu*, the traditional martial art form of Kerala but later changed to a social drama¹³. He faced several set backs from the initial stages of the film. His venture was rejected by the film studios at Madras and Bombay, which compelled him to start a studio of his own. Thus the first film studio in Kerala was established at Pattom, a small town in Travancore, named as 'Travancore National Pictures' in 1926.

Lack of studio facilities was the major factor that hindered film production within the state, during the early period¹⁴. Malayalam film producers had to depend largely on the studios at Madras, as cinema of that period was made within the four walls of a studio. This increases the cost of production. At this context, J. C. Daniel's 'Travancore National Pictures' has a significant place. Though it did not developed into the form of a real studio, it can be considered as revolutionary attempt in the Malayalam cinema industry to have a native studio even at that time. Unfortunately the film turned out to be a disastrous financial failure. J.C. Daniel had to sell off this studio at a nominal price to clear his

debts¹⁵. Incurring heavy losses with the film, J.C. Daniel went on to lead a tragic life till his death in 1975¹⁶. Similar too was the fate of P.K.Rosy, a lower caste girl who was the heroine of the film, who was exiled from her native place, Trivandrum, by the wily actions of the upper caste elements who could not stomach the idea of a lower caste women becoming a heroine¹⁷. However, the film was a failure it is notable that the film was a turning in the history of Malayalam cinema culture. (Recently J.C. Daniel is conferred with a title as the father of Malayalam cinema.) Kerala had to wait another five years to get its next film, but only to be shelved after a few exhibitions due to a legal entanglement¹⁸.

Paradoxically, the second movie in Malayalam, *Marthandavarma*, too had to encounter a tragic plight, but with a different reason. R. Sunderraj, the producer of *Marthandavarma* was a close relative of J.C. Daniel and also associated with the first film *Vigathakumaran*. As a native of Nagarcovil he set up a studio there in 1932. Thus 'Sri Rajeswari Films' of R. Sunderraj became the second studio in Kerala.

It is noteworthy that, Sunderraj seems to have learned a lot from the failures which *Vigathakumaran* as well as J.C. Daniel had suffered. He decided to make a movie based upon a popular literature unlike an artificially created theme like that of *Vigathakumaran*. *Marthandavarma* was centered on a historical character, 'Marthandavarma', the legendary ruler of Travancore and also based on one of the most celebrated novels in language penned by C.V. Raman Pillai in 1891. By filming C.V.Raman Pillai's classical historical novel, Sunder raj marked the beginning of literary cinema in Malayalam¹⁹.

R. Sunderraj followed the production pattern of Daniel; shooting in daylight and processing during the night. The huge sets as depicted in the novel were setup with wood and bamboo. But, unlike Daniel, he didn't dare to direct his own cinema and for that he entrusted the job on V.V.Rao, the famous south Indian director. The credit for the first paid director in Malayalam thus goes to V.V.Rao; who also prepared the screenplay in English²⁰. Most of the actors were from Madras and northern parts of Kerala. The roles of Marthandavarma,

Mankoikkal Kuruppu and Mad Channan were well played by Aandi, Kesavamennon and A.P. Menon, respectively²¹. Many precautions were taken in the case of heroines, as he learned the difficulties from the case of Rosy, the heroine of *Vigathakumaran*. He bought talented and experienced actress from Madras to play the lead role. Tamil film actress Devakibhai played the dual roles of Sulekha and Subadhra. Sunder raj too had a significant role in the movie.

The movie released in the Capitol Theatres at Travancore in 1933, with very pomp and honour. Since it was about the legendary king, Marthandavarma as well as an adaptation of famous popular literature, crowds rushed in to the theatre to watch the movie. The curse of Malayalam cinema was continued and this historical silent film too had a tragic end. After a few shows police seized the film print in the midst of the show and the show was forced to end abruptly. The police action followed a complaint registered by the publishers of the novel, M/S Kamalalayam Book Depot, for violation of the copyright Act²². It was never released until 1974. All these resulted in the end of the second Malayalam cinema and the film career of Sunderraj. After four decades, P.K.Nair, Curator of National Film Archives, Pune, with much efforts managed to recover the print of marthandavarma from the godown of kamalalayam book depot²³. They bought the copyright from the publishers and made released in 1974 after some editing²⁴. Unaware about the Copy Right Act, Sunderraj, the producer of the film failed to get the copy right from the publishers of the novel. Similar like in cinema, there was a villain in the story, Malloor Govindapillai, who played a negative role in it. Malloor Govindapillai, a prominent figure and a well known advocate at Travancore was behind the police action²⁵. As per the rumors, it was his revenge to Sunderraj (as he failed to invite mallor for the inaugural show like previously done by Daniel) turned into a tragic end of the film. Under the pressure made by Malloor, Ramanmenon, the owner of the publishing house filed a case against Sunderraj and was succeeded in it²⁶.

While comparing with *Vigathakumaran*, *Marthandavarma* proved most technically and thematically advance, which may have been taken as the model for the later Malayalam cinemas. It would have had a great impact on the

cinema of south India if it had not met with legal confrontation. Fortunately, it is one among the south Indian silent movie, which is now archived and available in national film archives²⁷. The growth of Malayalam cinema as compared with others was very slow. The first Indian talkie *Alam Ara* produced by the Imperial Film Company and directed by Ardeshir Irani was released on March 14, 1931 at the Majestic Cinema in Bombay²⁸. The year marked the beginning of the talkies in Indian film industries. When the first sound film in India, *Alam ara* (1931) was made, Malayalam cinema was still behind the silence. The first talkie films were *Jamaishasti* (Bengali), *Bakta Prahlada* (Telugu), *Kalidas* (Tamil) etc. Since then sound films were being made in other Indian languages, but Malayalam cinema had to wait till 1938 to have its first film with sound. By that time Ardeshir Irani has attempted a colour picture in 1937 with *Kisan Kanya*²⁹.

Unfortunately Malayalam cinema began to speak with *Balan* (1938), another social drama produced by T.R. Sundaram and directed by S. Nottani; when most of the regional cinemas were moved to talkies and from talkies to colour pictures. (T.R. Sundaram was the owner of Modern Theatres, Salem)³⁰.

While the very first Malayalam cinema, *Vigathakumaran*, had social plot, the second, *Marthandavarma*, was centered on a historical character, both the films had also come into conflict with the social, economic and even legal issues of the time³¹. Similarly, both the film makers left their film career with their maiden films. The early period of Malayalam cinema was not very much attractive or even in the process of cinema-in- the making. Malayalam cinema remained in a stage of a pre-mature under such circumstances.

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30. K.V. Ramankutty, op.cit., p.4. Also Directed Kandambacha Kottu, (1961) The First Colour Movie In Malayalam.
31. M.G. Radhakrishnan, 'The Soul That Never Dies', op.cit., p.79.

UNIQUE LIFE STYLE AND CULTURE OF SOLIGAS IN THE FOREST AREA NEAR CHAMARAJANAGAR-KARNATAKA.

N. Karibasappa & Dr. Lokesh

Chamarajanagara district is one of the seven new district formed during 1997. Is located in the southern part of deccan peninsula. The district is locked in the southern tip of Karnataka state and lies between the North latitude 11° 40' 58" and 12° 06' 32" and east longitudes 76° 24' and 77° 46' 55". The bordering district are, Mysore, Mandya and Bangalore Rural district apart from Tamilnadu and Kerala State towards Southern and Western Ghats ranges converge into a group of the hills called "Nilagiri hills ".The district is famous for Sandal wood and other forests helps the economy in various way as it provides raw materials for industries like paper crayon saw mills, safety matches and sandalwood. There are three main hilltops namely.

1. Gopala Swamy Hills of Gundlupete taluk.
2. Biligiri Rangana Hill of Yelanduru taluk
3. Mahadeshwara Hills of Kollegala taluk

The Soliga Tribe in Karnataka

The soligar, popularly know as Soliga, One of the Scheduled Tribes of the Karnataka state. Inhabit forest tracts of Biligirirangana Hills of Yelanduru and Mahadeshwara Hills of Kollegala taluks, Gundlupete, and Chamarajanagara of Chamarajanagara district respectively. Different names and various works have referred to Soligar by different spellings. Thurston has mentioned them as Sholaga, Sholagas in 1909 (Vol.IV "The Caste and the Tribe ":379). He also quotes that, in "Madras Mail, 1907" as Soligar. Thurston, 1909 IV,592) Aiyappan (1948), Luiz (1963), Roy Burman (1969) quote as Soligar.Gopal, (1965) and in Census of India (1893) referred as Soliga. In the list of the State Government of Mysore; 1967 and in the Central (Census of India, 1936: Roy Burman (1969) used the terms Sholaga and Soligar. Morab S.G in his book "The Soligas Biligirirangana Hills "states that the terminological interpretations of 'Soliga' is not Known.

According to the Scheduled Caste and scheduled Tribes, lists modification order, 1950, Soligar have been notified as a Scheduled

Tribes Throughout the State of the Mysore except in Coorg, Belagaum, Bijapur, Dharwad, North Canara, South Canara, Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur districts and Kollegal taluk of Chamarajanagara district. In the constitution Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes order (1950) and in the 1931 census. It was treated as a Primitive Tribes and a Depressed Class under the name 'Soliga' (census of India 1961, India, Vol.I, Part V –B(II), P.473). in the same order Sholiga has been shown as a scheduled Tribes in South Canara district and Kollegala taluk of Mysore district. (Soliga is a Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu as per the same order, in the Constitution (Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe order 1950) Except in the different in Pronunciation, the term Sholiga and Soligar is referred as the same community. Even in Kollegala taluk, wher the community is scheduled a Sholiga the more popular name is Soliga. Thus the same community has scheduled in the Mysore State by two different names. From this we can noties that, the South Canara and Kollegala taluk of Mysore District were part of Madras State before, the States reorganization in 1956.

The Language of the Soligas

Soligas have two dialects; one which is spoken by the five clans group of the Male Soliga and has more affinity with the Kannada language and the other is spoken by the seven clan group of the Urali Soliga, which is a mixture of the Kannada and Tamil. Both groups speak Kannada with others (Morab, 2003). The language they speak among themselves is a dialect of the Dravidian language, Kannada. But Urali Soliga division use the Soliga language for intre- group communication and Kannada for inter-group communication. They use the Kannada script (Singh,2003). Soligas speak Soliganudi, a dialect that has 65% lexical similarity with Kannada, a Dravidian language spoken in Karnataka, Andra Pradesh, Tamil nadu, and Maharastra (Morlote et al.,2011). The dialect of the Soliga is Soliganudi which has a melliferous rhythm and is sonorous. Having no original script, the Kannada script is used for writing and learning purposes (Rao,1990). The

soligas residing within the BRT Wildlife Sanctuary speak Soliganudi and those live in different part of Karnataka state speak Kannada, while those who live on the borders of Tamil Nadu speak Elukulada base or the seven clan language which is a mix of Kannada and Tamil. As for the Soligas who have migrated elsewhere for employment, are found to speak different local languages. For the purpose of education. The soligas are being taught Kannada, English and Hindi which in turn has decreased the number of people speaking Soliganudi in the BRT Wildlife Sanctuary.

Food of the Soligas

The staple diet of the Soligas is Ragi (millets) (Morab,1977; Somusundaram,1998; Kopped et al., 1961). Musukinjola (maize) is also grown in the forest fields and consumed in large quantities. Among the pulses, Hurali (horse gram), Alasande (vigna catjang), and Avre (Phaseolus raditus) are commonly consumed. The vegetables used are the leave of sasavi (mustard), Hedda (omaranthus oleraceus), Keera (amarantus mango stansus), and kumbal which are cultivated. Among the varieties, Halasu, Seebe, wide plantain, and Bidiru Kalale (young bamboo shoots) are used in the preparation of vegetables. Cherries and fruits (raw ones) such as Tebura, Geru, Kadu, Sebu, Nerilu Mavu, etc, which are grown in the forest are extensively consumed (Morab,1977). Leaves and other forest produce which form part of their diet are tender bamboo shoots, fruits, honey, edible roots like yams etc. (Koppad et al.,1961).

The traditional food system of the Soligas which is based on hunting, shifting cultivation and collection of wide variety of NTFPs, is intrinsically linked with the forest. These traditional food systems are already being affected by the reduced access to forest resources and the widespread growth of Lantana (Mandal et al.,2010). Traditionally the Soligas consume different types of leaves, fruits, mushrooms, seeds, flowers, tubers, honey, bamboo,shoots, etc. from the forest ; cultivated crops of cereals, legumes, and oil seeds, as also vegetables, spices and condiments, aromatic plants,tubers, fruits besides consuming purchased shops food items of rice, wheat, vegetables,green leaves, fruits, milk and powder, oils, beverage, etc, for daily consumption. The

Soligas have adopted modern food item under the influence of globalization, but they are also eating their traditional food resourced from the forest. The food habits of the Soligas is slowly but surely changing from eating naturally occurring produce from the forests to cultivated agricultural produced and readily available market products. Earlier they would consume one meal a day, nowadays the families are having two meals a day, once in the morning (breakfast) and the second towards the evening (dinner). In addition, those who are working on daily wages basis are eating two times a day and sometimes three times a day.

The Dress Code of the Soligas

The men wear Pancha- a piece of the cloth four yards in length which is wrapped round the waist and covers the knees along with a Kavacha (tailor-stitched shirt). The women wear sele (sari) and Ravike (bodice). The traditional apparel of the Soliga is very simple. The men also wear a small jotra (cloth from waist down to knee).

A piece of wrapped around their shoulder to ward off the Scold. Wearing shirt has come into vogue in recent years and is called as Kavacha. Women wear sarees of colours that blend with the forest hues (Rao,1990). Soliga dress is very simple; the conventional dress of men includes a cloth extending up to the knees and is known as mundu. The younger ones may however, use a shirt and instead of the mundu,, wear a tailored half pant like undergarment of cheap cloth. The traditional dress of females is the cotton colored sari wrapped around their body. The upper border of the back and the front may be pulled up, to cover the bosom and it is secured by a knot tied on the right shoulder (Koppad et al. 1961). The Soligas men wear shirt and Panche, the younger generations wear the shirt, pant and T-shirts, and women wear Sarees and blouse. The present younger generation dress up like outsider. The influence of the outside world is reflected in their modern dressing patterns and the traditional dressing has changed among the Soligas

Marriage System of the Soligas

The Soliga of the Hills have the following types of connubial relationships, namely, (1) Marriage by fource, (2) Elopement, (3) Marriage by services, and (4) Negotiated marriage

(Morab,1977). The Soligas marry when they are adults and generally the alliances are arranged through negotiation. Some cases of marriage by elopement have also taken place (Singh,2003). Marriage by elopement takes place when a young boy and girl fall in love with each and elope to a distant Podu they are provided food and water. They are then brought back to their native Podu where a "Nyaya"(inquiry) is held in which it is decided to levy a fine of Rs.12.50/- After which a simple marriage ceremony is held and the young couple are blessed by the elders and it is celebrated with a community feast (Somasundaram 1998). The Soliga marriage system is simple. The tribal youth begin their courting and married life on a romantic note. There is nothing mechanical or routine in a Soliga marriage. The couple who are interested in each other first share fruit and honey and become intimate. Later they elope into the interior regions of the forest. If they choose to visit another. Podu they are received well and given food. Eventually they are traced by their own Podu people and brought back. After the Nyaya at which they are nominally fined, they are permitted to live a married life and set up a home. There are no forced marriages (Rao,1990).

Currently, Soligas are practicing four kinds of marriages; Love marriage or elopement marriage, arranged marriage, Kuduvali marriage and Marriage by services.

The soliga boy and girls who fall in love and elope to the forests, will be brought back and with the permission of parents they will be got married. In Kuduvali marriage both the boy and girl's family members and the clan allow the boy and girl to live together.

Boys work in grooms house for 5 to 12 years to win hearts of parents. Soligas ascertain either the boy is eligible to hold daughter's hand. The dowry system is absent among the Soligas. A unique tradition "Marriage by service followed by tribal community "Soligas who live deep inside the forest seems to more 'cultured' when it comes marrying off their daughter's. The marriage system is slowly changing among the Soligas.

The Economy of the Soligas

The tribal economy is a forest-based economy. Many forest products are used one

way or the other in the ritual of the tribals. Like hunting, trapping, fishing, and honey collecting, shifting cultivation and hunting was completely banned and Soligas were allocated small piceses of land practice settled agriculture. Besides subsistence crops such as millet and maize, mulberry, and coffee are also grown. Minor forest produce such as honey, barks of certain trees, soapnut, medicinal roots, etc. Are also collected by the people.

While the soligas collect different type of NTFP (Non-Timber Forest Products) like honey, lichen, soapnut, soap berry, amla, wild mango, etc Throughout the year, these products are seasonal and hence can be collected only within a particular time frame. Handmade broomsticks are to be had year round. The NTFPs thus accumulated are marketed through Large Scale Adivasi Multi-purpose Societies (LAMPS) and are a major source of income. The Government of Karnataka set up LAMPS for the development of the Soligas. At present there are three LAMPS functioning in B.R.Hills, Hanur and Chamarajanagara of the BRT Wildlife Sanctuary.

Religious Life and Festivals

Soligas traditionally worship gods like Karaiah, Jadeswamy, Kethappa or Kyatedevaru, and Mahadeshwara. The Soligas are Hindus, They also worship family deities such as Basaveshwara, Kumbeshwara, Nanjundeshwara and so on. Madeshwara is their regional deity. Lord Ranga swamy of the Biligirirangana Hills is belived to be their bava (brother-in-law, i.e. wife brother). According to legend, Lard Rangaswamy is suplsed to have abducted a girl from this community. Two main festivals namely the Rotti Habba and Mane Habba are observed by the Soligas. The former is a community festival in which people from different tribel settlements participate. The symbolic representative of their family deities are worshipped on this occasion. The important festivals observed by Hindu castes in the village temple are Ugadi, Gouri, Deepavali, Sankranthi,and shivaratri, are also observed by the Soligas. The Rotti habba and The ragi habba is celebrated with traditional cultural songs and dence. All the songs relate to nature, birds, trees, flowers, animals, agriculture, rain, god, goddess, water,ect.

Conclusion

The development programmers helped the Soligas received the benefits of housing, drinking water, public distribution card for food, different type of pensions, and to some extent health facilities from the NGOs and Government. Slowly their socio-culture and economic life style is changing and they are now participating in the Panchayathi Raj system and some have even become members of the Grama Panchayathi, Taluk Panchayathi and Zilla Panchayathi. Even

still they are facing reservation problem because some of forward communities include in the Scheduled tribals categories so there need for subreservation for forest bases tribes. The Forest policy affected the tribal livelihood and they faced displacement and the NTFPs ban and with the BRT Wildlife sanctuary being declared as a Tiger Reserve, they will again face displacement and it will affect their tribal culture and life style. Considering the above facts and findings the lacuna in each level. Stage an attempt is made to study the life style Soliga tribe.

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“GLIMPSES OF SHIP BUILDING INDUSTRY IN ANDHRADESA DURING THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD”

Dr.C. Kista Reddy

Andhra desa was famous for its external trade relations with Roman Empire and other European countries since, ancient period. This trend had continued even during the period of mughals and Outb shahis in Deccan. Similarly, the Kakatiyas, Reddis, Vijayanagara rulers' also encouraged foreign trade along with internal trade. So ships and boats of various sizes were manufactured in various parts of Andhradesa. In the following pages an attempt is made to highlight the various aspects of ship building industry and the people or crafts men involved in it.

The Raw Materials used for Ship-Building

The Ship-building industry in Andhra Desa was ancient and second to none in the world even in the 18th Century. As transport by water was the principal means of both inland and foreign trade, there was no extensive demand for boats and ships in Andhra. All merchant ships and boats playing in the Countries Rivers were manufactured in Andhra. The large ships could

be constructed in large number at the Korangi and Narasapuram ports which are at the two principal mouths of Godawari.

Ship-building was possible in the Andhra Desa because iron and other articles such as spikes belts anchor needed for the industry and the wood called red sanders with very thick polar trunks and their subsidiary varieties were found not far away from the Ship building centuries. Besides this coconut Palmyra coresa manufactures from coir and Tumba-Karra are the principal materials for building the ships the collector of Masulipatnam by name Geroge Balain asked Raja Jagapathi Raju, Zamindar of Peddapuram to distich 1200 palmary trees to Korangi dock for ship purpose. In the later part of the 18th century, the ship builders in the Northern Circas somehow carried on their activities with the encouragement of the East India Company. They were offered financial assistance by way of advanced permitted to cut wood from the nearby forests and were supplied materials free of duty. For contribution of a new

boat, 25 Madras Pagodas were sanctioned to the boat builders as Masulipatnam. Using indigenous wood available in the Andhra forests vessels were built at various ship building centers in Andhra. The ships and boats were of great use as means of transport for inland and foreign trade during the 18th century.

The Ship building Centers

The main ship building centre in Andhra Desa during the 18th century were Vishaka Patnam, Korangi Tallarevu Madapallam Yanam and Pulicat, at Narasapuram two or three Leagues from Masulipatnam were large ship building yards where Muslims genoas and Portu guese Building their ships. Vishakhapatnam had been a chief ship building centre for a long time. A small establishment was started in 1661 for repairing ship within a short time at had become one of the important ship building centre in Andhra. Many ships like Dolphn 1698. George 1793 Capt Millars Boat 1711 Arcot Snow 1756. Cuddaloresloop (1757), etc. Were built and repaired at Visakhapatnam many boats were also built under the orders of Fort saint George for service in the West Coast in 1756. The Governor and Council of Fort Saint George ordered the centre at Vishakhapatnam to build three large boats with decks valued 800 Arcot rupees.

Korangi

Korangi was known to be one of the best harbours in India the safest port of anchorage between Calcutta and Colombo. In the year 1759. Westcoast. The English merchant reconstructed the ship- yard at Korangi. This was accessible during all seasons without difficulty for ships of any size. According to topping who visited this port in 1789. Found that may European (French Dutch Portuguese and English) ships visited this Korangi port it was cheap place for repairing ships visited this Korangi. It was a cheap place for repairing ships of up to five hundred tonns. It was mud docks could accommodate twenty big ships including those of seven hundred tones and more. It had every facility for becoming an important port in the 18th Century.

Tallarevu near Korangi

Tallarevu was also one of the important ship building centres in the 18th century. About a

hundred big ships used to be built and repaired here per year. Boats came for repairs even from far away places like Nagapatnam Chittagone etc. during period of the Mysore wars vast number of vessels was employed in exporting grain from the Circars and Bengal to Madras.

Yanam

Yanam being as island in the East Godavari District surrounded by a branch of the Godavari river river had all kinds of conveniences of building and repairing country vassals.

The Madapollam

Madapollam was another ship-building centre, where many English merchants and other their ships vassels yearly built the best and well known timber was available in plenty and iron was also available here. Any sort of iron work viz., spikes bolts anchor were indigenously produced here the natives. There were several expert Master Builders here. They had an excellent way of making shrouds and any other rigging for ships. Many ships such as the ship George (1741) and other water vessels were constructed.

Narasapur at the mouth of river Godavari was another century of flourishing ship building industry during the 18th century. It abounded in good timber iron and conveniences for the ship building and repairing of ships. The ship by name Globe which was returned to Masulipatnam was taken for repairs at Narasapuram. Many Indian and Portuguese ships were also built here in 17th and 18th centuries. it became a very important port. According to Henny Morris, Narasapuram centre was all known more than two centuries ago for its docks for the building and repair of large vessels. Ship of 500 tonnes was constructed at Narasapuram and Korangi. The English authorities warned their employees not to teach the art of ship building to the native of Narasapuram to the prejudice of their country.

Masulipatnam

Masulipatnam was another very important ship-building centre. French travelers like Thevenot and Tavernier who visited Andhra region during the 17th century described Masulipatnam as great shipping and trading centre which had the best anchorage in the Bay

of Bengal. Tavernier mentioned that ships came from all nations and went from thence in to all countries. Provisions were also very cheap here. Masulipatnam was a busy centre. Twenty ships belonging to the native merchants were constantly employed on voyages to Arakan Siam, pegu, Malacca Madagascar Burma Sumitra Persia Maldiv Island etc. the king of Golconda had mercantile ships which traded with Arakan, Tennessee, Ceylon to purchase elephants from him and his nobility. Masulipatnam possessed an excellent anchorage rivaling the great Mughal port of Surat in Gujarat in the Siz of its international trade.

There were five types of ships boats built in Andhra Desa during this period they include Steam ships, Cargoes, Ferry boats, Vessels and Afloat ships. The steams ships were built by mainly Europeans such as, Britishers, Dutch Portuguese and French and native rulers. These were in a big size and more were mostly used for the external trade only. Cargoeships were bult by the native rulers. Zamindars and middle businessmen in the Nadhra Desa during the 18th century the big rivers like the Godavari and the Krishna were crossed by means of a kid of circular basket boats, knoen as ferry boats. They were in use not only in the medieval period but also until the close of the 19th century. Ferishta, refers to these boats as Sabads, which were also called Nukras covered with cowhides men used to row them with a sort of paddle. These were only type of boats that were use both for military and other purposes, for crossing wide rivers. The vessels which were built in Andhra Desa during the 17th and 18th century using indigenous wood available in the Andhra Desa

forests were built at various ship building centre. Andhra vassals were of great use during the period of wars for transport of grains and various materials. They were built so well and strong that English merchants had their ships built at Madapallam.

The Qutub Shahis Vessels supplied between bender abbas and Masulipatnam, carrying cargo ranging from horses to calicos and chintzes, as well as passengers. But it appears that the duty of pelting the vessels and defending them against robbers and pirates was under taken by the Dutch, who are would not allow these vessels which belongs to any king or princes of India a pilot and two or three gunners. The ships belonging to the English East India Company were known as big ships and carried the weight of 200 and 400 tons. At that time Masulipatnam was the Qutub Shahis chief port on the east coast and it carried on extensive trade with Europe, it was called the Golconda coast during the 18th Century ship building industry flourished at Narasapur where even the Portuguese ships were built.

This industry through to such as extent that has been related above, it was supposed to be a danger to the English ship buildings industry. A floating ship is maintained by individual purpose mostly they are used for fishing and to cross the rivers their carrying capacity is one or two persons. For the development of ship-building the forest based industry such as basketry mat weaving these other industries like manufacture of rubberized coir and iron articles were also very much useful.

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**“S. BANGARAPPA'S VISHWA - RURAL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES
SCHEME”**

Dr. S.N. ManiPrasad & Dr. S. Nagarathamma

S. Bangarappa has created his own identity in Karnataka politics. He was born in a rural area, brought up with Socialist principles. He began to adopt these thoughts and proved to be an unselfish political leader, efficient administrator and also a crusader. He always thought of the welfare of the downtrodden as well as the State. He had a dream to make our State to sustain its growth but unfortunately, he lost his position. Even then, he made a good impression and appealed to the hearts of the people of Karnataka.

Vishwa Scheme:

The popular statement of Sir M. Visvesvaraya “industrialize or perish” had its own impact on S. Bangarappa to materialize his vishwa programme, which intended for the development of Cottage industries and generating employment opportunities in Karnataka.

The magnitude of unemployment and dissatisfaction among rural people including youth is well known to all of us. Sir M. Visvesvaraya had a vision that along with industries based on power, cottage industries should be developed throughout the state in order to use the skills of the people and provide employment¹. Therefore, The Government of Karnataka decided to launch a programme, which will ensure continuous and productive employment, strong marketing support, and institutional support for training and other activities and will also use in a better manner the profitable and marketable resources of the state. He considered this as a major step towards employment- oriented rural economic development³.

He had in his last budget speech informed the house that the government has decided to launch a scheme called ‘VISHWA’- named after Sir M. Visveswaraya and had earmarked an amount of Rs10 crore to launch this programme. Hon’ble Members are aware that this programme was inaugurated on the 2 October, 1991 by the Hon’ble Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao.²

Vishwa is a scheme that has been conceived out of social and economic thinking for the past 30 years, and out of concern for the growing rural population which does not get ample opportunities to showcase its skills and capabilities, or to earn. A basic level of livelihood, which is a fact, we all are well aware of that. In one society, much respect is given to the people who own property. We expect that before the end of the month, the scheme would have covered about 30,000 people in different skills. In 1992-93, the government proposed to establish an additional 3,500 production centers providing additional employment to more than 1,50,000 persons. This also includes construction of 1000 common work sheds at a cost of Rs20 crore, which will be completed within six months, establishment of 175 common facility centers, several testing laboratories for ensuring quality etc. This programme is estimated to cost Rs475 crore for the year 1992-93. He had proposed a budgetary support of Rs75 crore towards this programme. An amount of Rs320 crore will be obtained in the form of institutional finance from banks, Small Infrastructure Development Bank of India etc. The balance of Rs80 crore will be provided for under BROP, Simplified Employee Pension Plan (SEP) and other schemes which have been integrated into ‘VISHWA’ to provide a complete package of assistance.

The government is making pension payments to many categories of people at present. Among them widows and physically challenged persons could be advantageously covered under ‘VISHWA’ by giving them intensive training in certain selected trades so that they could also earn a minimum of Rs.750 per month⁴. He accordingly proposed that all the widow pensioners in the state be brought under the ‘VISHWA’ programme within one year and all the eligible physically challenged persons within a period of two years Similarly, as many educated unemployed rural youth as possible would also be covered under this programme. The ultimate objective of ‘VISHWA’ is to provide such continuous productive employment to at least five lakh people in over one and a half lakh productive units in the next five years.⁵

'VISHWA' is a scheme which is being implemented with the considerable amount of public money with the sole aim of creating continuous productive employment opportunities in the rural areas. His opinion that these beneficiaries do have a social responsibility to discharge by the general development of their own villages. Therefore, he proposed to formulate a scheme in which every 'VISHWA' beneficiary will contribute a small part of his or her earnings to a fund which will be utilized for constructing village schools, houses, drinking water rural roads and other such need-based requirements in their own areas. The details of this fund are being formulated, and he hoped to place them before you in this session itself for the purpose of enacting a suitable law.

He was proud to state that a number of states in the country have shown considerable and keen interest in the programme with the intention to formulate similar schemes in their states. The government of India also has been in constant touch with us to ascertain the detail of the implementation of 'VISHWA' with the objective of formulating National Policies on Rural Employment and Export Promotion.

The Indian rural social resources were inherent in the flame where the vines of the same flames were burned around. It has been constantly trying to free itself from self-reliance. Especially in the postmodern states, govts. have sought to reduce from democratic economic planning and programs. India has getting a top place in both philosophical and cultural way. On the other hand, India as underdeveloped country in social, economic and educational sectors. After, adopting a noble or modern constitution in India or after implementing of the Indian constitution it directs the Central and State governments should implement and plan their economic plans for development of rural India.

In Indian democracy, Karnataka gets a special place. It has been making many developing programmes for the development of state. As a result, the intensity of the state's small and integrated tensions began to shrink. Of course, in this background Karnataka, by the 1980s, was an agricultural-based state, and the receipts from this sector began to decline and changed their path into purely Industrialization. When Karnataka government gives priority to

economic sector in the industries automatically, Karnataka changed its entire dependent societies. During 1980's the state shook the families of agriculture, life leading works got down falling, small and large-scale industries could not solve the unemployment problems. Vishwa programme was the best solution for the gigantic problem of unemployment in rural Karnataka.

State governments implemented industrial policies based on the rural development. It also cannot be lost resources of rural people and career skills. Though, it's not reduced the unemployment of different sectors, poverty, and mainly it's not properly utilized the resources. In 1991-92, socialist backward politician S.Bangarappa set out in his visionary home and small business policy to set up a strong economy in the backdrop of all these bitter experiences. He realized that there was an opportunity for a large number of people to be employed in this area and gave it a new look. In this direction, he implemented a new industrial programme called the Vishwa for his magnificent rural resolution.

The format of the Vishwa program:

S.Bangarappa's ideas of the Vishwa scheme.

- Providing sustainable and productive jobs to all social and economical class in rural areas.
- Maintaining the quality of productivity with the best marketing arrangements for goods & service produced in this sector and the best rewards for producers
- Rural Production Sectors like Weaving Handicrafts, Tanning Silk Fabrics, Animal Husbandry, Horticulture, Food Processing, Housing and Buildings, with help the Unemployed people in producing commodities by creating more jobs from these activities and bringing down resources to revenues.
- Providing financial resources and infrastructure for the supply of raw material and for training to earn a certain amount of income.
- Bangarappa's Aspiration of Rural Development Industrial Programme reviewing projects to revitalize sick small industries through the intentions of the Vishwa scheme.

According to one estimate, about seventy lakh people aged between fifteen and fifty-nine are working in the non-agricultural sector, and it is expected to grow to Rs One crore over the next ten years that is 2001.⁶ we need to provide thirty lakh extra jobs over the next ten years there are about twenty lakh job creations in the industry which means that the current situation in the industrial sector is a matter of employment evolution, with an average annual growth of 4 per cent.

Preferred Groups of Vishwa Scheme:

- Formal education men and women aged between 18 and 35.
- All Kind Unemployed.
- Rural residents.
- Those who are already in Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP), Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP), Training for Rural Youth For Self Employment Programme (TRYSEM), Development of Women and Children's In Rural Area (DWACRA), Nehru Rajgar Yojana (NRY), Jawhar Rajgar Yojana (JRY), Simplified Employee Pension Plan (SEP) trained by Central and State Governments.
- Inviting entrepreneurship to invite all the necessary assistance to the production of small businesses.
- Especially for the women who were socially economically backward, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes for Women, these principal groups are to form a integrated rural society. Its primary goal is to motivate them to help them gain professional or modern entrepreneurial professional skills through this program to help them gain income. These efforts have shown that rural and social revenues are not overwhelming, and their economic inequality can be diminished.

Programme Implementation Method

The implementation of each deployment program is usually implemented by government to implement in a decentralized process, especially after the Panchayat Raj system enforcement, followed by the implementation of the programme of the state to the country as a

model rural development programme. The Government of Karnataka has come forward to implement some scientific formulas in order to become a part of the rural community of all social classes. This program is designed so that they can make income-generating and affordable family ways to make them all employees.

Creating Supplementary Systems for Production

One of the most frequent tasks of supply of raw materials to the manufacturing industry, and to deliver consumer goods-services to consumers through the market, which will be a continuous process. Development in economic activity are weakened, the disastrous consequences will deviate from the manufacturing sector so that the corporation councils selected in the district are identified as market mates. Providing good raw materials including storage and oil supplies to refine certain ingredients to adopt their revision and quality control. Government specific boards have been identified to handle this responsibility. Customers will be permitted to promote their product in the electronic media through advertisements provided to the district-level committees that provide traffic to the exhibitors to provide products to the customers to deliver the manufactured goods to consumers The Vishwa Program achieved the desired results in for non-scientific sciences which successfully achieved the objectives of the supply of essential financial resources generated from other than government sources.

S. Bangarappa was the chief minister of Karnataka who was very much concerned about implementing this program in accordance with the Constitution's intentions. For that he gave a thousand lakh rupees to the budget.⁷ The budget required more funds for this project from 1994-95 which did not actually work in government implementation processes on its revised budget. Only 96 percent of the resources used in 1995-96 have been acquired and have been shown to have achieved maximum success in advanced lines, but only their subsequent governments have funded the project. The production cost is high on goods and services produced by home and small industrial sectors It is impossible to direct competition between medium and large investment industries in most cases, goods listed to produce under the Vishwa Program are

examples rejected by veterans. It would be foolish if it had made all of its rupees liable. If a program is to be successful, it is the responsibility of the qualified people to take advantage of how to benefit their lives rather than their shadow. Bangarappa, who was aware of the real picture of the entire rural society, has been acknowledged for his role in the implementation of this scheme for disabled persons and educated unemployed youth from all section of the country.

His main concern was about poor people and raised his voice continuously against the downtrodden and the many good public works reinforced, made him as an invincible mass

leader in his constituency, and therefore people believed that he would never say NO and he came to be called as YES Bangarappa. Bangarappa had come across with the ups and downs in his life. But he was an important person who strived for the excellence of the backward class and the Dalits. The excellent people, the great achievers are immortals as per the writings in history. But their achievements, their love and affection towards people, and their path and purity of life are enough to find a permanent place in the hearts of the people. In continuation, these words apply for Sarekoppa Bangarappa. He finds a permanent place in the hearts of the people of Karnataka, especially the Dalits and Backward classes.

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FLOODS, SUSTAINABLE LIVING AND RECONSTRUCTION : A KERALA EXPERIENCE

Dr. Paslithil

Floods are the most common natural disaster in the world which are old as history. The increase in the devastating damage caused by them in recent years has become a concern of global community. Floods are considered to be one of the deadliest disasters in India. The recent flood of Kerala affected lakhs of people across the state and caused heavy loss of life, property and livelihood of thousands of people.

During the middle of the South West Monsoon season from 8 to 16 August 1918 the state witnessed incessant rainfall which caused the over flowing of the rivers in Kerala and flooding of the surrounding areas. As a result 483 people lost their lives and economic loss to the state was estimated to be more than 30000 crores¹. The floods very badly affected elderly people, poor, Adivasis and other vulnerable groups of the society. The change in topography due to human interventions and climate change are considered to be the

prominent causes to the sporadic rainfall during that period. The uncontrolled stone quarrying and unscientific land use system are other reasons to the ecological imbalance in the state. Further deforestation of Western Ghats is a major factor for the large scale land slide in many parts of the hill areas during that time.

The state was not a place of seasoned flooding. The state land witnessed earlier major floods in 1341 and 1924 respectively. During that time heavy damages had reported by the banks of rivers, particularly Periyar. The Island of Puthuvaipu in Cochin was naturally formed during the flood of 1341. The flood of July 1924 was very similar to the flood of August 2018. An unprecedented rain storm was witnessed the state from 16 to 18 July 1924 which caused heavy loss to life, property and crops. Both these floods happened due to incessant rain fall during the South West Monsoon period. The highest rainfall was recorded in Munnar in 1924

and in Peerumed in 2018. Both are high range regions in Idukki district. The recorded rainfall was 484mm to 897mm in 1924 while it was 466 mm to 623 mm in 2018. Moreover the heavy flooding in the river banks of Pamba, Chalakudy Bharatapuzha, Periyar in August 2018 were similar to the flooding in 1924.

During the month of August 2018, the state received around 64% above normal rainfall which led to flooding in many parts of the state particularly six districts of Pathanamthitta, Kottayam, Idukki, Ernakulam and Alapuzha. When Periyar, Chalakudi and Pamba river systems had reached above its capacity, the shutters of the dams situated on the river system were opened. The incessant rains and the release of water from these dams worsened the situation of flooding in the thickly populated areas along these river banks. The uncontrolled release of water from the dams were considered to be a reason for increasing the gravity of the calamity. But the dams in Kerala neither added to the flood nor helped to alleviate the intensity of floods during that time. Most of the dams were close to the full reservoir level before the date of floods due to severe rain in catchment areas. So, the release of water was inevitable and floods were certain.

People during the time of flood and post-flood period have realised the importance of being in solidarity, irrespective of religion, class, caste and politics and local affinities. During that time everybody witnessed the voluntary participation of thousands of youth in rescue and relief activities. The help provided by these youth had given a big relief to the flood-affected people. The infotech educated youth used their Information Technology networking skills for relief work and they quickly mobilized human resources, money and materials nationally and internationally. Similarly the yeomen services rendered by fisherman community with their country boats saved hundreds of life. The navy, police, health workers, NGOs and even so called 'miscreants' made remarkable service in rescue and rehabilitation work.

However, the economic impact of the deluge on the society of Kerala was far reaching. The floods that have ravaged Kerala led wide spread destruction of property and displacement of individuals. It is estimated that the

employment of nearly 4.13 million individuals have been affected. Further an approximately 22000 houses and 10000 to 129000 km roads have been reported as destroyed during that time. As a result of the damages, the finance of the state has received heavy set back and the govt. appealed for financial support from all sections of people to overcome the abject situation. The appeal of the state government received good response from inside and outside India.

Now the state is in the process of rebuilding itself after the unprecedented calamity. The idea for the rebuilding Kerala is based on the principles of sustainable living and development. Enormous number of homes in the flood-affected areas have been irreparably damaged and 14 lakhs people lived in rescue camps during that time. Really it is the high time for thinking about eco-friendly housing and organic farming in the state. Living eco-friendly has become a slogan among the policy makers and rebuilders in Kerala now. Planting trees, avoiding over exploitation of natural resources, conserving greeneries and propagating organic farming are some of the protocols to be followed for a sustainable living. The conservation, protection and rejuvenation of the ecologically sensitive area is inevitable now. Installation of solar panels instead of using non renewable energy sources benefits both the individual owners but the environment as well. Similarly the menace of pollution and presence of plastic waste are to be eradicated for sustainable living which are the never ending problem of the state. All our 44 rivers are polluted due to urbanization, industrialization and lack proper water management system. Green living and implementing strict laws to ban plastic are essential to meet the challenges posed by the menace of plastic. There is an urgent need to manage waste through a well planned waste management system.

A bio-waste plant at every home can decompose waste and convert it into energy and manure. It can be used for plants and vegetables which we can grow in our plot or on the terrace of the building. Then we can eat locally and naturally by avoiding chemicals and pesticides. Thus the floods was an eye opener and it has forced into re-think our idea of development and value system. During time of floods unity,

solidarity and voluntarism were visible everywhere. But that unity and solidarity were suddenly displaced and a kind of disunity and hatred based on, religion, castes and gender engendered by vested interests appeared in the background of the recent Supreme Court Verdict which allowed women to enter the Sabarimala temple without any age restrictions. The narrow minded political parties are exploiting the

situation for their temporary political gains. So it is the duty of every citizen particularly Malayalees to keep strict vigil against the lure of the political parties and maintain the commitment towards the ideas of secularism, equity, social justice and sustainability for a better tomorrow not just for us, but our future generations as well.

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TRADE AND MARKETING IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO COLONIAL ANDHRA

M. Prabhakar

Introduction

The paper examine the administrative reports during the years 1929-30, 31-32, which clearly reveals that trade and commerce and minor industrialization in the Madras Presidency (which included Andhra region) were not doing bad. By the middle of 18th century the European economy had been transformed and had prepared the ground for world economic integration, interdependence and the emergence of a dependent periphery.¹ In this context one could see two different kinds of social systems with lots of complications, i.e. 'core' and 'periphery'. Aditya Mukherjee has outlined a series of leaps forward by the Indian capital which placed India in a favorable position vis-à-vis the British imperial economy. Firstly, there was an undisputed increase in the level of import –substitution in most of the major consumer – goods industries, and certain capital goods industries², a process beginning in the 1920s and gaining momentum in the period spanning the two wars, including the Depression of 1929. By 1939, India was therefore self-sufficient in its major consumer-goods requirements. Most importantly, this development took off under the efforts of independent indigenous capital. India was transforming its relationship with the

international economy by import- substitution in consumer goods, drawing more heavily instead on out side supplies of raw materials and capital good.³

Imports

The aggregate value of trade of the Madras Presidency was Rs.24.05 crores. Government transactions accounted for Rs.40.79 lakhs, represented a decrease of Rs.3.17 lakhs. The total value of foreign trade in private merchandise and treasure contracted by Rs.19.56 crores to Rs.57.15 crores, of which imported accounted for Rs.24.80 crores, and exports Rs. 32.35 crores. The coasting trade declined by Rs.4.45 crores to Rs.30.27 crores.⁴ The total value of foreign trade imports in private merchandise, excluding treasure, declined by Rs.6.18 crores to Rs.20.70 crores due to smaller arrivals of the principles articles of merchandise, though these were partly counterbalanced by increased arrivals of mineral oil, instruments, apparatus, appliances and parts therefore, artificial silks, grain pulse and flour. The decline is due to world depression; fall in prices and political disturbance, with their consequent evils of reduced off take, economic distress and absence of credit⁵

The principal articles of imports which showed decline were

Madras Presidency during the 1929-1931 yearly imported consumer and capital, raw material good largely decrease clearly have shown above table. Manufacture 152 percent decline it's big amount imported United Kingdom. Motor vehicle imported by United States of America, 56 per cent decrease out of 129. Metal and ores arrived from Germany and Britain 76 per cent decrease out 223 lakhs values. Machinery and mills hugely imported from United Kingdom, Germany and Russia 205 lakhs decreased 25 per cent. Manufacture cotton and machinery raw material largely decreased arrival into Indian Market.

In 1925-26, 54 percent of Indian imports were consumer goods (food, drink tobacco, apparel, cutlery, certain instrument and apparatus, paper, textile some vehicle); 15.6 per cent raw-material (hides and skin rubber, cotton, silk, wool hemp timer, gums, resin oil, dyes textile) 23.2 per cent were Capital good (electrical instrument, machinery and mill work, printing machinery, rail way plant and rolling stock, certain vehicle, metal manufactures and some hoard ware). In 1931-32 these percent were: consumer goods 51.6; raw-material 23.4 and capital goods 21.7.⁶

In spite of the heavy fall in imports of cotton manufactures, the United Kingdom was, as usual, the largest supplier of cotton piece-goods to the value of Rs.152 lakhs. In grey piece-goods alone is Japan competing with the United Kingdom. The contribution by the United Kingdom during the year was 19,466,489 yards valued at Rs.44.01 lakhs, while Japan supplied 19,289,575 yards valued at Rs.33.83 lakhs. The principle suppliers of metals and ores were the United Kingdom (Rs.99 lakhs), Germany (Rs.45 lakhs) and Belgium (Rs.38 lakhs). Germany is generally interested in the trade of copper and brass and Belgium in that of iron and steel. The share of the United Kingdom in the trade of cotton twist and yarn was 62 per cent, and those of China and Japan were 24 per cent and 13 per cent respectively. Under grey cotton twist and yarn, counts 31 to 40, China holds the predominant position in supply valued at Rs. 14 lakhs, and the 13 per cent contribution by Japan was due mainly to her supply of mercerized yarn value at Rs.7 lakhs, while the monopoly of the

United Kingdom in the imports of cotton twist and yarn of higher counts was uncontested. Imports of sugar fell by 8 per cent in quantity but by 30 per cent in value, and Java was the principal supplier. The fall in the trade of vehicle was due to the smaller arrivals of motorcars from the United Kingdom⁷. During 1919-1922 war period opened up opportunities for growth also choked imports of mill-machinery⁸. The total value of electrical machinery advanced by Rs.11 lakhs, and that of metal working machinery by Rs. 4 lakhs, while the trade under the prime movers other than electrical dropped by Rs. 27 lakhs and that of other kinds of machinery also has declined. The drop imports of prime movers was due to the reduced railway imports, while the rise in the electrical machinery was due to the electrification of the South Indian Railway suburban service, and to the introduction of new electrical schemes in various municipalities of the Presidency. The United Kingdom continued to be the chief supplier of machinery. The reduction in the trade of rubber manufactures was chiefly due to smaller arrivals of pneumatic motor tyres (-Rs. 15 lakhs) and tubes (-Rs.21 lakhs) and cycle tyres and tubes. The United States of America was the leading supplier, followed by the United Kingdom and Canada. The fall in the trade of silks was due to the unsettled conditions in China, which was the chief source of supply. Reduced arrivals of raw tobacco from the United States of America and cigarettes from the United Kingdom, due to the increased production of the indigenous leaf, accounted for the fall in the trade of tobacco. The trade in manures declined, due to the smaller arrivals of sulphate of ammonia from the United Kingdom (Rs.8 lakhs) and of other kinds of mineral manures from the United States of America (Rs.4 lakhs). Smaller arrivals of betelnuts from the Straits Settlements and Ceylon brought about the decline in the trade of spices. The decline in the trade of glass and glassware was due mainly to the smaller arrivals of bangles, beads and false pearls from Czechoslovakia, bottles and phials from the United Kingdom and Germany, funnels, globes and glass parts of lamps from Germany and sheets and plates from Belgium. Smaller arrivals of gold and silver thread from France and of apparel proper contributed to the decline in the trade of apparel. The above decreases were partly set off by increased arrivals of.⁹

The value of imports of raw-cotton and machinery has been drastically increased between the early 1920 and the late 1930¹⁰. Due to the expansion of the industries producing consumer goods, the import of such goods from foreign countries into India is declined. There has been an increasing tendency for imports of goods of general consumption to diminish in relative importance. These declined from 37 per cent in 1926-27 to 20 percent in 1938-38, the imported raw material showing great increase. From 16 per cent of the total imports in 1923-4 has increased to 24 per cent in 1938-39, the imports of machinery and other capital goods which formed 19 per cent of the total imports in 1926-27 constituted 25 per cent 1938-9.¹¹

Exports

Second, there was an increasing slant towards inward orientation, with indigenous producers who were earlier producing for export shifting towards the home market, a good example being the cotton textile industry.¹² There was an increasing slant towards inward orientation, with indigenous producers who were earlier producing for export shifting towards the home market, a good example being the cotton textile industry.¹³ During the first two decades of the 20th century Masulipatnam Bezawada (Vijayawada) region, a great rice-producing tract exported the largest quantity of food grains owing to its railway and canal facilities its stocks were usually the first to come into the market.¹⁴ During the first two decades of the 20th century Masulipatnam –Bezawada region, a great rice-producing tract exported the largest quantity of food grains owing to its railway and canal facilities its stocks were usually the first to come into the market.¹⁵ During the First World War, India's exports and imports both declined drastically from the earlier level. India's exports increased further during the Second World War while her imports continued to decline¹⁶.

The trade in seeds decline by 57 per cent in value and accounted for 25 per cent of the total foreign exports trade. Shipments of groundnut, which represented 91 per cent of the trade in seeds, declined by Rs. 604 lakhs, partly counterbalanced by the larger shipments of castors seeds (+Rs. 5 lakhs). Shipments of Niger seeds also declined by Rs. 3 lakhs. Belgium was the largest consumer of raw cotton, followed by France and Japan. The heavy fall in the trade of

leather with the United Kingdom and other countries was attributed to the general trade depression, while the fall in that with the United States of America was due to the high tariff imposed on leather. Exports of Madras handkerchief to the United Kingdom and Nigeria was declined by Rs. 22 lakhs, while the trade in cotton piece-goods fell by Rs. 53 lakhs. The principal customers were Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and Java. Chillies, exported chiefly to Ceylon, declined by Rs. 7 lakhs due to the return of Indian emigrates. Shipments of pepper, which constituted more than half the total shipments of spices, has been declined by 20 per cent in quantity and by 56 per cent in value. The principal consumers were Italy, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Germany France, Canada and Ceylon. Rubber had a disastrous year. The fall in the shipments of oil-cake was due to smaller shipments groundnut cake to Ceylon and Germany (-Rs. 10 lakhs) and of rape and sesamum cake to Ceylon (-Rs. 4 lakhs). World stocks of tea were very heavy early in 1930 and India, Ceylon and Java were said to have agreed to a restriction of output. With the decline in exports of tea to the United Kingdom and with the prospect of smaller supplies in 1931, London tea prices were generally steadier during the year under report.¹⁷

Exports of coffee have been advanced by 107,684 cwt, due to the bumper crop off the previous year. Shipments to Iraq and Australia decline, while other customers increased their takings. The average prices per cwt, of coffee declined from rs.86 to nearly Rs. 66. France was the best customers, followed by the United Kingdom, and she increased her shipments 21/2 times, due the low stocks of coffee at the French ports during the early parts of the year and to the reduced prices. Exports of raw tobacco, chiefly leaf tobacco, totaled 16 million lb. valued at Rs. 59 lakhs. The principal consumers were the United Kingdom (10 million lb), Japan (2 million lb), the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay, States (each 1 million lb). Cigarettes valued at Rs. 3 lakhs were consumed by Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States.¹⁸

Moreover, as compared to the pre World-War period, in the post war period up to 1945, there was a gradual but consistent shift in the

pattern of foreign trade, with the proportion of manufactured goods in the total exports showing a significant increase and in the total imports showing an even more significant decrease. Conversely, the proportion of raw material in the total exports showed a definite decrease and the proportion of the raw materials and capital goods (as opposed to consumer goods) in the total imports showed a comparative increase.¹⁹ Mukherjee is quick to point out that there was a significant reversal of India's traditional colonial pattern of foreign trade, suggesting a not inconsiderable amount of indigenous growth.

Trade Condition 1929-30:

Trade condition during the year 1928-29, on the accounts of which the assessments for 1929-30 were based, were even more discouraging than during the previous year. There would have been a fall in revenue during the year 1929-30 had it not been for the fact that new cases. In Northern districts the money lending business continued to flourish but business in paddy, rice mills declined. Trade in groundnuts languished, and some merchants gave up dealing in this commodity. Salt and tobacco did not fare much better. In the Central districts trade in piece-goods continued to decline and those who entered into forward contracts were the hardest hit. There was no great demand for imported piece-goods and merchants hesitated to enter into big contracts. Dealers in yarn also suffered loss. There was a slightly larger demand for Madras handkerchiefs from Liverpool. The tanning industry and the export trade in tanned hides and skins, which are important sources of revenue in Madras, Trichinopoly and Dindigul, fared very badly and some of the biggest traders either incurred losses or made only very poor profits. The reason is to be a rise prices in the London market at the beginning of the year and a consequent over-production during the year. Business in hardware showed a slight improvement as compared with the year 1927-28 but owing to keen competition the traders did not make good profits. Many owners of mica mines continued to be unable, owing to a slump in the market, to dispose of their stock. Motor dealers and companies dealing in general merchandise made good profits. There was a decrease in the revenue derived from the Chettinad circle owing to the steady decline in the prices of rubber in the Federate Malay States,

the fall in exchange in Cochin -China and the decline in the prosperity of the rice trade conducted by Nattukotai Chettis in Ceylon, all of which factors reacted badly on the amount of remittances made to British India. Another reason for the decrease is that Nattukotai Chetti community find money-lending not so remunerative a business in the Southern districts as in Burma, the Federated Malay States and Ceylon and is consequently contracting the volume of their money-lending operations in the Tamil country. In the Western Range merchants in imports and exports did not fare well. Rice, which is one of the principle articles of export from the Tanjore Districts to Colombo, did not find a favorable market place there owing to the large import of rice from Burma. Dealers of pepper and copra on the West Coast who had entered into forward contracts with exporters suffered losses owing to the rise in local prices. Tea estates made smaller profits than in the previous year. Trade in coffee, tobacco and turmeric was fairly profitable. The prices of coconut, groundnut, chillies, and cotton seeds were steadily declining and traders in these commodities suffered loss. The season was not favorable for the salt fish trade, but a few merchants were lucky enough to make good profits. The cotton mills in Calicut and Coimbatore and the manufactures of silk and cotton cloth in the Tanjore Districts, Kollegal and Salem were hit by competition.²⁰ The tile industry on the West Coast continued to flourish.

The policy of discrimination protection provided some towards import-substituting industrialization British government increasing reliance on customs revenue had a similar effect through raising the prices of imported good. In 1914 Indian customs duties had been low, only 5 percent, advalorem generally and 3.5 percent, Cotton textile. In 1921 the general rate, including the duty on cotton 11 per cent. In 1931 the general rate was raised again, this time to 25 percent certain classes' goods were now admitted at lower rates. Most importantly, custom duties on machinery, railways and motor cars have been reduced to 37.5 per cent and wireless apparatus to 50 percent. A special rate of 20 per cent (15 per cent for British goods) was fixed for low quantity cotton imports in 1930. This rate is being increased to 50 per cent for non-British goods. By the early 1930 some protective tariffs had also reached remarkable Levis, imported

sugar being charged at 190 per cent in 1931²¹. It is hardly surprising that imports of sugar mill machinery increased in by 3000 per cent in the year 1928-1933.

Trade Condition 1930-31

Trade condition during the year 1929-30, on the accounts of which the assessments for 1930-31 were based, were even worse than those during the year 1928-29. The reports from the districts record a gloomy tale of depression all round-this being due, no doubt in the main, to the cause at present operating all over the world²². Since the beginning of the First World War, Britain's share in India aggregate value imported in exports of merchandise declined. There was a corresponding increase in exports of Britain in colonies and settlements to India, which lasted for brief period from 1916 to 1920²³. The tanning industry and the export trade in tanned skins and hides suffered heavily owing to the fall in the demand from London and New York, the two important foreign consumers, and to the competition of substitute like canvas and rubber. The tanneries were so badly hit that several tanneries were either closed or did not work at all during 1929-30. Piece-goods merchants fared badly in 1929-30, partly on account of the all in prices and partly on account of the swadeshi and boycott movements. During the last three months (January to March 1930), however, trade in piece-goods and in other cloths seems to have brisk, owing to the

unusually large number of marriages celebrated at time in view of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, which was to come into force from 1st April 1930. The price of yarn and cotton was continuously on the decline and business in these articles was dull. Spinning and weaving mills suffered a severe set back, and the handloom industry in the western districts steadily declined. The great demand for khaddar gave an impetus to the manufacture of khaddar cloth, but the returns were comparatively poor on account of the low prices of cotton, high wages for manufacture and the effective control of prices by the All-India Spinners' Association.

Conclusion

Trade condition during the year 1928-29, on the accounts of which the assessments for 1929-30 were based, were even more discouraging than during the previous year. There would have been a fall in revenue during the year 1929-30 had it not been for the fact that new cases. The paper examine the administrative reports during the years 1929-30, 31-32, which clearly reveals that trade and commerce and minor industrialization in the Madras Presidency (which included Andhra region) were not doing bad. By the middle of 18th century the European economy had been transformed and had prepared the ground for world economic integration, interdependence and the emergence of a dependent periphery

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THREAT OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECTS ON SOCIETY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MAJOR PROJECTS IN KERALA

Dr. O.C. Promod

Dams play a vital role for the development of a society. As though every positive have negatives, dams also make threat to the people living in the down-stream of the dam project. Previously the people were not aware of the negative aspects of dams, which affect on society, but now a days, the educated people are totally against these projects. The developed countries already discouraged hydel projects and they are on the way of other methods. In India too, educated people are against those projects and as if the era of new dam projects ended forever. In Kerala there is hardly no major dam constructed after 1999. But Keralites maintain the existing dams, but never thinking to building up of new dams.

When the water level increases the pressure increases tremendously in the bottom layer of every dams. The majority of gravity dams were ruined due to the extreme pressure at the bottom level.¹ Leaks are commonly seen in masonry dams. The mortar in the joints of the stone will be displaced causing small cavities, which will increase the possibility of leaks.² Gravity dams depend on its own weight for stability and are generally of a trapezoidal section with a straight base.³ Flowing of water over the dam (Over flowing) is a serious thing to each and every dam everywhere in the world. The overflowing is mainly due to heavy rain, severe wind-blows etc.

Normally almost all dams are constructed in or around forest area. It negatively affects the environment and society. Deforestation during the time of construction of dams leads to soil erosion and which badly affect to the forest economy.⁴ After the completion of Idukki project in Kerala, almost 60 square Kilo Meters circumference of forest area became under the water and Idukki Lake became one of the biggest artificial lake in India. While creating the lake, the wild animals including tuskers were compelled to live in the rest of the forest. Deforestation is man's cruel exploitation and trespass on nature. It is a noticeable thing that, when ever man trespasses and destroys the forest, then the wild animals tried to come out of the forest and it became a threat to the man living on the villages.⁵

At the time of construction of such big projects, huge level evacuation is required. Previously many dam operators or governments cheated many people during the time of evacuation process by offering many things but neglected after evacuation. Amaravathi 'hunger strike' of A.K Gopalan in 1961 is one of the best example of such agitation movement of evacuators in association with Idukki district of Kerala.⁶ It is true that huge amount is required to settle these problems. Naturally, the operators compelled to skip from these financial burdens. Whenever the humanitarian concepts developed, the dam operators tried to escape those areas

and sought for other under developed regions in this world. After the completion of each dam projects, there is a process of filling up of water to the dam. The process invites high tension to all engineers associated with the project concerned. When water level increases, the pressure increases tremendously in the bottom layer of gravity dams. So many dams failed in history at the time of its full fledged function started. Thousands of people were either killed/drowned or seriously injured during these situation and properties of thousands lost forever.

In underdeveloped countries, every project is associated with the story of bribery and corruption. The dam operators are really playing with the life of commons. That is why, we can say that each and every dam in underdeveloped society is really a water bomb or time-bomb. Normally the life of a dam is estimated by the experts to 50 years.⁷ Naturally decommission is required after the tenure of 50 to 70 years. So many people may normally settle down near the down-stream of the dam after the commission of dam. Normally there should be a second evacuation is required at the time of decommission of dams.

It is assessed that the pressure of water in dams may cause frequent earthquakes. According to geological studies, Kerala comes under fault zone area. Earthquake is measured with seismograph and its intensity is considered in Richter scale. According to their studies, India can be divided into five regions on the basis of earthquake possibility areas. Until 1971, there were no studies conducted even in developed nations regarding the earthquake induced dam failures. In 1971, San Fernando dam failed at the time of an earthquake and 80,000 people living down-stream were immediately ordered to evacuate. Till then there were no undation maps drawn to show the EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment). Afterwards, the undation map became a must before the construction of dam.⁸

Inadequate geologic analysis has resulted in catastrophic losses. The most famous example is the disaster that occurred at 'Vaiont dam' in the Italian Alps. On 9th October 1963, 4,000 lives were lost when a rockslide falling into the water behind the dam caused a huge wave to overtop the 265 metre (826 feet) concrete arch structure. The force of huge body

of water falling from this height was enough to devastate the valley below for a distance of several kilo metres downstream. Various geologic conditions were responsible for rockslide. Chief among them are weakening of steep instable rock slopes by water impounded by the dam.⁹

Earthquake induced dam failures occurred in Koyana dam (Maharashtra), Hoover dam (USA), Sing Feng Kiyam (China), Kareeba Lake (Simbabey), Crimastta (Greece), Talbingo (Australia), Hendrik Vervoid (South Africa), Montiar Dam (France), Grant wall (France), Newreck (Tazakizstan), Kurebey (Japan), Mangla (Pakistan)etc. When it affected to dam Koyana in 1967, almost 200 people were killed and 1500 were seriously injured. Thousands of people became home-less. The township of Koyana Nagar became a grave-yard. 80% of the houses in the township were ruined. Roads and bridges became irreparable. The light-house of Jaghat Port, which was 65 Km away from the dam site was damaged and the walls and pillars of Vijay Durg Port, which is situated 100 Km away from dam site were also damaged. Its effects were there in Mumbai city, which was 230 Km away from the occurred area. Its tremor was felt at Surat, Ujjain, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Bangalore and even at Calicut in Kerala.

Another such disaster occurred at Vajont dam in Italy on 9th October 1963. It was one of the highest dams in the entire world with a height of 266 metre. When an earthquake occurred there, a hill fell down to the reservoir and a 70 metre high wave was created and it was a great tragedy. 2000 people were drowned and a city named Longoron was washed away.

The quality of stagnant water contaminates and deteriorates day by day. Green house gas emission also happens in these dams. These dams also support global warming in massive level.¹⁰ So many diseases are reported in connection with dams. The prevalence of water based diseases often increases, the stagnant water behind dams are deals for snails, intermediary host of many types of worms. Water based diseases are caused by aquatic organisms that spend part of life cycle in the water and another part as parasites of animals. These organisms can thrive in either polluted or unpolluted water. As parasites, they usually take

the form of worms, using intermediate animal vectors such as snails to thrive and then directly infecting human either by boring through the skin or by being swallowed. Water based diseases include guinea worm, paragonimiasis, clonorchiasis and schistosomiasis. These diseases are caused by a variety of flukes, tape-worms, round worms and tissue nematodes, often collectively referred to as helminthes, that infect humans. Although these diseases usually are not fatal, they can be extremely painful, preventing people from working and sometimes even making movement impossible.

The first health risk from a dam-project begins with the arrival into a remote area of large numbers of construction workers, most of them poor, unskilled labourers especially in the tropical countries, commonly carry a wide range of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis, measles, influenza etc.¹¹ During the time of Periyar dam construction in Kerala, so many workers died at Periyar camp due to malaria, cholera, dysentery, rheumatism, pulmonary complaints, severe fever, anemia, pneumonia, general disability, elephantiasis etc. The officers and supervisors were suffered less than the working class coolies because the superiors had better clothing and food.¹² Dams are a powerful agent in the spread of disease especially in tropical and subtropical areas and in particular, when they are accompanied by irrigation schemes.¹³

The dams in Kerala face great threat of silt formation and sedimentation. In developed countries the drudging is maintaining time to time, but it is not practical in Kerala context. In the year 2010 the authorities of Kallarkutty dam at Idukki district of Kerala released its water to remove silt without considering its consequences. Kerala is a thickly populated state and the released water became muddy reddish in colour and polluted rest of the water bodies in the downstream. The sediments of the dam deposited more than 18 years and the pumping stations of Periyar river and the connected rivers became polluted well. The industrial waste of Udyogamandal area also carried by the water flow and the entire water became intoxicated. The water supply system became contaminated in Aluva, Cochin and other cities. Almost 40 lakhs of People suffered much and begged for

pure water for many months. People demanded to release of fresh water to the river Periyar to wash out the contaminated water. So many cases filed in judicial courts and court insisted the government to intervene issue.¹⁴

The flood of Kerala in August, 2018 affected much and thousands became homeless. Even though the intensity of flood controlled by dams, but when the water released to avoid overtopping, made catastrophe to the people in Kerala. According to Himanshu Thakkar, coordinator of the South Asia Network for Dams, Rivers and People, the Idukki dam was already near full capacity by July-end even as rains were relatively weak (below normal levels) during that period. When the downpours arrived in August, the near full-capacity Idukki was forced to release water into already flooded areas. Thakkar believes this lack of foresight is common in India's dam management and has worsened floods across the country. More than half of Kerala's dams (57%) are hydroelectric projects operated by the Kerala State Electricity Board; the rest are operated by the irrigation department. For both entities, the amount of water to store is motivated by demand for electricity and irrigation, rather than flood control measures. Like many dams in India, the Mullaperiyar is located in one state (Kerala), but operated by another (Tamil Nadu). Both state governments have been in constant conflict over the dam's water level—in the current crisis, the Supreme Court had to intervene.¹⁵

The Controller and Auditor General (CAG) submitted a report in Parliament in 2017 and presented an insight on what is wrong with India's flood management plan. Of the 219 proposed new telemetry stations, used to forecast floods, only a quarter was set-up till August 2016. Of the 375 existing stations, almost 60% were non-functional after installation, the report said. Flood forecasting data was used in the formulation of flood forecast only after comparing the telemetry data with manually observed data; and in the case of mismatch between the two sets of data, manual data was adopted, the CAG report said, pulling up Central Water Commission for not depending on telemetry data even after investing in modernisation for nearly 20 years.¹⁶

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DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY AND AGRICULTURE UNDER THE KAKATIYAS

Raghavendra Reddy

Founding of new villages in the region at suitable places with water resources became more necessary during the Kakatiya period. Several villages in Andhra Desa named Ganapavaram, after Ganapatideva, Rudravaram after Rudradeva and Muppavaram after Muppamamba have come into being by reclamation of the waste and forest lands by the respective kings and queens of the Kakatiya family. To construct a village in those days was a pious deed. Similar was the sanctity attached to the digging of a tank. The area of land under Kakatiya control reached its zenith around the 13th century CE during the rule of Ganapati Deva. By this time, South India and the Deccan was essentially under the aegis of four Hindu monarchies, of which the Kakatiyas were one. The four dynasties were in a constant state of warfare with each other, with the Kakatiyas eventually exercising control from close to Anagondi in the west to Kalyani in the north-east, and down to Kanei and Ganjam district in southern Orissa.

Economy

Kakatiya epigraphs bear testimony to the economic development witnessed by Andhradesa due to the cumulative effect of the

steps taken by rulers and feudatories and officials from AD 1158 to 1324. Both agriculture and trade and commerce, particularly long distance trade acted as a catalyst in carrying the Kakatiya state and making it economically sound.

Though the core area of the Kakatiyas was ecologically in dry zone with scanty rainfall, with soil not very fertile, the Kakatiyas paid much attention to agriculture, the main occupation of majority of its population. They employed tank irrigation as a necessary technique to provide water for cultivation. In order to encourage more people to undertake the digging of tanks, wells and canals, tank construction was made one of the Saptasantanas which confers merit. Kakatiya epigraphs refer to more than 38 tanks of considerable size which provided water through artificial channels to thousands of acres. Of all the tanks, the Ramappa and the Pakala lakes are of large size and require special mention. Ramappa Lake adjoins the well-known Ramappa temple at Palampet in Mulug taluk of Warangal district. Gopal Reddy and P.V.P. Sastry state that this lake had a colossal bund only one side that extends over 200 feet and rises up to 56 feet.

The lake has a ring of hills on three sides. Kakati Ganapati Deva's Senapati, Recharla Rudra constructed this lake in AD 1213. Pakala Lake in Narasampet taluk of Warangal district is larger than Ramappa Lake, with a dam composed of laterite pebbles and earth that is one mile long from which 40 artificial channels have been extended. This lake was also constructed in the time of Ganapati Deva by a subordinate, Jagadala Mummadi, the son of a minister or Mantri.

Cultivable land was classified as wet and dry land. Wet land is further divided as paddy growing land and garden land. Dry lands are those where crops like millet, sesame, indigo, mustard, castor, etc., were grown which needed less water. Forests and pastures were kept exclusively for grazing cattle. Land was surveyed and measured, where the ruler collected one-fourth to one-half of the produce as revenue. The revenue was collected either in cash or in kind. The Kakatiyas levied different taxes like tax on grazing, property tax, income tax, profession tax, marriage tax, tax on herds of sheep and tax on salt. Heavy taxation by the state appears to be the feature of Kakatiya polity.

In the Kakatiya Andhra, trade was carried on by well-organized Srenis or guilds. Both the merchants and artisans had their own guilds. Epigraphs refer to guild of weavers, agriculturists, oil pressers, mat makers, smiths, potters and jewelers. The guilds obtained a license to conduct business in a particular town or fair. Fairs or weekly markets were held regularly at specified places. The merchandise was

References

1. Motupally inscription introduced by Ganapathi Deva
2. Kakatiya coins bore the Nandinagari script. (Prasad 1988, p. 9)
3. Talbot (2001, p. 128): "Soon after he came to power, Rudradeva had the Thousand Pillared temple built in Hanumakonda, then the Kakatiya capital. The Sanskrit inscription recording its foundation in 1163 contains an elaborate genealogy of Rudradeva's ancestry.. Since it was the earliest of Rudradeva's inscriptions to omit any mention of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani, we can assume that the construction of the temple was meant to mark Rudradeva's new status as an overlord in his own right."
4. Marco Polo referred to the kingdom as Mutfilli, which was the name for the area around a major port of the dynasty, now known as Masulipatnam.(Chakravarti 1991)
5. Sharma (1992, p. 234): "Vennama, the son of Dāma, led his troops in a defeat of the Turks very probably during Ala-ud-din Khalji's first invasion of Telangana in 1303. This success against the Turkish arms took place in the battle of Upparapalli, where Potuganti Maili is said to have put the enemies to flight."
6. The term *andhra bhasa*, meaning *language of Andhra*, appeared as a synonym for the Telugu language at least as early as 1053 and suggests an emerging correlation of linguistics and geography. (Eaton 2005, p. 13) The linguistic mapping of regions of India continues to the present day and formed a part of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956.
7. Aside from the Kakatiyas, the dominant Hindu monarchies in South India and the Deccan around the 13th century CE were the Seunas, the Hoysalas and the Pandyas. The Seunas, Hoysalas and Kakatiyas had carved up what had been the area controlled by the Western Chalukya Empire, while the Pandyas controlled lands formerly under the Chola Empire.(Ventakaramanayya 1942, p. 1)

transported by means of carts, oxen, horses, etc., and to a great extent by boats and barges through the rivers Govadari and Krishna.

In the past, kings forcibly seized all the cargo such as gold, elephants, horses, jewels, etc., when sea-going vessels journeying from one region to another were caught in storms, wrecked and cast on shore. But we for the sake of our reputation and religious merit and out of pity for those who have incurred the grave risk of a sea voyage thinking that wealth is more valuable than life give up all but the customary tariff" Motupalli must have been the chief port of the Kakatiyas and this port was visited by the Venitian traveller, Marco Polo.

The Motupalli epigraph specifies the rates assessed on a variety of items, including scents such as sandal, camphor, rose-water, ivory, pearls, corals, a range of metals like copper, zinc and lead, silk, pepper, and areca nuts. This above list gives an idea of exports and imports from Motupalli port to other Indian regions along the coast as well to foreign territories. Epigraphs of Warangal notes that a number of agricultural products offered for sale in Warangal market included rice, wheat, and other grains and assorted vegetables, coconuts, mangoes, tamarind and other fruits, sesame seeds, green lentils, mustard, honey, ghee, oil, turmeric and ginger. Thus, flourishing agriculture and surplus produce and long distance trade carried on by guilds like Pekkandru was the base for the sound economic position of Kakatiya Andhra.

ROLE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN NARSAPUR AREA

Dr. G. Raja Mohan Rao

Narsapur and its surroundings of West Godavari district have a good reputation about the crochet or lace works. Crochet is a process of creating fabric by interlocking loops of yarn, thread, or strands of other materials using a crochet hook. The name was derived from the French term 'crochet', meaning 'small hook'.¹ Even the industry dating back to more than one hundred and fifty years still it maintaining its legacy here and over a two-lakh people are involving till today in this work. Geographically 35 to 50 kilometers radius of East and West Godavari districts and Krishna district concentrated on the lace work. Mostly this work was confine to women. The Christian Missionaries of 19th century had introduced this lace work in this area and was promoted among the women of Christian converted and non-converted. Here, in this paper an attempt is made to portray the services rendered by the Christian Missionaries of various denominations in the field of self-employment pertain to women from depressed classes. The sum total of the lives of Christian Missionaries speaks eloquently of their contribution to the betterment of the out-castes, especially of the Malas and Madigas.²

Brief background of Missionaries:

After the establishment of the colonial rule in coastal Andhra, several Christian Missionaries had allowed to preach Christianity and establish institutions there. By the mid 19th century, various missions established their centres in the different regions of coastal Andhra. They started their first mission station at Nellore in 1840.³ The fundamental activities of missionaries include: gospel preaching, spread of education, promotion of health and establishment of institutions for economic upliftment of the native Christian converts, especially for the depressed classes. In this scenario, Narsapur and surrounding areas have got some importance in securing of lace industry under the initiation works of Missionaries

Background of Lace-Industry:

Narsapur is a coastal town in Andhra Pradesh in West Godavari District. Even before

the Dutch East India Company had established a factory at Palakol and chosen Narsapur as port in the 17th century, Narsapur was already in a prosperous trading centre for the exports of hand-woven and hand-painted cottons together with grain and other commodities.⁴

Narsapur could be in its zenith stage as a trading point in the last quarter of 17th century under the rule of English East India Company. The finer lace-work in Narsapur is closely connected with the entry of the Christian Missionaries in the East and West Godavari Districts. There are at least two lakh people in these districts both depressed classes and as well as upper caste people involving in this business. However, very few people know that the early Missionaries of the Godavari Delta first introduced the art of lace work over a period of hundred and fifty years ago in the Godavari Delta basin. The wives of Christian missionaries had given the training in the art of lace work to the converted women with an aim to empower the women economically in order to maintain some status even they were discriminated by the locals because of their conversion into a new religion. Further, the missionary women trained the local converted women in the lace work and gave them advances to set finished products and finally they export the goods to foreign market.

Many missionaries of different countries and denominations of Christian Missionaries entered into this region. Besides their work to convert the people into Christianity, they trained the people in different kinds of income-generating works and among them the significant one was Lace work.

Origin and growth of Lace Work in Narsapur Area:

The origin of lace industry is connecting closely with the history of the missionaries in the Godavari Delta. In 1837, George Bear and William Bowden came to Narsapur where they founded the Godavari Delta Mission. In the early phase the Missionaries gave threads to the women and taught them some patters then they collected the finished goods and sent them as gift

parcels to friends and dignitaries in Scotland, England and Ireland in order to collect the donations from them for Missionary work.⁵

Mrs. Schmidt founded institutions to teach skill like carpentry to the illiterate converts. Similarly, Mrs. Schmidt wished to help the women of converted families through lace work. She began spend time in teaching lace and crochet making even in traveling in boat. In 1879, for the first time, lace products exported from Rajahmundry to Philadelphia. Thus, Mrs. Schmidt made significant contribution before leaves the Mission in 1883, after thirteen years of service.⁶

In their intensive work, clever students were identified by missionaries had sent to Rajahmundry Industrial Training School for more intensive coaching. This enabled them to become teachers themselves.⁷ Industrial school was the workshop for the girls and women of the Dorcas Home. Crochet lace, pillow lace, handkerchiefs, fancy work, church hangings, embroidery church hangings, gown and stoles for pastors, dress-making, machine and plain sewing, weaving of floor mops, shopping bags, weaving of bed sheets, colored bed covers, tapes were the things done in the school.⁸

Mrs. Cain the wife of Rev. J. Cain had started lace work in Dummagudem missionary station in 1882. Actually, it is 160 miles away to Narsapur town. Lace making became a regular production process under her initiative. Mrs. Cain paid daily wages to the lace workers of Dummagudem. Average per week she gave Rs.70 to Rs. 80 for a lump sum lace work did under her control. Lace-making was usually taught at the church Missionary society's

boarding-school for girls. In the early phase, the missionaries gave thread to the women and taught them some patterns. Then they collected the finished goods and sent them as gift parcels to friends and dignitaries in Scotland, England and Ireland in order to collect donations from them for missionary work. Probably, crocheting was also taught to the girls who attended the schools, which had been founded by Bear in 1854 in Narspur and by Macrae in 1875 in Amalapuram.⁹

Conclusion

This kind of innate quality provoked them to involve or move into lace work in the initial stage and later it became profession of depressed classes women. In the course of time it became a profession to all the community's women of Narsapur region. In the initial stage there are only 30 varieties of lace items prevailed and present more than 300 items are producing in this area. At present more than 2 lakh people are involving in this age-old art both men and women. The state government of Andhra Pradesh with an objective of overall development of Andhra Pradesh economy is focusing on the development of labor-intensive and export-oriented industry for the generating both sustainable employment and valuable foreign exchange. The foreign exchange is expected to Rs.40 to Rs.50 crore. If women produce the lace goods and men do the business. For this background of development undoubtedly all the services rendered by Christian missionaries of the Godavari delta basin to the persons with the most appalling stage known to society.

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PATTERN OF LAND UTILISATION IN THE FORMER HYDERABAD STATE (MEDAK *SUBA*), 1905-1950 A.D.

Prof. V. Ramakrishna Reddy

Gulshanabad Medak *Suba*¹ formed one of the four *Subas*, in fact the biggest of them, into which the former Hyderabad State was administratively arranged. As per the *Zillabandi*² or the reorganisation or the reconstitution of the Districts that was carried out in the former Hyderabad State in 1905, Medak *Suba* consisted of the four Districts of Medak, Nizamabad, Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda. These four Districts were predominantly inhabited by Telugu-speaking people, and formed part of Telangana³, one of the two Natural Divisions⁴ into which the *Nizam's* dominions got divided. The importance, value and necessity of land could be realised from the fact that around 88% of the people resided in villages and those who depended on agriculture for their livelihood, either partly or fully, formed 83.9%, 83.5%, 68.5% and 54.6% of the total residents in the respective Medak *Suba* Districts of Medak, Nizamabad, Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar⁵. In the latter two Districts, families that got fully engaged in non-cultivation work, such as cloth-weaving and field labour stood rather high, compared to the other *Suba* Districts at 31.5% and 45.4% respectively, of the total number of the resident families⁶. Mere existence and possession of land is not enough. The volume of agricultural production is determined by the pattern of land utilisation and the actual acreage brought under cultivation in respect of different crops, between the years. These kept on changing from year to year, due to the interplay of administrative, natural and personal factors, thereby making a differential impact on the economic condition of the people in the *Suba*. A critical assessment and analysis of the forces at work and the issues that are involved in this regard has been attempted in this research paper.

Pattern of Land Utilisation

The guiding principle could and should be that the available land resources have to be put to maximum and best use. It could be seen from the Table that is enclosed herein that the total area of the *Suba* Districts as well as of the State, during the period 1921 to 1944 – 45 for which the figures are given, has, of course, witnessed increase, might be due to new areas of lands being brought under cultivation, essentially by way of reclamation of forest lands or *poramboke*⁷ lands. But, the area that was actually cultivated or sown⁸, appears highly discouraging. In general, it does not even form 50% of the total area in the *Suba* Districts as well as the State. Though forest areas appear sizeable in some of the *Suba* Districts like Mahaboobnagar and Nizamabad⁹, the prominent factors that contributed for this unhappy development, are 'cultivable waste' and 'current fallows'.

Culturable waste

Culturable waste refers to the area which could be cultivated, but was not actually cultivated and allowed to remain as a waste land. Here, as could be seen from the Table herein, though the figures that are there in respect of the year 1921 (1330 *Fasli*) have got reduced by the year 1944–45 (1353 – 54 *Fasli*), yet, as they appear in the latter year, look quite considerable and alarming. Thus, they covered 3,75,000 acres of cultivable land in Medak District ; 3,66,000 acres of land in Nalgonda District ; 2,70,000 acres in Nizamabad District ; and 1,10,000 acres of land in Mahaboobnagar District, and together, they amounted to 11,21,000 acres of cultivable land¹⁰. These figures appear all the more

alarming and highly enemical to agricultural development, when they are considered in view of the fact that *pattedars* or peasants who hold highly inadequate and meagre holdings of 5 acres of land formed 48.01%, 40.91%, 26.0% and 20.60% of the total number of *pattedars* in the respective *Suba* Districts of Nizamabad, Medak, Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda¹¹. These peasants very much craved for allotment of lands under *Laoni*¹², so as to make their holdings little more optimum or viable. But, the policy of the Government, in this regard, no way helped them.

Government Land allotment : Policy, Nature and Impact

Fresh and uncultivated Government lands or *poramboke*, were allotted either by means of auction under ordinary *Laoni* or free distribution to the members of landless agricultural and backward communities like the *Chenchus*, *Dhers*, *Malas chamars*, etc., under special *Laoni*. The minimum bid price fixed by the Government was five times the assessment in the case of dry or garden land and twice the one crop assessment if the land was wet, and *Tahsildars* had been the immediate officers who dealt with these matters¹³. But, as against lakhs of acres of land available for distribution from time to time in the *Suba*¹⁴, the distribution was so meagre that it never exceeded a few thousands. Thus, in 1342 *Fasli* (1933 A.D.) in Medak *Suba*, as against 868 applicants for the grant of land on *Laoni*, involving 7559-34 acres of land, only 357 applicants, involving 2,650-05 acres of land have been allotted land, and as many as 511 applicants, forming as much as 58% of the total applicants, involving 4899-29 acres of land, forming as much as 64% of the total land involved, have been shown a blank hand¹⁵.

On the other hand, as against this highly meagre and inadequate allotments of land to the needy peasants who carried on personal cultivation of lands for their livelihood, Government made it a policy after the First World War, to allot cultivable lands, even sometimes at the risk of evicting the existing cultivators, to those soldiers who distinguished themselves in the War @ of 60 acres each¹⁶. These soldiers, most of whom still continued in service and consequently away from these lands that required development, never showed any interest towards this, and either allowed the

lands to remain fallow, or in most of the cases, sold them away for name – sake prices to the local landlords who took full advantage of the situation to further augment their land monopolisation¹⁷. Thus, lands were distributed not to those who were in real need and craved for them, but to those who had no real interest in land development, but wanted to make business out of them. Chances of increased agricultural production were thus greatly retarded.

Further, the then system of *Laoni*, either ordinary or special, was cumbersome and the delays in putting a case through were so great that a man has to wait for years before he could hope to get the *patta* of the land¹⁸. Added to this, ordinary *Laoni* rules were such that, even if there was one applicant, the land was auctioned and the highest bidder would get it. In other words, one man sets the ball rolling and some one else knocks away the prize¹⁹. Lack of coordination between Forest and Settlement Departments in removing timber and carrying on *phodi* of the lands allotted, resulted in unwanted and undue delay in bringing fresh lands under cultivation²⁰. The odds were thus heavy and varied that had greatly offset the *Laoni* land distribution programme and the inevitable result was that huge blocks of cultivable waste lands went abegging so much so that, in 1949-50 in 36,82,53 and 72 surveyed villages of respective Mahaboobnagar, Medak, Nalgonda and Nizamabd Districts, 14,683, 4,900, 43,091 and 6,595 acres of land were reported unutilised by the Agriculture Department of the Hyderabad State²¹.

Current Fallows

As stated above, 'current fallows' had been, besides 'cultivable waste', largely responsible for decrease in the land that was cultivated or sown. It could be observed from the Table herein that, though the figures relating to this category alternated during the years, yet they appear quite huge and alarming. To take one *Suba* District of Nalgonda for instance, the figures alternated between 7,10,440 acres in 1921 ; 3,81,460 acres in 1931 ; 2,41,000 acres in 1939 – 40 and 8,00,000 acres in 1944 - 45²². Though of course, this was due to wet cultivation absorbing more capital and labour in Telangana than in Marathwada, hardness and infertility of the soils in the former region which induced the cultivators to have a large proportion of dry lands

cultivated in one year as fallow during the next year, the percentage of fallow land to occupied area in the *Suba* Districts of Nalgonda and Nizamabad for which only the District Authorities' figures are available, stood respectively at 55.2 and 20.7²³, which definitely pointed to the inadequate usage of available land resources, with the consequential effect of diminishing agricultural production.

It thus appears that though there were huge uncultivated lands, but cultivable, and peasants, with meagre holdings of 5 acres formed sizable numbers, the latter could not derive much benefit

of the former, primarily due to the defective and delayed measures in the allotment and distribution of the former. Other factors that were at play, such as the predominance of wet cultivation, hardness and infertility of the soils in Telangana would have been offset if the Government acted liberally to allot the lands on *Laoni* without bid or auction to the really needy and desperately craving peasants who desired to make their holdings somewhat viable and optimum. But, that was not to be. Net result happened to be low agricultural production and yields per acre.

References

1. It was an administrative unit which consisted of three or four Districts and headed by a *Subedar* or Commissioner. This arrangement was a legacy inherited from the Mughals.
2. It is another name for the Districts Reconstitution arrangement.
3. Telugu – speaking region, consisting besides four Medak *Suba* Districts, Warangal, Karimnagar and Adilabad Districts of Warangal *Suba* and *Atraf-i-balda* District, consisting primarily the crown lands of the *Nizam*.
4. Besides Telangana, the other Natural Division was known as Marathwada, consisting of the four Marathi – speaking Districts of Aurangabad, Nanded, Parbhani and Bhir of Aurangabad *Suba* and four Kannada – speaking Districts of Gulbarga, Bidar, Osmanabad and Raichur of Gulbarga *Suba*.
5. S. Kesava Iyengar, Rural Economic Enquiries (hereafter referred to as REE) in the Hyderabad State, 1949-51, P. 353.
6. *Ibid.*,
7. Government uncultivated land, but cultivable.
8. Refer to Col. No. 9 in the Table that is provided in the paper.
9. See Col. No. 5 in the Table that is furnished on page No. of this paper.
10. Go through the figures in Col. No.7 of the Table that is furnished on page No.2 of this paper.
11. H.E.H. the *Nizam's* Government, Agricultural Statistics (Quinquennial), Notes and Estimates of Area and yield of Principal Crops in Hyderabad State from 1350 to 1354 *Fasli* (1940 – 41 to 1944 – 45 A.D.), Government Press, Hyderabad – Deccan, 1949, pp. 390-395, percentages are calculated.
12. Uncultured Land newly allotted for cultivation.
13. Office of the First *Taluqdar*, Warangal, File No. 39 of 1350 *Fasli* (1941) & R.R. (Revenue Records) No.8565 of 1356 *Fasli* (1947).
14. Refer to Col. No.7 in the Table that is furnished on page No. 2 of this paper.
15. File No. 43 of 1342 *Fasli* (1933) and R.No. (Record Number) 4281 of *Subedari* Gulshanabad, Medak.
16. Warangal *Subedari* (W.S.) File No.4 of 1353 *Fasli* (1944) & R.No.1946 of 1355 *Fasli* (1946).
17. There had been good number of such sales. They averaged roughly 1/3 of the total number of land sale transactions effected in an year in the later forties and the price for 60 acres ranged from Rs.1,000/- to Rs.2,000/- only ---- W.S. File No. 87 of 1353 *Fasli* (1944) & R.No.1441 of 1353 *Fasli*.
18. Board of Revenue, Bag No. 133, S.No. (Serial Number) 3, R.No.15944 of File No. 6M/CO 1A 1950, Rule 11, *Laoni* Rules, para No. 29, page No. 22.
19. *Ibid.*,
20. W.S. File No. 15 of 1356 *Fasli* (1947), & R.No. 14 of 1356 *Fasli*.
21. Agriculture Department of Hyderabad Government, quoted in REE., *op.cit.*, P.111.
22. Go through the figures in Col. No.8 of the Table that is included in this paper. These figures of current fallows had direct impact on the net area sown, in the sense that as current fallows rose up, the latter came down during the years for which the figures are given.
23. District Authorities, quoted in REE, *op.cit.*, P.107.

TEMPLE LAND AND ADMINISTRATION IN TAMIL NADU (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THANJAVUR DISTRICT)

Dr. N. Rameshkumar

The temples of South India have been preserved in more or less the same state in which they were originally constructed e.g. the Nataraja temple in Chidambaram, the Brahadeeswara temple in Tanjore, the Meenakshi temple in Madurai and the great temple of Rameswaram as

well as the temple at Srirangam and Kanchipuram.¹

According to Hindu tenets, Charity is part and parcel of religion. From the very early times, religious and charitable institutions in the country came under the special protection of the

ruling authority and Hindu Kings regarded themselves as specially charged with the duty of properly administering the funds of temples within their jurisdiction and the application of such funds towards the objects for which the temples were founded. The Hindu rulers accepted the right to visit endowments of this kind to prevent and redress abuses in their management. Mr. P.R. Ganapathi Iyer in his learned treatise on 'Hindu and Mohomedan Endowments' has referred to several historical inscriptions which bear testimony to the fact that Hindu Kings exercised supervision over temples and endowments.²

FUNCTIONS OF TEMPLES

The temples organized festivals and patronized the arts. Temple music and dancing and temple sculpture are the traditional art forms of South India. They also patronized learning. Many of the larger temples ran traditional Vedantic and Siddhantic schools and financed secular and scientific education. The temples fed the poor and gave grants to charitable institutions. Temples were arbiters of social status in the locality. "The right to participate in certain ceremonies and the order of precedence in certain rites and festivals were important visible expressions of the accepted hierarchy of communities and individuals in the locality. Temples were both makers and breakers of status.³ The temple also had important economic functions. It provided employment to priests who performed rituals, administrators who managed its lands and income, craftsmen who maintained its structures and others who indirectly derived employment from the activities of worship of devotees. The temples engaged persons and institutions on contracts to repair the idols and buildings, and meet the requirements for festivals and ceremonies. Some temples built shops and market on their premises as well.

MUTTS IN TAMIL NADU

In this early 20th century, one of the largest mutts was the *Saivite* mutt at Tiruvavaduthurai near in this early 20th century Mayiladuthurai in Thanjavur District It has large endowments in the districts of Tirunelvell (25,000 acres), Madura' (1000 acres) and Thanjavur (3000 acres).⁴ The Thiruvavaduthurai mutt at present controls 130 subordinate mutts. Another saivite

mutt near Dharmapuram owns 2500 acres In Thanjavur district and another 12,500 acres elsewhere It controls twenty-seven temples⁵. The vaishnavite mutt at Nanguneri Tirunelveli district gets an annual income of Rs 60,000 from its lands and Rs. 6000 from its properties in Tirunelveli town It also owns a coffee estate and had he f accumulated new properties worth two and a quarter lakh rupees in first quarter of the 20th century It is supervising two hundred subordinate mutts, many of which also own properties.⁶

NON-BRAHMIN MUTTS

The non-Brahmin ascetics of South India with a desire to disseminate religious knowledge and promote religious charity established mutts in districts of Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Tirunelveli. Most of these mutts like the Dharmapuram mutt, the Thiruvavaduthurai mutt, the Tirupanandal mutt and the Tiruvannamalai Kunrakudi Adhinam were devoted to the inculcation and spread of the Sava Siddhartha system of philosophy. In addition to the mutts commonly known as such, there are various Ashrams scattered throughout the country.

ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF TEMPLES BY HR & CE

In 1817, the Control of Public Endowments was entrusted to the Board of Revenue. It was opposed by Hindus. After 1839, the supervision by the Government was withdrawn.¹⁰ In 1841, the Provincial government instructed the Board of Revenue to allow the individuals to manage the affairs and funds of the temples.

There was no supervision during the period from 1842 to 1863 over the management of Hindu temples, through the regulation Act of 1817. This resulted in maladministration and misappropriation of temple funds. To rectify this, Act XX of 1863, came into force. Provision was made for changing over the properties to Trustees or committee of management. This Act does not specify the term and conditions of the trustees. So, after 1863, these trustees became hereditary. To plug the loopholes in the Act of 1863, a committee was appointed under the presidentship of Sir William Robinson to make a fresh Bill. Another committee was appointed in 1884 under Mr. Sullivan. Again in 1884 under Mr. Sullivan". Again in 1894, a committee under

Mr. Muthuswamy was appointed. In 1898 Chensal Rao's Committee was appointed to revise the Bill. The Suggestions given by all these committees were not accepted by the government. In 1919, a Reform Act was passed and it was assented further as Act of 1925. According to this Act of 1925, A Statutory Board called "The Hindu Religious Endowments Board" was created with four commissioners and a president. The Board was vested with the power of controlling and supervising the temples.

The validity of the Act of 1925 was challenged by Mutts and Trustees. The Tamil Nadu Religious Endowments Act of 1926 was passed validating and re-enacting the provision of the Act I of 1925. This Act brought all the temples under the control of Hindu Religious Endowments. The temple committees were assigned the power of exercising supervision over the temples which do not have hereditary trustees. Amendments from 1928 to 1947 were made to the primary Act II of 1927. Of these Amendments, the Act No: V 1944 abolished the temple committees. Assistant Commissioners were appointed in their places. The Act No. X of 1946 made provision for the government to audit the accounts of the temples. The Act No: V of 1947 made the provision of "Free entry" to all the members of the Hindu Community.

After the Independence of India, the government of Madras enacted the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act of 1951. Provision for Sub-Asion and auditing of temple funds were made by the Act. The temple Trustees and Mutts challenged the validity of the Act of 1951. During the years 1954, 1956 and 1959, further modifications were made. The recent modification of the Act was effected on 15th June 1971⁹. During the year 1972, the Department had been administering under its control 157 mutts, 12, 038 temples and 832 specific endowments totaling 13,027 religious institutions with an estimated income of Rs. 6.75 crores. In 1973, 2162 institutions were additionally brought under the control of the department.

The revenue for the maintenance of the department is derived from the contributions and audit fees payable under section 92 of the Act by the religious institutions. In 1973 the total

Strength increased to more than 15,000 institutions and at present it has gone up to not less than 35,000 institutions. Pressler quotes one Commissioner as saying:

*"We are dealing with faults coming from time immemorial. The problems are manifold, and they go to the very root of the administration of the temples, because without lands, or without trustees, nothing can happen to the temples... The main problems are only these: the properties of the temples, and the persons in charge of the properties."*¹⁰

Finally, the State has an independent stake in land. This constitutes the HR & CE's major challenge. Land administration is one of the hallmarks of modern India, it was pivotal in building the colonial state, and has been a major aspect of state policy. Independence Land administration serves many functions, including provision of a steady revenue to the government; stimulation agricultural productivity regulation of social relations, especially among tenants, landlords, money lenders and labourers; and monitoring of the rural political climate. The state's land policies have historically been implemented by revenue authorities, especially by the Board of Revenue and local revenue officers and the collectors.

CONTROL OF TEMPLE LANDS

The management and control of the temple lands by the HR & CE pose several problems in Tamil Nadu. The HR & CE agrees in a general way that the way in which temple land is used should not be contrary to public policy, especially land reforms. But it is reluctant to go to the full extent of having temple land handled as though it were simply a public resource. Land, after all, is the historical foundation of temples as institutions. It poses a distinct set of problems, and needs special treatment by State authorities.

The disposition of temple land is crucial. The manner of tackling the land ownership of temples in the light of agrarian reforms determines the future of temples, mutts and trusts in Tamil Nadu. Pressler examines the struggle between the HR & CE and the powerful Board of Revenue during the period from 1925 to 1950. This highlights the problem of controlling the temple land in Tamil Nadu.¹¹

HINDU RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS AND BOARD OF REVENUE

The conflict between the HR& CE and the Board of Revenue arises when the former tries to protect the temple's interest, and the latter tries to preserve the state's interest when the temples began to lose lands, the HRE was established.¹²

The problem of controlling temple lands had been observed by thus "The problem was especially severe with land fill inam tenure. Inam tenure is complicated and controversial, basically mainly originated as tax free grants by kings and other rulers of a parcel of land or a portion of the land's produce. Inam grants were given for many reasons, eg., to reward loyal service, to solidify political support, to endow charities, to show piety. Many inams were granted for the support of temples or of those performing rituals and other services in temples."

Further "Any land or income from land, associated either with a temple, or with a temple servant, is owned by the temple, and is owned permanently. Temple land like the temple itself, is public, without private rights attached to it, and because of this is different from ordinary inam land, and should be administered through a distinct set of rules and regulations, and by a distinct agency, the HRE Board."¹³

Getting Rich with Temple Lands

Several Temple landlords, having over 1,000 acres of wet land in the Cauvery basin with three crops a year, are without adequate funds for their maintenance. There are over 50 such 'landlords', mostly in Thanjavur and Nagapattinam districts, who have been languishing while their benami rich landlord 'tenants' have struck it rich over a span of seven decades. According to HR & CE Department sources, the arrears to the temples from the lands and buildings have run to Rs. 81.29 crores as on March 31, 1994. As against the demand of Rs. 89/8 crores, the Department was able to collect only a meager amount of Rs. 8.49 crores, during the financial Year 1402 (1992-93).¹⁴

The arrears from the wet lands alone are as high as Rs. 68.79 crores as against the demand of Rs. 72.31 crores. The rest of the arrears are from dry lands, buildings sites and miscellaneous sources. Temples in Thanjavur and Nagapattinam districts top the arrears list are

unable to pay the rent; the Government has waived the rent on many. Since the poor tenants are unable to pay the rent, the Government has waived the rent on many occasions. But the landlord-cum-benami temple tenants are not willing to pay the rent to the temples even though there is a bumper harvest.

Mostly the lands are in the hands of politically influential tenants who use their clout whenever any action is mooted against them. There are cases where the tenants are locally powerful, against whom officials cannot even think of taking any action. Besides, the existing laws are favourable to the tenants, only making it difficult for the Department to take legal action against them. In some cases the temple administrations do not know against whom they should proceed as the tenants have changed over a period of years.

As an illustration of poor rent collection from tenants, one can consider the case of the Vedaranyeswarar temple at Vedaranyam in Nagapattinam district which has the unique distinction of having the maximum landed property among the temples in the State. It has 1,822.46 acres of wet land, 4110.16 acres of dry land, and 479072 acres of rained land, spread over 45 villages¹⁵. In addition to this, the temple has many buildings and sites. The rent fixed by the authorities for this temple for 1993 is 8,000 bags of paddy per annum or its equivalent in cash, for its wet lands, Rs. 24,228 from dry lands, Rs. 23,695 from rain-fed lands, Rs. 20813 from buildings and Rs. 4785 from the sites. But during the year 1992 to 1993 it received only 2,500 bags of paddy from wet lands; Rs. 9,430 from dry lands, Rs. 12,527 from rain-fed areas, Rs. 13,516 from buildings and Rs. 1374 from the sites. Though the collection is one third of the demand, it helps the temple to perform regular pujas but the total arrears from the tenants would run to several lakhs of rupees.¹⁶

The efforts of the Tamil Nadu Government to collect the arrears due to the various temples in different parts of the State have not been rewarding. Out of the total arrears of nearly Rs. 70 crores, only a little over Rs. 10 crores have been collected in the latter part of last year (the grand total rent arrears comes around to not less than Rs. 70 crores).

New Acquisition of Temple Lands

Special staff was appointed to investigate the number of institutions and their properties to bring them under the control of HR & CE in the year 1971. According to the report of the additional staff of inspection work on religious institution (1971), it was found that the number of institutions which were found not under the control of the department as a result of investigation were 40,247 with 1, 98,920 53 acres of land. The details of the reports submitted by the special staff. Special Staff submitted reports relating to 33,703 86 acres of urban lands and 2218 buildings that belong to religious institutions which are in receipt of a low rental income. They have also reported on the profitable utilization of 6,694 acres of temple lands which are lying waste.

Temple and Mutt Lands

There are 56 mutts under the control of HR & CE, Madras. However, these mutts are practically managed and administered by hereditary trustees namely *Madathipathis*. The HR & CE Department is empowered only to audit the temples and mutts accounts which are controlled by the hereditary trustees. The number of trusts belonging to the *mutts* accounts for 17 and the number of temples belonging to the mutts are 58. It can be seen that the undivided Thanjavur district accounts for nearly 44% of all temple tenants in the State. Kumbakonam division alone accounts for 60% of wet lands of all mutts in the state as per official records. These official Estimates of mutt lands are gross underestimates. Eight big mutts alone are reported to hold lands to the tune of 2.5 lakh acres, and three of the biggest among them - Dharmapuram, Thiruvaduthurai and Tiruppanandal mutts - are together reported to have around 1.2 lakh acres. All three are located in Thanjavur district. Clearly, Thanjavur occupies a preeminent position in terms of concentration of temple and mutt lands. Compared with West Thanjavur district, East Thanjavur district has more concentration of temples and mutts lands. Some of the most important temples owning large area lands in the East Thanjavur district is given as follows:

The total area of temple lands both in the West and East Thanjavur district is given in tables - 3 and 4. The number of institutions

belonging to temples in various God's names, coming under the control of HR & CE Department.

Temples as landed magnates

Thiyagaraja Swamy Thirukoil in Tiruvarur owns 7000 acres in 147 villages. Out of this, 2000 acres were acquired by the Government in 1955 under the Estates Abolition Act. The Government of Tamil Nadu gave Rs. 85,000 as compensation and Rs.62, 000 as annual grant.

According to S.S.Iyer, as per the management of the temple, no tenant of the temple lands was cultivating more than 5 acres of land as per the ceiling Act of 1961. In a number of villages under the control of the Temple, Tenants' co-operative societies had been set up to manage the temple lands. It was reported that the societies collected the fair rent under the Fair Rent Act of 1956. But it was found that generally the rent charged by the temple ranged between 360 kgs and 450 kgs of paddy per acre per fasli, while the fair-rent would range only between 240 kgs and 300 kgs. S.S. Iyer had come to this conclusion after a study of the Tenants' Co-operative Farmers Societies (TCFS) in Musakhulam, Katarankontan and Kurvirameswaram. For instance, the president of the society himself in Katarankontan had been given about 30 acres in lease, a clear violation of the law and contrary to the information supplied by the temple authorities.¹⁸

The Thiagarajaswamy temple at Thirukuvalai owns in the village 950 acres of wet land and 100 acres of topes and gardens and about 1000 acres of wet and dry land in other villages. It is obvious that a large number of landlords in the villages have been in control of these lands through *benami* leases.

The Kashyalingaswami temple in Kilvelur owns 920 acres of wet land out of which 450 acres are held by 200 tenants. These tenants are claiming ownership of these lands under the provisions of the Rent Reduction Act of 1949, by which those who were tenants since 1933 were to be given proprietary rights in land. 250 acres have been allotted to Tenants Farming Societies with a total membership of 100 persons and 100 acres are under the self-cultivation of the temple. But a large area remains with the temple which is in formally controlled by big land owners.¹⁹

The Singaravelu Swami Temple at Sikkal, a famous shrine owns 1200 acres of wet land and 1200 acres of coconut gardens. While 500 acres of wet land and 1000 acres of coconut gardens are under the self management of the temple, 700 acres of wet land has been given on lease to about 170 tenants. A series of violent incidents took place in 1967-68 in Sikkal in connection with the agitation of agricultural labourers for higher wages. The temple management in collaboration with the police authorities in alleged to have suppressed and harassed the agricultural labourers. As a special case, this temple has been permitted to hold 300 acres of land under self-cultivation while under the Trusts Act of 1961; 20 acres were fixed as the ceiling for self-cultivation. Vedaranya temple in Tiruthuraiipoondi taluk, along with 16 small temples in the villages under its control owns 13,051 acres in 43 villages. These lands have been leased out to 2000 tenants. The temple also gets an annual compensation of Rs.30, 000 for its salt pans taken over by the government. It also has jewellery worth Rs.1, 41,751. Two Tenant Farming Societies have been organized to manage some of the temple lands. Even though

the temple authorities declare that no tenant had more than 5 acres, it was discovered by S.S. Iyer²⁰ in his field study that the agent of the temple who was entrusted with the collection of rent from the temple tenants of the village Kunnalur who own nearly 1550 acres of land, and of which the temple agent controls 50 acres on his own accord.

Conclusion

The failure of Land Reforms is cause to the loop hole of the acts and completely used by the law makers such politicians, religious groups and administrators under the banner of temple, mutts and trusts, who brought the reforms and also spoiled this. If the ruling parties both centre and state are really interested in the execution of the major objective, yet to be availed time (consequently raising the wealth of the some people and becoming poor of the most of the people) viz, equity and productivity of agrarian reforms as land to the tiller, the only way to open to them is the acquisition of surplus lands held by the religious institutions and redistribute it to the land less agricultural labourers.

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ASPECTS OF TRADE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL KERALA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KODUNGALLUR

Dr. E. Rekha

Kodungallur has long been regarded as the trade emporium of Kerala from the ancient days onwards.¹ It was acted as the major port under the *Perumals* of Mahodayapuram too during the early medieval days. Geographically, Kodungallur is situated in the confluence of over land trade route which linked Tamilakam with west coast and very near to the agrarian region on the banks of River Periyar which acted as a hinter land to the port, where surplus production emerges and exchange with the other parts of the world is possible. At the same time it is not easy for the ships to anchor at the port of Kodungallur due to its peculiar land set up². Moreover, Kodungallur has been a sacred center for the followers of nearly all the religious believers of Kerala.

The earlier scholars who wrote on trade such as Elamkulam P. N. Kunjan Pillai³ Prof. M.G.S.Narayanan⁴, Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier⁵ mentions the long distance trading activities of early medieval Kerala with other countries of the world. The aspects of trade in the middle ages have been seriously considered in the works of M. Vijayalakshmi⁶ and A.P. Greesh malatha⁷ who concentrated on the major trade networks, major ports, merchant organizations, major trade routes that existed and a narrative of the items of trade, both export and import etc. of early medieval South India. Again, all these studies concentrated on the overseas trade on foreign goods and which was mainly controlled by Chinese, Arabs and tried to explain the integration of early medieval trade with an international trade network, the external trade relations of Kerala or Kerala as part of, a world system trade. Yet, these studies failed to explain local exchange network that developed earlier by the beginning of early Tamil society and the subsequent changing nature of trade and trade routes in each and every historical period.

The present paper attempts to unravel the nature of trade in early medieval Kerala with special reference to Kodungallur. For the purpose of the present study, the researcher employed data from the various inscriptions obtained from the precincts of temples of Kerala in general and that of temples of Kodungallur and

Tiruvanchikulam in particular. In the case of Kerala, there is a paucity of records which deals directly with trade when compared to Karnataka or Tamilnadu where so many prasasties, issued by the merchant guilds themselves were available. Still, all the available inscriptions were made use of and certain indicators mentioned in the inscriptions are taken for consideration for the reconstruction of the history of trade in early Medieval Kerala. Though there are references to "Kodungallur" in literary sources⁸ the first inscriptional reference in inscriptions appears in a Tali inscription.⁹

For a holistic understanding of the trade or exchange networks during the early medieval period, one needs to investigate into the internal exchange system, the trading organisations, various craft groups present in that society and the items that were circulated in the society of that particular period. Of which, the internal exchange system must have emerged in south India by the Iron Age itself or even earlier, as per available references. The corresponding expansion of agriculture was the result of twin simultaneous process of migration and occupation of fertile river valleys by the people from Tamilakam as well as the emergence of *brahmana* settlements and the reclamation of new lands for the purposes of agriculture on the banks of river Bharatapula, Pampa and Periyar basins by using both the migrant peoples and the kin labour forces.¹⁰ Together with the growth of agriculture new local exchange centers arose for which a number of references are available from the inscriptions.¹¹ This might have been expanded to a higher level of transaction towards the early medieval period. The needs of the local people could be satisfied through this local exchange process.

The numerical analysis of inscriptions¹² from the suburbs of Kodungallur area, it is clear that a stratified agrarian order developed in different parts of Kerala by the early medieval period, corresponding to wetland paddy cultivation and the subsequent growth of *nadus* as agrarian unit, for which the temples, being the largest consumers. This is confirmed by the various Copper Plates of that time which

mentions the items that came to the temple such as pepper, cumin seed, asafetida, coconut, ripe plantain, paddy, peas, ghee, oil,¹³ areca nut, betel leaves, camphor, sandal, plantain leaves, fire wood, pottery, salt, tamarind, sandal, albizia lebeck (*vakappodi*), etc.¹⁴ Among the items that came to the temple, Camphor, gold used in the form of *kalanju* and silver achieved an important place which might have come from long distance trade. This suggested a well-established local exchange network system that may corresponds to the development of a wider network of trading activities at least by the 10th C onwards. Apart from this, the references to traders and trading organisations, and a wide variety of flow of items indicate that trade progressed by the end of 10th - 11th Century in Kerala.

Secondly, the various allusions to *nagaram* and *angadi* in the inscriptions would suggest the beginning of exchange related functions in that society. The earliest reference to the emergence of *angadis* and towns appears by the 9th Century in different parts of the 'Perumal Kingdom'. Even though the notices to the creation of *nagaram* appear during the reign of *Cera Perumal* Stanu Ravi, (8th C),¹⁵ the numerical strength of such *nagarams* got multiplies by the time of *Perumal* Bhaskara Ravi (10th C). The name of towns nearby to Kodungallur such as Kulasekhara pattanam appears in two of the inscriptions of Indu Kotai.¹⁶ Bhaskarapuram in Irinjalakkuda Inscription,¹⁷ Muyirikkode in the Jewish Copper Plate,¹⁸ Kodungallur in one of the Tali inscription¹⁹ emerged during this period. Besides this other *nagarams* such as Talakkad, Tiruvancikkulam were also present in the inscriptions of the same geographical area, but in a later period. Hence it is clear that the emergence and predominance of the *nagarams* during this period is connected with the emergence of the rule of the *Perumals* of Mahodayapuram.

Thirdly, considering the references, one may find evidence of various craftsmen such as *patinettu nattar*²⁰, *vaniyan*,²¹ *taccar*,²² *tattan*, and other trade guilds of the time in the inscriptions.²³ Fourthly, the presence of trade guilds such as *ancuvannam* and *manigramam*, implies the existence of long distance trade. Karl Polanyi²⁴ observed that trade to be a relatively peaceful method of acquiring goods which are not locally

available. Rajan Gurukkal considered that merchant organizations such as *Ancuvannam* and *Manigramam*, played a prominent role in the South Indian trade history by 10th C itself. They enjoyed relative autonomy that enjoyed a number of trading rights and acquired economic control over the markets to the extent of articulating political authority.²⁵ Their affiliation with larger organizations such as *Tissai ayyayirattainnuruvar* pointed out the linking of local exchange network with a wider network extending all over Asia. By looking into the above account, the following conclusions are made.

The present geographic area of Kottappuram may act as a hinterland to the port city of Kodungallur in the ancient and early medieval days too. The major port of Kodungallur was developed near the seacoast and it is linked with the interior areas through both river and land routes. The surplus produced in the hinterland areas and the demand for forest products facilitated the growth of local exchange network and the extension of which resulted in the integration of the kingdom into a wider network of long distance trade through the port city of Kodungallur.

Simultaneously, various craft groups emerged which sustained the needs of trade and agriculture. Similarly, with the growth of local exchange network, certain centers were developed as *angadis* or *nagarams* as attested by the various inscriptions. One of such *nagaram* is Kodungallur. Later various craft groups were settled here which accelerated long distance trade. The presence of various trading organizations also indicates this. This trade satisfied the needs of a newly emerging upper class in the society, the customers of which were both the Temples and *Naduvails* and the *Perumal* himself. All these references indicates that trade progressed by the end of 10th- 11th Century in Kerala, corresponding to the growth of state under the *Perumals* of Mahodayapuram. This idea is supported by the foreign notices from the second half of 9th Century onwards.²⁶ Hence, it may be assumed that, in such a situation the *Cera Perumals* tried to indigenize the overseas merchants by granting them certain rights and making them accept certain indigenous systems of social hierarchy and privilege as attested by the inscriptions both the Tarisappalli Copper Plate and the Jewish Copper

Plate. Thus it can be safely concluded that the *Cera* state may be sustained by trading activities.

In spite of all these, the situation changed with the decline of *Perumal* rule, whereby it can be noticed a decline in the overseas trading activities. The Chinese records testify to the various ports of the country with Makotai as capital city which is easily accessible from both land and river routes and not Kodungallur. We come across only *Cettis* engaged in trading activities and the trading corporations like *Anjuvannam* and *Manigramam* disappeared from the scene altogether. The rulers continued the practice of conferring titles to individual traders and not the trading corporations. Thus the Vira Raghava pattayam²⁷ where Veera Raghava Chakravarthi confers certain rights of Manigramathar to Iravikorthan, the Christian merchant, mentions one such title as '*Ceraman lokaperumchetti*'. This indicates a localization of trading activities by this time. A shift in the nature of overseas trade occurs that was controlled by the Arab traders which were not controlled by the *Ancuvannam* and *Manigramam*. This would

mean that a decline in the importance of old trading centers such as Kodungallur during this period. The travelogues of Arab merchants indicate that Kodungallur was a place where paddy grows, whereas the *LaghubhaskareeyaVyakhya* mentions the Mahodayapuram as a flourishing trade center. So there is a possibility that Mahodayapuram was once upon a flourishing trade center which later lost its importance as a trade center and port city.

The inscriptions enumerates that a shift in the nature of trade occurs after the decline of *Perumals* of Mahodayapuram and hence forth the trade was controlled by the Arab merchants. It appears that the trade corporations were disappeared from the scene and correspondingly, Kodungallur lost its importance as a flourishing port city and had lost its urban nature and it became a mere village. Henceforth, the importance was given only to localized trade carried out by the *Cettis* as carriers of trade and not the early traders and trade guilds either.

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FROM MEDIEVAL TO EARLY MODERN STATE: THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BIHAR

Dr. Santosh Kumar Malua

Unlike European countries where the capitalism is the harbinger of modernity, the concept of modernity is generally understood with the very inception of colonialism in non-European countries like India. Historically, in the year 1765 the grant of Diwani of erstwhile three subas of Mughal Empire, Bengal Bihar and Orissa, to the East India Company laid the very first foundation of colonialism in the region. In the wake of the decline of Mughal Empire the manifestation of colonialism coincided with the foundation of early modern state in the region primarily through its revenue administration.

Bihar one among those three subas had a very strategic geographical situation between Allahabad and Awadh in the north and Bengal in the east in terms of polity and economy. In the eighteenth century not only the native regional rulers like Nawab of Bengal or Marathas of Deccan but several European joint stock companies also tried their luck in this region. Eventually, after the battle of Buxar (1764) the East India Company outclass every contending powers in the region and got the right to revenue

in Bihar, from Mughal emperor Shah Alam II, along with two other subas Bengal and Orissa.

The *suba* Bihar, as recorded in *Ain-i-Akbari*, having a length of 120 *koss*¹ from Gadhi to Rohtas and 110 *koss* of breadth from Tirhut to the northern mountains, had enough potential to generate sufficient produce and revenue to sustain its subjects and the sovereign.² The *suba* had seven sarkars (Tirhut, Hajipur, Saran, Champaran, Monghyr, Bihar and Rohtas) and 199 parganas. The gross revenue yield was 22,19,19,404 ½ *dams*³ or Rs. 55,47,985-1-3 and out of 199 parganas, 138 parganas paid their revenue in cash.⁴ The extent of measured land⁵ was 24,44,120 *bigha*⁶ yielding a revenue of 17,26,81,774 *dams* or Rs. 43,17,044. The remaining 61 parganas were rated at 4,22,37,630 ½ *dams* or Rs. 12,30,940-12-5, out of which 22,72,174 *dams* or Rs. 56,803-8-10 were *Suyurghal* (land grants).⁷ During the time of Aurangzeb the number of sarkars and parganas increased to 8 and 245 respectively, which raised the amount of revenue to about 96 lakh rupees.⁸

Under the Mughals, the administrative machinery was basically divided into two broad categories: sarkar and pargana. The accountable officers in charge were governor, Diwan kotwal qazi etc. The governor, popularly known as the Subahdar, and next to him was the Diwan, but he was not subordinate to the Subahdar, collectively ran the whole administrative machinery. The Subahdar was basically the administrative head whereas the Diwan was responsible for revenue administration and civil justice. The Diwan was practically independent of the governor's authority. Next to Diwan, the most important officers were the Sadr and the Qazi, the heads of the judicial and religious departments. These two offices, however, were combined. In the pargana level offices of the faujdar and kotwal were also combined sometimes. The pargana was a political unit while the mahal was a revenue or fiscal unit. Sometimes parganas were grouped into *chaklas*. In each *chakla* there was an amin and a faujdar with the *krois* (collectors) of the mahals as subordinates.

At the outset of the eighteenth century emperor Aurangzeb appointed his grandson, Prince Muhammad Azim, as the *subahdar* of Bihar. This administrative arrangement of appointing subadar from the imperial court was very much in practice till the early decades of eighteenth century. During the last days of Aurangzeb there was high demand of money due to Deccan campaign and there were irregular revenue payments from eastern provinces. To overcome this critical situation Murshid Quli Khan was appointed as the Diwan of Bengal in 1700 for reorganising the revenue settlement of Bengal. The revenue remittance under the supervision of Murshid Quli Khan produced desired result and he could manage to send about 10 million rupees in the very first year of his appointment to the imperial treasury.⁹ Aurangzeb, impressed by the performance of Murshid Quli Khan, gave additional charge of revenue administration of Bihar to him in 1703. But the subadar, Prince Azim-us Shan and the newly appointed diwan could not pull together and due to regular confrontation of egos between them, Prince was recalled to the court in Delhi. It was some internal politics and influence of Murshid Quli Khan in the court of Delhi which instigated this move.¹⁰ Subsequently, due to war of succession in the

wake of Aurangzeb's death the Prince could not venture into anything else but got involved in it, scoring against his father's (Bahadur Shah) enemy. Bahadur Shah emerged victorious and rewarded his son with the charge of *Subah* of Bihar again. But this time Prince opted to stay out of the province and appointed Sayid Husain Ali Khan (younger one of the famous Sayid Brothers) in his place as his deputy to the Province.¹¹

With the rule of Husain Ali Khan there started an era of *Naib Nizam* (deputy governorship) in Bihar. After the accession of Farrukhsiyar he was removed and Sayid Gairat Khan was appointed as the new governor but before he could settle down with the daily responsibilities Mir Jumla took over the reins from him. But by then factions plagued the politics of the court in Delhi as well as in the province.¹² Mir Jumla soon after 1715 returned to Delhi letting Sarbuland Khan in charge of the governorship of the province. Sarbuland initiated few measures to control the administration of the province by himself and through his associates and took strong steps in reorganizing several important local offices including the *Dewani* and *Faujdari*.¹³

After Sarbuland Khan Nusrat Yar Khan was the governor of Bihar but who succeeded him is not stated by the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* one of the principal political witnesses of the century and our one of the main sources of the time and the region. He himself declared his ignorance about the successor of Nusrat Yar Khan and recorded that Fakhr-ud-Daulah, brother of Roshan-ud-Daulah, obtained the *subadari* of Bihar in 1140 (1727-28) and held it for five years.¹⁴

The reign of Fakhr-ud-Daula was the turning point in the history of eighteenth century Bihar. There was growing discontent among disposed zamindars and their allies in the court who conspired against him and had him removed from the helm on the grounds of mismanagement. The court in Delhi with a view of better management decided to attach the administration of Bihar with Bengal and thus in 1730 Bihar was made a part of the Bengal Subah.¹⁵ Although administrative structure and its political status remained same but from now on it was Bengal which played the role of

guardian of the province and unlike before governors were appointed and assigned to the affairs of Bihar from Bengal instead of Delhi.

The most significant aspect of this transfer was the role of Diwan in handling almost all the administrative affairs of subahdar as well. And it became more aggressive when the East India Company got the Diwani in 1765.

The year 1765 demarcates two different eras of sovereignty and subjugation which subsequently culminated in the colonial conquest of India. The above administrative system underwent a sea change in the second half of the eighteenth century when the English East India Company acquired the right to revenue collection after the victory of Buxar (1764) and the grant of Diwani in 1765. The revenue administration of the Company was one of the important chapters in the manifestation of the colonial conquest and foundation of early modern state in the region. The manifestations of colonial conquest get institutionalised through its institutions, policies and agents who carried it to the interiors of the conquered land and its people. The revenue administration was the backbone of the Mughal Empire through which it stabilized and legitimized its rule. Acting on the same line the Company too tried to draw its legitimacy through revenue administration. Besides, it was one of the basic requirements of the Company to finance its trade investments and wars so it took all care and precautions to establish itself into the existing frame and then formulating it to suit its best of the needs. After acquiring the Dewani it had declared that

...it was not thought prudent, either by the local government, or the directors, to vest the immediate management of the revenue, or the administration of justice, in the European servants. It may indeed appear doubtful whether the European servants at this time, generally possessed sufficient knowledge of the civil institutions and the interior state of the country, to qualify them for the trust.¹⁶

Hence, it was proposed that the resident deputed at the court of Nawab for the inspection of the management of *naib-Dewan* and Chief of Patna for superintending the collections of the province had to work under the immediate management of native officers appointed for the job. Shitab Roy was appointed as *naib-Diwan* for

Bihar.¹⁷ It went on well for few years but in 1769-70 the Company struck with the real problem. The great famine of the era paralysed everything; the loss of revenue due to it left the Company perplexed and clueless about any remedy to it. The famine exposed the weakness of the Company over the revenue administration as well as the entire administrative mechanism in the region. The collectors had tough time in keeping the revenue settlement 'agreeable to the Bundubust'. On the other hand there were frequent complaints regarding the mismanagement and chaos in the province, which compelled the Committee to evolve some measure to check the growing discontent among the populace. Eventually, the Company ordered some deductions in the Revenues.¹⁸

The Company prepared itself for tackling the crisis through some substantial reformation not only in the revenue administration but also in the entire administrative structure. Since for this it required some knowledge of the previous system but the Select Committee was reported that Qasim Ali while fleeing from Patna, carried with him or burnt all the records that could lead to a knowledge of former administration of the Province.¹⁹ They were aware of their ignorance about the system and its mechanisms so the initiatives were taken first to decentralise the administrative affairs and get the knowledge of the system through proper research and investigation. To carry out the task of collecting information individuals were assigned the task of investigation.

The separate councils, with superior authority, were established at Moorshidabad and Patna for handling particularly revenue affairs of Bengal and Bihar separately and Supervisors were appointed in the different parts of the province to find out the details of existing systems and its mechanism. The supervisors were advised to gather detailed information on the history of the province, the state, produce and capacity of the lands. The amount of the revenues, the cesses or arbitrary taxes and of all demands whatsoever which were made on the cultivators; the manner of collecting them and the gradual rise of every new impost; the regulations of commerce and the administration of justice.²⁰

The supervisors came out with extensive details of the existing revenue administration, mode of assessments and collections besides other relevant information. Their information revealed that the revenue settlement was fixed through proper survey of the extent of jagir and khalsa lands. About one-third of all the lands of each province were set apart under the former, while the rest was kept under the latter for immediate payment 'to answer the King's proper expenses, Civil and Military, as well as all the extraordinaries of war'. The rules and regulations for both portions of the land divisions were same 'in prescribing the nature, form and amount of the yearly collections' and their management were assigned to zamindars or jagirdars and aumildars.²¹

The office of Canongoe looked after the privileges and duties of the parties concerned in the revenue department, produce & taxation of lands annually, allotted to the zamindars, the ryot or the cultivator, and basically the rules of collecting the rent.²² Although in Bengal except name and salary there was no substantial duties left in the eighteenth century but in Bihar, the Canongoes had retained their powers since the beginning. Occasionally, they had to yield to the demands of the zamindars but it happened rarely as 'the Conongoes of Behar were, however, well informed of their powers and functions.'²³ The motive behind the office of Canongoe was to appoint an in-charge or supervisor who not only could supply the information regarding annual history of zamindari, details of land cultivable and left under taxation, functions and responsibilities of aumils and details of revenue demand from ryots and balances etc., but was to see that in no circumstances any information regarding revenue administration would be withheld by people or zamindars. He acted like a guardian who had to see that zamindars should not act independently or extract anything beyond their stipulated or allotted amount. For, it would be only Government who could decide about lands inclusion and exclusion from jumma or rent-roll.²⁴

The information, however, communicated to the directors in consequence of these enquiries revealed that the internal government was in a state of disorder, and the people were under great oppression. The whole system was found revolving around 'habitual extortion and

injustice' by the 'public officers', which encouraged the cultivator to conceal and evade the taxation, and 'by which government was defrauded of a considerable parts of its just demands'.²⁵ And they held that 'the nature of the former administration' was encouraging these evils to exist. It was observed that the Nazims exacted what they could 'from the zamindars and great farmers of the revenue', whom they 'left at liberty to plunder all below, reserving to themselves the prerogatives of plundering them in their turn.'²⁶

W. Rumbolds, the Supervisor of Patna, revealed through one of his communications to Harry Verelst, President of the Select Committee at Fort William, about the prevailing pathetic situations of the province. The Zamindars had ever been very troublesome. Their proximity to the hills and the Fort of Palamou nearby encouraging them to evade any action of troops against them, so there was an urgency of deploying two battalions of sepoys with two pieces of heavy cannon to take care of these troubles.²⁷

They were astonished to find that in the name of revenue collection there was mass oppression of peasants by the *aumils*. The ryots were never free from debts and toiling for sustenance under everybody in charge of the office. For, whenever there was new appointment of any officer, he also followed the existing custom and the chain of suppression continues. Besides, jagirs were of much higher value than recorded and the Jagirdar had been always quoting lower rent, and kept that under them. The Jagir lands were surrounded with villages and the fertility of soil was equally capable of improvement but the Ryots were deprived of these tracts. It was proposed that the amount of the Jagirs should be paid from treasury, and the lands should be put under the management of the government's officers.²⁸

Revenue Measures and Management

It was decided that the Supervisor should personally sell the Bundabust in each pargana with Raja Sitab Roy, the *naib-Dewan*. So that it could relieve the ryots from the oppression of the *aumils*. But, the Company lacked men power with proper qualification to fix the valuation of each pargana which could bring relief to the inhabitants from all those unnecessary burdens

they had been bearing since ages. The Company did not want to reduce the current revenue demand but it sought to relieve the peasants from previous dues of balances which peasants were unable to pay. It was suggested that there would not be any additional imposition of taxes on them. For, they argued that it would encourage the peasants to cultivate more when they had no burden of the past debts to pay.²⁹

It was resolved, that there would be a Board of Revenue with the President and members of Council as the officiating individuals on the revenue and they would be assisted by an accountant general. Now on, the supervisors were to be designated as collectors, and they would be assisted by a native officer, 'chosen by the Board and styled as Diwan', in superintendence of the revenue. The affairs of revenue was arranged on a five year settlement with the four members, Samuel Middleton, Dacres, Lawrell & John Graham, of the Board to see through the implementation of the decision taken thereof. The regulations framed for the guidance of the officers employed in the revenue departments were printed and promulgated in the native languages and were implied to improve the condition of the inhabitants by abolishing and prohibiting many practices prevailed under the native government considered by them as 'injurious' keeping in view to establish an 'equitable government'.³⁰ Directives were also issued to settle the problems of corrupt practices by the officers causing loss of revenue. It was decided after considering the case of Sarkar Shahbad that it would be wise to reduce the expenses as much as possible and there should be proper check on the practice of embezzlement on the part of corrupt and irresponsible officers.³¹

Revenue and Resistance

The policies initiated by the Company were not welcomed by all. The settlement of revenue was done but it could not be collected and it was realised that the large sum of money not released to the Government could not be realised till the zamindars near fort of Palamu were not subdued. So after regular threats to the earnings of the Government James Alexander, the supervisor, reported to the committee that the situation in Bihar was very precarious as from the very beginning it had incurred heavy damage by the

invasions of Shuja-ud Dowla and there were zamindars who were not ready to submit. Several attempts had been made to reduce the rebellious zamindars but still it could not be settled. It was imperative to order the deployment of five or six companies of sepoy to bring the affairs of Patna together into effect. There was a need of having 'either another Battalion of Sepoys for the service of the Collections, or two additional Companies to each battalion' which could match the demand of the service required.³²

Since, from the very beginning it was obvious that the Company had no knowledge of the province and its revenue practices so it would be wise to employ natives for the job of revenue assessment and collection and they would be just the supervisor for the purpose. But, after thorough re-examination of the system the Company finally settled for the direct contact with the producers and decided to not only supervise but to take active part in it. The Company kept the basic structure of the revenue administration intact, the whole revenue settlement would be based on two divisions the assessment and the collection. Hence, the assessment was done after the proper review of previous years' trends in the settlement of gross amount. The gross settlement was assessed after finding the previous years' settlement and it had mainly three broad sub categories, rent, resumption and annexation of land or jagir, which basically determined the increase in revenue settlement. The deductions were determined by the low assessment, lending of jagir and separation of lands from the previous set ups. On these bases the final net settlement was done for the collections. The total collection was carried out after having the net settlement and after that proper attention was given on the balance of current and previous years. If they were not recovered then it was put under the category of remission and suspension and if there was no response for that then it was kept under the category titled 'unliquidated'. The increase of revenue was counted on the assessment of rental and resumption of jagirs after the death or transfer of the beholder and annexations of lands were another principal factor in raising the revenue. While deduction were made on the decrease of assessment, and if jagirs were granted and if there was any separation of lands from the former set ups then also it amounted to be a decrease trend in the assessment and collection. But the effect of

the new arrangements on the department of the revenue, proved less favourable than was expected. The settlement of the five years had been concluded under general institutions from the directors, which required that the government 'should not, by any sudden change, alter the constitution or deprive the zamindars, &c. of their ancient privileges and immunities.'³³

The Company's concern over the institution of zamindars further deepened when there was additional concern of enhancing the revenue was brought to the fore along with the few resolutions passed by the Board of Revenue regarding further plan of action in the revenue administration. The first resolution states that

...at the expiration of the present Fussully year, a new settlement of Behar be concluded with the actual proprietors of the soil, whether zemindars, chowdries, or independent talookdars; and whether at present paying their revenues to government through other zamindars, or not.³⁴

Since after the rule of more than two decades, now the Company felt that the revenue settlement should be framed in a durable structure so that there would be stability in the revenue returns. The Company since 1765 till 1789 experiencing day by day about the system eventually wanted a permanent system for the revenue settlement which can enhance the collection and enrich the Company's treasury. Since the previous ignorance about the system has already been overcome, still they were not sure about the exact method to apply for the management of revenue administration. The main question was how to deal with zamindars since the whole system of revenue collection was hinged on the institution of zamindars who in the understanding of the Company just a landholder but they were really troubled with the tradition of hereditary rights of zamindari and its control over the ryots. In addition to this the main concern of the Company was to enhance the revenue collection and they were emphasising more on the inherent tradition of the land and people. They argued that if the sense of security was there with the proprietor then certainly efforts would be applied to enhance the revenue but if there would be uncertainty over holding of the revenue assignments then there would not be any positive inputs to improve the system. Hence the settlement should be made for at least

ten years with somebody responsible, accountable and enterprising. It is decided in the second resolution of the Board of Revenue in late 1780s, which explicitly states that

...the settlement be made for a period of ten years certain, with a notification that, if approved by the Court of Directors, it will become permanent, and no further alteration take place, at the expiration of the ten years.³⁵

The Minutes presented by John Shore to the Board of Revenue in 1789 records the early confusion of the Company regarding the revenue settlement and with whom it should make contract. There were wide differences among the officials and the Board regarding the contracting party. Few wanted it with the zamindars and few were in favour of farming the revenue to the ryots. The debate over both the options elaborated on the advantages and disadvantages of both the systems. While opposing the settlement with zamindars

...it is observed, that the system is calculated to raise upon one description of men viz. the zemindars, the misery of another infinitely more numerous, useful, and defenceless; that the zamindars being declared in act and name lords paramount of the soil, their abject and helpless vassals, the ryots, trained up to hereditary submission, will bear dread whatever their imposing tyranny may inflict.³⁶

John Shore emphasised on the exclusive character of the province of Bihar and its different practices than the province of Bengal and proposed that one should reconsider the exiting revenue history and status of the province before embarking on any of the systems. He informed that

...between Bengal and Behar there are many important distinctions, both in principle and practice; and in determining the system of management for regulating and collecting the revenues of these two provinces, these distinctions should not be disregarded.

Hence, it is obvious from the above narrative that the East India Company after getting the Diwani did not want to get rid of the existing system rather it tried to adopt it for its own requirement. When it faced with some unwarranted situation specifically the famine in

1769-70, it could not rely any longer upon the prevailing mode of revenue management and opted for its own methods to handle it within the existing system. It was the first ever attempt in the foundation of early modern state because unlike Mughals it believed in the supervision from the below, it decided to appoint supervisors at the ground level. Its methodology of deploying

authorities directly responsible and accountable to the Company right at the beginning exhibited that loyalty and commitment should come from the below. Besides, the most important thing about this system was that it never tried to establish a new system replacing the old but it tried to modify the existing system to carry its colonial needs.

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1. Koss is a unit of distance usually from 1 to 2 miles.
2. *Ain* records that Bihar had a 'high degree' of agricultural prosperity and rice had a remarkable distinction. There was abundance of Sugarcane, betel-leaf, fruits, flowers and milk of good quality and variety. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, (tr.) H. S. Jarret, 2nd edn, Revised by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1978, (First published, 1949), p. 162
3. About 40 dam = 1 Rupee.
4. It is pointed by H.S. Jarret, translator of *Ain*, that the term Zabti though originally applied to lands sequestered by the State, was used of rent free lands subjected to assessment in Bengal, to lands which had been resumed from Jagir Grants by Jafar Khan: in the north-west, to money rents on the more valuable crops, such as sugar, tobacco and cotton where rent in kind was the rule. Abul Fazl employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village. *Ibid.*, p. 162, fn.
5. ¹ Irfan Habib points that statistics of measured area in Bihar during Aurangzeb's period had some discrepancy with the statistics shown in the *Ain*, for when these area were 'converted from *bigah-i daftari* to *bigah-i Ilahi*' then it was three times more than what *Ain* claimed. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 11.
6. *Bigha*, a unit of land equal to 1600 sq. Yards.
7. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 165.
8. Francois Bernier *Travels in Mogul Empire 1656-68*, (tr. & ed.) Archibald Constable, Delhi, 1972, p. 457. This increase was partly due to the conquest of southern region, Chotanagpur and Bhojpur, of the province and bringing more uncultivated lands under cultivation.
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13. Muzaffar Alam, "Eastern India in the Early eighteenth Century 'Crisis'" in, pp. 48-49.
14. Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhrin*, Tr., John Briggs, *History of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. I, 1832, p. 372.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
16. James Grant, *The Fifth Report From the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, Vol. 1, Madras, 1866, p. 3. (Hereafter Grant, *The Fifth Report*)
17. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, p. 3.
18. Letter from Patna to Select Committee, 1769, 78-79
19. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
20. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, p. 3.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 505.
22. *Ibid.*, Appendix 3, p. 220.
23. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, Appendix 3, pp. 220-21.
24. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, Appendix 3, pp. 219-20.
25. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, p. 3. (Letter from the President and Council, of Fort William, 3rd November 1772.)
26. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, p. 3.
27. Home Public Proceedings, Secret and Separate Committee, 1768, 310-14.
28. Secret and Separate Committee-1768, 310-14.
29. The reduction of the present statement of the revenues would not be expedient but any attempt to increase them was by no means advisable. Proper management may secure some addition two or three years hence supposing the country to remain in the same tranquil state. At present let the inhabitants be freed from their debts. Secret and Separate Committee- 1768, 310-14.
30. Grant, *The Fifth Report*, pp. 4-5. (Regulations, dated 14th May 1772; Colebrooke's Supplement, p. 194.)
31. SC-1770, p. 159.
32. SC-1769, 89; 94-95
33. W. K. Firminger, *The Fifth Report From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, New York, 1969, p. 6. (Hereafter Firminger, *The Fifth Report*)
34. Firminger, *The Fifth Report*, p. 480
35. Firminger, *The Fifth Report*, p. 489.
36. Firminger, *The Fifth Report*, p. 480.

NEW AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGIES AND ECONOMIC CHANGES AMONG THE HILLY COMMUNITIES OF COLONIAL ODISHA

Sujata Sahoo

Introduction

Man's material culture was the representation of the stage of development of his technology, which embraced the means by which man controls or modifies his natural environment.¹ Colonial regime in colonial Odisha was a landmark to define the transition phase of the classical mode of cultivation to the British implemented technologies in the agricultural field through different colonial forest and agrarian policies. The intrusion of the outsiders, newly applied administration towards forest and land revenue, growing demand of the cash crops and the destruction of the shifting cultivation and handicraft industries tradition on the name of preservation of forest resources. It gave impetus towards western mode of cultivation and livelihood. The polished iron and stone implements replaced the primeval rough implements for cultivation, forest cleaning as well as other household works. These agricultural people of highland communities when uprooted, migrated to other places, else migration of non-adviasis communities into the highland were in a great trouble. First was about their alternative place for rehabilitation as well as alternative occupation to earn their livelihood. Though these affected families, adding to they had to face numerous social problems, cultural crisis, economic disorganization and social disintegration.² Community material culture might be termed simple in the sense that local resources were utilized in shaping the material culture. The methods of dahi cultivation (shifting cultivation) and clearing forest, however beard the stamp of elaborate thinking and long experience by the communities of Odisha in selecting a particular raw material for a specific task.

In habits and customs, the hilly communities were most primitive. Until plain land people of Keonjhar came amongst them, they might have used such weapons, for they had no knowledge whatever of metals till the advent of colonial rule.³ They had no ironsmiths nor smelters of iron though they had no words in their own languages for iron or other metals as there was no mention in their oral history and

folk literature from years. They neither spin nor weave, nor have they ever attained to the simplest knowledge of pottery. They were semi-nomadic in their habits, living together in hamlets during a portion of the year, but often changing the sites and occupying isolated huts in the midst of their patches of cultivation whilst the crops were on the ground.⁴

Growing Market Economy among Communities under Colonial Era

The advent of colonial administration in the community area outcome several impacts on their economic standards. This vigorously affected the economy and social status. The shifting cultivation as well as the trend of root and fruit collection from the jungle got an evolution towards cash crop cultivation and market economy. The elements of market economy brought about a radical change in the traditional economic life of tribal communities. They were confronted with the vagaries of the colonial market economy that continually eroded their life style and simultaneously deprived them of an important means of subsistence. Due to the impact of new economic and politico-administrative measures, many of the tribesmen lost their moorings from their traditional economy.⁵

Now the arising question is why the community members accepted the trend of cash crops instead of their traditional food crops for their daily subsistence among the Adivasi communities. The initial attempt by the local administration towards the forestland and forest production outcome several effects on their life. The Bethi tradition towards the local ruler and the royal members led to the migration of the community members to the plain land and the neighboring districts for the search of occupation. The imposition of unified legal ownership system and taxes in cash was opposed by the tribal communities. Later a system of rent was imposed on the tribal chiefs, and the demand for money was created enabling money lenders and traders to step in. This was the immediate cause of the first wave of the tribal revolts (1799-1859) throughout India, which

were followed by attempts to develop a special system of administration for communities of Odisha.⁶ Then after, they were forced to adopt the colonial supplied agrarian products and procedures. The next significant is about how they reacted against the restrictions on forest land and colonial administration on the forest produce to export to the plain neighboring land.

Exorbitant taxes and rents were imposed on land and it was the poor peasants and tribals who were hit hard. The new taxes were realized ruthlessly by the zealous agents of the local authority and the traditional system of land control broke down. Not only were the hereditary tribal chiefs deprived of their land but the tribal cultivators too lost their land to the new comers. The pauperized tribal peasants were not merely reduced to the status of tenants' at-will, share croppers, and agricultural laborers but were also enslaved.⁷

Further the changes in the crop production was very significant during colonial era. While the colonial game laws made traditional tribal activities illegal and the state monopoly over trade in forest produce also seriously affected the tribals who had depended on them for subsistence. The introduction of commercial crops motivated the colonial rulers to displace the tribals from their habitat. During the British period alienation from land due to faulty legislation pertaining to forest land and lack of understanding of tribal social organization were responsible for tribal uprisings in 1862 and 1892.⁸

Plough Cultivation

The plough in use is very similar in all the states. The communities, who practice dahi cultivation use a small hand plough; it is little more than a curved bough. The plough in use varies slightly in different places to suit the variety of soil met with. The ploughs in use for regular cultivation were of two kinds, the distinguishing feature being in the one case the use of two wooden pegs on the yoke within which to confine the neck of the bullock, and in the other only a single peg on the inner side was used to which is fastened by a hook or through a hole at its lower end a cord passing round the neck of the bullock and attached to a small knob on the outer extremity of the yoke. The former type was found in the wilder parts of the country

such as Bonai, where the cattle were allowed to graze in herds in the large forests, and were very wild and unmanageable when yoked in the plough: the two wooden pegs make it easier to steady the bullocks, but had the disadvantage that it was very difficult to turn and direct them and the ploughing was naturally inferior: the latter type is found in the more open and cultivated tracts. The plough stock (*nangal*) was made in one piece with a slot for the share firm in the stock. The share was a long narrow piece of iron. The plough was fashioned by means of a chisel known as *bindhani* and a woolen mallet (*kata*). The plough had two wooden pegs on the yoke for harnessing the bullocks. The other type of plough was usually made of sal and had a longer life and costs in the states round Sambalpur about eleven and a half annas.⁹

Resources to Develop Technologies

Community material culture was shaping based on the long experienced collection of particular raw materials for special task. For example, the fibre extracted from the barks of plants *Bauhinia vahlii* (*landam*), *Careya arborea* (*tumboi*), *Trema Orientalis* (*ralanga*) and *Kydia calycina* (*baranga*) were used for rope making for various purposes. The wood of the *kulutha* tree (*grewia tillifolia*) was the first choice for making handles for various hand-operated tools. The technologies were worked in tandem with the local resources and ecology make up community culture.¹⁰

Implements and accessories used in agriculture are hand-hoe (*ganar or gurunda*), the cattle driven plough (*singi*) and yoke (*juali*), bill-hook (*semar*), sickle (*dao*), small axe (*gutia*), large axe (*budia*), spade (*kodali*), carrying pole (*agar*), rain umbrella (*jhampi*) and rain coat (*pakhia*). The wooden parts of all tools are made by the communities themselves, while the iron parts (blades, pointed tips and sockets) were made and supplied on demand by the blacksmiths, who lived (one family each) in some villages. The black smith took either money or grain in exchange for his service. As mentioned earlier, the wood in demand for handles of implements except the plough, which was a single piece of preferably *Shorea robusta* wood, is *Kulutha* (*Grewia tillifolia*), which was very smooth and sturdy. Other varieties also used for making a plough are *Jamu* (*Syzygium cumini*), *bangrur*

(*Schleichera oleosa*) and *antanak* (*Terminalia alata*). For a hand hoe, the preferred wood after *Kulutha* is *Khakada* (*Casearia elliptica*). There was an interesting note about hand hoe, that it was a single piece of curvature wood with the pointed tip end being thicker in the past. It was replaced by a wooden handle with an iron tip which was thrust into the wood, parallel to the wooden tip. But now, the working end had been entirely replaced by an iron part which was fixed into the wooden handle. The rain caps and rain coats were made of bamboo (*Dendrocalamus strictus*) splits by the *Domb* (Scheduled Caste) who move from village to village to instantly make and supply on demand, as well as various kinds of baskets.¹¹

There was an indigenous mode of firemaking; the instrument was known as *jhakmaki*. It was made of wild tasar cocoon (*Bombax sp.* and *Dendrocalamus strictus*) and inside it some simili cotton (*Bombax ceiba*) was kept to catch fire. A piece of granite or quartzite stone was kept inside the *jhakmaki*. There was another traditional mode of making fire by drilling two pieces of cylindrical sticks of *cajanus cajan*. One was kept

in the ground, while other with a pointed tip is drilled through the piece on the ground by both hands. Another traditional item was seen in a high land villages was the *Karda* (cow-bell) which was made out of the wood of *Gmelina arborea*.¹²

Conclusion

It is concluded from the study undertaken that due to the trend of modernization in these community villages, the tribe's perceptions, thoughts, food habits, daily life styles, dresses, festivals, rule and rituals, the eco-friendly, nature related culture etc., were all deteriorating due to the impact of modernization of implementations in agricultural field as well as in the household activities. As the system of colonial impact entered into community lifestyle, there was a chance to lose the traditions and tribal uniqueness in the long run, in the changing scenario. And the consequence sapped the yearlong method of using implementation. Thus, the process was seen to be slowly killing the *adivasi* life as it was gradually disintegrating the cultural resources of the *adivasi* communities of Odisha.

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SUBSIDY AND THE ECONOMY OF PRINCELY MYSORE---A CRITIQUE

Dr. M.V. Usha Devi

The most important way of understanding economic policy of British Colonial rule in India is through archival sources. Several factors that explain the early history of Mysore is more of myth and mystery than reality. The rulers of the

erstwhile State of Mysore trace their history of ancestry from the Vijayanagara Empire, the state which was long been under the rule of the Wodeyars was taken over by HyderAii in 1763, the critical state of affairs had forced them. In

1782 with the demise of Hyder Ali the kingdom was passed into the hands of Tipu Sultan. As long as Tipu was in power, he came to be looked upon as a formidable enemy by the British. Tipu Sultan after his accession to the throne rebound and resumed Bangalore's position as an important centre of economic and agricultural activities, but the fort of Bangalore was dismantled/destroyed by Tipu in an anger after he lost control of the city in 1791 battle against the British. He was defeated by the combined armies of the British and the Nizams, the territories of the Mysore State came to be distributed among the colonial rulers and its allies-the Nizam, the Marathas and of course the Wodeyars of Mysore. Though historians have tried to trace the origin of modern Mysore since the inception of colonial rule from the period 1799, with fall of Tipu Sultan. The restoration of the Mysore state to the erstwhile Wodeyars family once again brought back the Mysore ruling family to the throne but under British control. Consequent to restoration the state had to enter Subsidiary Alliance with the British by the signing of the treaty on 1st July 1799 at Nagarabad fort, this subsidiary treaty consisted of 16 articles. The first one declares that the friends and force of either of the contracting were to be considered equally, secondly provision for payment of an annual subsidy of 7 lakhs of star pagodas for the maintenance by the companies of a body of troops for the defence and security of the Mysore Maharajas dominions, but the disposal of the said sum together with the employment of the troops to be maintained being entirely left to the company and thirdly related to increase in amount paid being fixed by the Governor General along with net revenues of Mysore and fourthly demanded regular payment both times of peace or war. The fifth article contained intervention of Governor General in administration of state, sixth imposed the obligation on Maharaja for interference in the state alliances with neighbours without the previous knowledge and sanction of the company, seventhly not to admit any European foreigners without the concurrence of the company and article eight gave liberty to Governor General to establish fort or garrison to in the state. The ninth article explains the expenses for construction, repair or strengthen the troops, the expenses being incurred was

paid by the state. In the tenth article the salaries should be paid to the military by the amount collected through revenue of the state. Article eleven gave special provision for certain officers. Twelfth article referred to entry of all provisions free of any duty, tax or impediment whatever. Article thirteen, commercial treaty beneficial to English East India Company. Article 14, Maharaja to be attentive to follow company's advice at all times. Article 15, Maharaja should carry better administration with view of economy and finance. Article 16, contains the names of two parties' signatories that is on behalf of Governor General of India, Colonel Arthur Wellesly, Gharris, Henry Wellesly, Lt. Col. William Kirkpatrik and Lt. Col. Barry Close. On the other hand on behalf of Mysore the Maharaja the names of Lakshmi Ammanni who died in 1810 and poornaiya died in 1812 and A.H. Cole was appointed resident to Mysore state. Raja has to follow advice and administration according to him. As per the article 2 of the treaty the Subsidy was fixed at Rs 24 *lakh* to be paid annually to the paramountcy. In addition to this Rs 8 lakhs and Rs 6 lakhs had to be spent on maintaining the Imperial Army and local police respectively. Added to this was pension charges Rs 44 lakhs. The cruel imposition of such expenses on the state by the British had a crippling effect upon the state economy.

The Concept of Cantonment:

Cantonments were established by the British in India for new barracks of troops allotted in certain suitable place. Like the game of cricket, Cantonments were also contributions of the British in India. The institution of cantonment came to India without roots in their own country even outside the British Empire cantonment did not exist. In USA for instance there is no reference of cantonments instead they have military base. In the words of Layden 'Cantonments were peculiar to India, the English men were found of carrying their experiments. The institution of cantonment is one such innovation'. According to Colonel Marks Wilks- 'The bringing of economic activities had made Bangalore one of the richest cities in 18th century which began its new turn towards the establishment of cantonment in that land which resembled 'England', the process of urbanization in cantonment area was a mixture of civilian and army headquarters built in 1810. Historically

Bangalore once was an obscure village, in 16th century 'Pete' was founded, further 'Cusbah' was urban in sense that its residents by and large were savkars, merchants, arisans and craftsmen who produced for market. This cantonment was called as LASKER by muslims and hindus called as DANDU by the natives. An Imperial Government under the control of the resident, Bangalore the assigned tract is provided with the various departments of administration separate from those of the Mysore government. In legislation all provisions of the treaty was enforced, but in 1884 a revised order of facts, codes, rules and regulations separately applied to civil and military station was issued by government of British India declaring to what and if modifications they were to be law and other enactments extended to civil and military station on 1894, there were 48 subordinates of officers 278 constables costing rupees 62.653 paid by Mysore government. The resident, treasury dealing with subsidy from Mysore state was paid connected with military ecclesiastical, post-office, telegraph, pension leave allowance and other included Rupees 95 lakhs.

Mysore was once of the major state which has been performing economic reforms to accelerate industrialization to improve its position in the map of India. The states economic policy in general and that of its industrial policy in particular have been geared to process the needs of the European wars apart from the payment of subsidies.

In 1700, the British troops were garrisoned in Srirangapatna due to un-climatic atmosphere to the troops. The East India Company's Madras government sought for a healthier climatic station then selected Bangalore in 1807 and the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar III granted for occupation of military troops. During the commissioner's rule in 1831 the capital city shifted from Srirangapatna to Bangalore. According to the strict letter of the subsidiary agreement entered in to with maharaja of Mysore the British government had a right to demand the maintenance of an effective force of 4,000 horses for active service outside Mysore when needed by them. This right was

commuted into a money payment of TEN AND HALF LAKHS by the instrument of transfer in 1881 agreement. Resettlement of political relations with the companies' government, an experiment in constitutional government for native states, revision of administrative departments was started only for the benefit of their needs in the name of development and progress making Mysore Modern.

India is known as kingdom of kings, there were nearly 620 princely states large and small. Princely states as an object for study on chronological and socio-economic aspect the relation between native rulers and the colonial masters, was integral but how far they had liberty in administration is debatable. According to Lord Mayo, native princess reared up under British influence and imbued with the British principles of administration has found a proof in Mysore according to subsidy treaty. In order to bring new reforms and to meet the requirements passed various legislations which were largely based on the British system of administrations. Thus the native princess brought up under the English government were a tower of strength to the paramount power in times of danger and a fountain of blessings to English men in times of peace.

On 18 August 1902 Lord Curzon performed investiture ceremony with Warwick Shire Regiment held in Jagganmohan Palace. A salute of twenty-one guns, bestowed by the British crown on the Maharaja of Mysore as holding the highest status among Indian princes in the Imperial Hierarchy. However, colonialism did not alter the nature of divide and rule along with drain of resources of the state and maharajas were used as puppets for their benefits at the cost of our people. Moreover, it is observed that the colonial master's theory, no real progressive policies from the rulers. What clearly emerges out of the study is the economy had lost its control, the subsidiary treaty had brought long relationship between maharaja and colonial masters which dominated and ill-treated as subordinates at its worst it was inequality and an indication of un-democratic and un-constitutional situation.

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TEXTILE INDUSTRY UNDER QUTUB SHAHIS

Dr. K. Veerasha

Cotton weaving was one of the most ancient industry and is still providing in India, especially in Andhra Desa. 'Sindon' the Greek name for cotton fabrics is etymologically the same as that of Sind or India as the term 'Calico' is derived from Calicut on Malabar coast. *Periplus of Erithrean Sea*, the earliest to mention the trade of India enumerates a great variety of cotton fabrics among the Indian exports. Cotton cloth has always been the single material of Indian clothing for both men and women. In delicacy of texture, in grace of design, in purity and fastness of colours, the Indian cotton textiles surpassed those of all others. Weaving was the leading industry in all the main regions of India.

Cotton textiles were an important item, other than spices which attracted the Europeans companies for trade from 16th century onwards. And their first settlements were concentrated mostly in the coastal regions like Coromandal, Bengal, Malabar, where the cotton is grown extensively textiles were produced. Textiles constituted the major item of exports, thus contributing to its surplus trade and large inflow of bullion. Pyrard writing around 1600 states 'everyone from the Cape Good Hope to China, man and women is clothed from head to foot' in the products of the Indian looms.¹

Since period of Kakatiyas Andhradesa became famous for its Cotton products. It exported to South-East Asian countries and Africa and West Asia. With the establishment of European trading companies such as the Dutch and the English at places like Masulipatam, Pulicot, Nizampatam (Petapoli) etc at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the cotton

fabrics of this region known as Golkonda textiles alongwith diamonds earned good name. The Chintzes of Masulipatam, the Bettilles of Warangal, the Punjam or Panjam or '120 thread' cloth of Vizagapatam and Blue Salampurs of Nellore were in great demand with the European traders. This region had attained a celebrity for its textiles throughout the whole world. The first cargo of the English from this region was textiles. The first ship of the English to visit Masulipatam 1611, 'Globe' "departed, laden with cotton cloths and other delicate fabrics for Bantam and Siam".²

An estimate of Coromandal textiles that could be sold in a year in South East Asian markets prepared at Batavia in 1623 contains a list of 49 varieties of textiles, their quantity and description.³ As most of the Dutch settlements were on Andhra coast, most of those textiles were naturally manufactures of Andhra region. This list indicates the textile varieties and the magnitude of their external trade during this period. An estimated cost of textiles exported per annum (1623) from Coromandal alone to South Asian region was F 400,000.⁴ The textile trade from Masulipatam to Sumatra and Spice Islands proved to be so profitable for the Dutch that in 1627, the Batavia Council recommended that 300,000 Rials in money should be sent annually to Masulipatam for textiles to be exchanged in the Eastern Archipelago for gold, camphor and spices.⁵

This is only a fraction of the total volume or extent of textile manufactures and their worth in this region besides the exports of English trading company, the indigenous trader's exports both oversea and inland, and the local consumption

also have to be taken into consideration to estimate the total volume of production. It was reported by the Dutch in 1621 that the Muslim merchants during that period had sent 12 to 13 ships laden mostly with textiles to various destinations.⁶ The Dutch also found that Coromandal textiles were cheaper than those of Surat as labour was cheaper in Coromandal.⁷

Before the close of the eighteenth century, the total investment of the English trading company was on an average more than seven lakhs of Rupees annually, and some years even exceeded fourteen lakhs.⁸

Textile production in this region, like in many other parts of India was widespread. It was produced almost in every village and urban centres. They were produced in the villages mostly for local consumption and also for the neighbouring markets like weekly Santas and fairs of religious institutions such as those of Temples and Dargas. The textile production in the urban centres was meant for the consumption of the local elite class including the ruling class and also for exports both inland and maritime.

SILK TEXTILES MANUFACTURE

The very next position to cotton textiles was occupied by the silk textiles in manufacturing as well as usage in this region. Raw silk was imported either from Bengal or Madras and silk cloth was manufactured at several places. Silk sarees and women's breast clothes were produced at Mattewada, near Warangal, Metpally, Vemulawada (Karimnagar) and Medak. But the silk produced in these places was of inferior quality and no great skill or taste was displayed by the weavers. They were meant for local market and use.⁹ Probably the Pattukaris, as the name signifies were the weavers who were engaged in the production of silk in the region. The cloth was also dyed red with lac dye, and yellow with turmeric and no other dyes were used.

TUSSER SILK CLOTH

Tusser silk cloth was also manufactured in several places in the region. This silk was produced from cocoons of insects as those of Bengal silk. But the *Tusser* silk of the region was not that fine and durable compared to that of Bengal. The Bengal silk was costlier and double

that of *Tusser* silk. It was made into sarees, *Panches* (dhoti) and scarf's at several places.

Tusser silk also called jungle silk was derived from cocoon of the insect or moth which was reared carefully. Mahdevpoo on Godavari river (Ramgir *Circar*) Karimnagar district was an important centre of rearing this insect. Some seventy to eighty families were engaged in rearing these insects and in the manufacture of the cloth. At Mahadevpoo *Tusser* Silk cloth was manufactured meant for export to Hyderabad. The insects of *Tusser* silk, like that of ordinary silk, were reared. The insect in its grub state was first fed on the tender leaves of the *Careya Sphaerica* and when more grown on the leaves of *Pentaptera tomentosa*. Much attention was paid in rearing this insect by protecting it from destruction by birds and squirrels. Raw *Tusser* silk was sent from Mahadevpoo to other parts.¹⁰ *Tusser* silk cloth was produced also at Hasan parthy and Chilpoo near Warangal town.¹¹ In Elgandal *Circar* (Karimnagar district) itself, there were some 19 looms engaged in manufacturing *tusser* silk.¹² They were dyed in the same colour and with same material as the silks.

Cotton weaving is the special product of India and the country is famous throughout the world for fine cotton muslins, known by such poetic names as 'woven air', 'running water' and 'evening dew', Muslin represents the highest achievement of the cotton-weaving industry in India. Muslin is a variety of plain material woven all over the country. No other country has been able to excel the great beauty and extreme delicacy of these fine textures. Plain muslin was at one time produced everywhere in the north as well as in the south particularly in Andhradesa. The finest muslin of Dacca was called Mulmulkhas. The fineness and delicacy of this variety made it suitable only for regal attire. India as the home of fine muslins has always displayed the most dexterously spun fabrics on her transparent cloth as wonderful.

The fine Indian muslin was called 'ventus textiles' or *Mebula*. Indian Muslin was famous in Rome. According to *Periplus*, the best muslin was known as *Monache*. Sindhu and Masulipatnam exported Muslin to countries like Egypt and Arabia. The popularity of the pulicat textile in Gujarat and Malabar is evidenced by Barbosa. Pires refers to the Masulipatnam

muslins and calicoes in Goa and says that all goods were gathered together there for export to foreign markets. But upper classes in Goa and Calicut also wore the Golconda muslins. The Kondavidu inscription of Nandindla Gopa gives a list of articles of Inland trade. The list includes among other things dyes such as dammer and gallnuts, raw material like cotton, cotton thread etc.¹³ Barbosa, referring to the coloured cotton of Pulicat and Mylapur, says that they were worth much money in Malacca, Pegu, and Sumatra. The Muslin produced in Andhradesa in different regions during 14th-17th century. The fine muslin was produced at Warangal, Balupuram (in Dharmavaram), Eluru, Pulicat, Masulipatnam etc., in Andhradesa.

The textile centres in Medieval Andhradesa, by and large, had three factors in common—a similar type of soil, availability of dyes and proximity to ports. The centres were usually rich in black soils or the ferruginous loam soil best suited to cotton cultivation. In northern Coromandel the places surrounding Masulipatnam such as Chirala, Guntur, Eluru and others are known for their cotton production. Many of these regions were also the area of 'weavers' concentration in the medieval period. Coupled with the availability of cotton, was the early accessibility of vegetable dyes and mordents. The references in inscriptions to these plants are numerous.¹⁴ The proximity to ports was another leading factor in the growth of textile centres because land transport was expensive and slow, consisting mostly of pack bullocks and carts, while transport by sea was easier, cheaper and swifter. Between 14th to 17th centuries the rulers encouraged textile industry in Andhradesa. They have taken steps for development of Andhradesa in terms of agriculture, industrial, trade and commerce, and transportation. The weaving centres in Andhra between 14th to 17th century details as follows.

TEXTILE WEAVING CENTRES, TALUKA AND DISTRICT WISE IN ANDRADESA

S.No.	Textile Weaving Centre	Taluka	District
1.	Kammampalli	Manthani	Karimnagar
2.	Mattewada	Warangal	Warangal
3.	Bhimavaram	Kakinada	East Godavari

4.	Achant	Narsapuram	West Godavari
5.	Nagulapadu	Suryapeta	Nalgonda
6.	Burugugadda	Huzurnagar	Nalgonda
7.	Mellacheruvu	Huzurnagar	Nalgonda
8.	Kokkireni	Nandigama	Krishna
9.	Tangeda	Palnadu	Guntur
10.	Dharmavaram	Ongole	Guntur
11.	Kopparam	Narsaraopeta	Guntur
12.	Amritaluru	Tenali	Guntur
13.	Alampur	Gadwal	Mahaboobnagar
14.	Adoni	Adoni	Kurnool
15.	Velpamadugu	Gooty	Anantapur
16.	Lepakshi	Hindupur	Anantapur
17.	Hemavati	Madakasira	Anantapur
18.	Proddutur	Proddutur	Kadapa
19.	Animala	Kamalapuram	Kadapa
20.	Paddukara	Kovvur	Nellore
21.	Basinikonda	Madanapalli	Chittoor
22.	Tirchanoor	Tirupati	Chittoor
23.	Narayanavanam	Puttur	Chittoor
24.	Yalamari	Chittoor	Chittoor

Source: Vijaya Ramaswamy., *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985, p.8.

The *Talukas* in Telangana Manthana, Suryapeta, Huzurnagar, Gadwal are important *taluks* in weaving. These centres manufactured cloth and exported to within India and outside India. Karimnagar, Warangal, Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar districts played a important role in manufactured of clothes. The weaving communities concentrated on textile centres which were invariably linked to ports in Andhradesa. Certain weaving communities were traditionally associated with certain geographical regions, although it is not easy to make a precise demarcation of the spread of these communities over regions. This is an account of the mobility displayed by some of the weaver castes. The Devanga weavers originally hailed either from the Andhra or Karnataka region. Inscriptions relating to them have been found in both these regions and the language

spoken by them is either Telugu or Kanarese. But at some stage the Devangas seem to have moved into the Tamil country, and more specifically the Kongu region, in large numbers. It is possible that these migrations took place during the period of expansion under the Vijayanagar empire. The reasons for the migrations were, the enormous opportunities offered by the new Telugu ruling class and the desire for economic advancement.¹⁵

An important weaving community of medieval period was the *saliga* or the *Saliga* community, classified as the *Padmasale* and the *Pattusale*. The weavers produced various types of cloth for the requirement of the temple, the royal household and the common people, one of the main articles of weaving was the sari, was the dress of the women. The sari was probably not very different from what it is today, of a length between five to six yards. The main articles of clothing worn for the common man were *vetti* and *Uttiriyam*, the *vetti* worn from the waist downwards being roughly one and a half yards in length and the *uttiriyam* worn to cover the upper body. The production of cotton as well as silk is important. Chintz Vichitra is referred to, and cloth varieties and patterns. The reference to *Pachchai pattu* and *Dasuri Pattu* comes from Warangal district. *Dasuri Pattu* is now called as Tassore silk. The reference to tassore silk and its processing also comes from the Mitakshara of Vijnanaswara, pertaining to the twelfth century.

Crafts on textile was considered and ranked high among the greatest aesthetic achievements of mankind. Crafts have been an embodiment of cultural evolution; and India has been one of the cradles of an infinite variety of handicrafts, beauty has been endowed with divinity and worshipped. Crafts have always been the expression of community. People around, absorbing ideas have created products and works which are intrinsically functional and aesthetic, not only to look at, but to touch, feel and use.¹⁶

The role of cotton-textile industry in trade and commerce, particularly, in later medieval Andhra with special reference to *Kalamkari* printing and painting. In addition to diverse cultural factors, the economy, geography, climate, technology and material availability all contribute to a distinctive regional textile

expression. Textiles have always played a primary role in the Indian economy, where they currently comprised the second largest industry surpassed only by agriculture. Andhra Desa was one of the four¹⁷ of India's regions which demonstrate cultural material, and geographical diversity while sharing common cotton textile techniques. Along tradition of textile production and motifs, interpretation gives regionality and cultural importance to these unique processes in cotton painting and cotton printing.

The craft of painted and printed fabrics is called *Kalamkari* found in southern parts of Andhra Desa. It relates exclusively to the category of Cotton fabric. Both the Musalipatnam area and Kalahasti village are recognized as the major centres of production of textiles using the *Kalamkari* technique. Masulipatnam is a seaport city in the northeast Andhra, where the Krishna river flows into the Bay of Bengal. The English founded here their second trading settlement in India in 1611. The port served as a distribution centre and the surrounding village in the delta area comprised an important centre of cotton printing and painting. Local craftsmen produced textiles to satisfy a diverse export and regional market. At Kalahasti in the present southern district of Chittoor, *Kalamkari* temple cloth was produced for specific purpose within the temple complex.

LONG CLOTH

Long cloth became the largest single item in the invoices of the companies in the Seventeenth century. It was made up of staple cotton and was the longest of the locally woven varieties. By common agreement, the long cloth procured in Warangal and Udayapalayana were held to be the best and secured the highest prices.¹⁸

BETHILES

Bethiles was a fine transparent muslin; the term is said to be derived from the Portuguese word '*beatilla*' meaning 'veiling' indicating that women, especially in Islamic countries used the material as a veil. It was procured from interior Andhra and from Warangal. It was also produced in Cuddalore, Nagore and Arni. In 1665 Bernier has given a detailed description of Emperor Aurangzeb encampments. He mentions that the principal tent was lined inside,

"with beautiful hand painted chintz manufactured for that purpose at Masulipatnam chintz, painted over with flowers of a hundred different kinds.¹⁹

The production of the painted Masulipatnam fabric was restricted while its demand was so high. The traveller Tavernier observes that the total production of fine Cotton paintings was so small that, "when one makes requisition of all the workers who manufacture these cotton cloths it is with difficulty that he can obtain as much as three bales".²⁰ The craft required specialized workers and the work force could not be increased by recruiting lay workers. Workers from other centres producing painted textiles also could not have been of much help on account of the distinct processing involved in different regions.

Great wealth was amassed by the Golconda nobility Mir Jumla, Mir Kamaluddin and Mughal Governor in Deccan Shaista Khan who carried on an enormous textile business on their own. Instances of unreasonable demands from the foreign trading companies are innumerable. In fact peshkash had to be given down the line beginning with the king and his governors to accountants, writers and clerks. The English factors complained, "As for Masulipatnam itself our trade lieth there bleeding chiefly by wicked devices of Governors, tolerated by their weak kings". In fact East India Companies even contemplated pulling out of Masulipatnam.²¹

MEDIEVAL GOLCONDA TEXTILE TRADE

The Qutb Shahis patronized *telia* and *mashroo* varieties, and with the fall of the Sultanates – they went into eclipse. Both *telia* and *mashroo* were designed to meet the religious and social requirements of the Deccani ruling elite as well as the demands of the Muslim West Asian market. The *telia* began to be manufactured in the Deccan to suit desert conditions. *Telia* uses yarn soaked in gingelly oil for a period of 16 days and treated with an iron mordant. The cloth was meant for the Middle Eastern desert regions where sand storms and heat radiation were very great. The *telia* were treated to ward off heat and keep the body cool besides being dust proof. In the desert regions there was always greater scarcity of water and the advantage of the *telia* which was coloured with strong vegetable dyes like madder and

indigo was that it did not require frequent washing. It was the Middle Eastern market which had created the *telia* and the variety went out with the decline of the Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi dynasties of the Deccan. By the eighteenth century when the English East India Company lost interest in the promotion of Indian textiles and the Red Sea route more or less closed down, the *telia* went into hibernation.

The Muslim weavers in the north Deccan predominantly produced *mashroo* and *himroo*, the silk cotton varieties. The *mashroo* was initially created as prayer mats which had a silk warp and cotton weft. The Muslim nobility had a preference for luxury fabrics like silks and satins but Islamic tenets forbade them to use silk which was made from the cocoon of the silk worm. Therefore, an ingenious textile was devised which would have a thin cotton layer between the silk and the wearer of it! The *jamdani* and *jamewar* were rich brocaded textiles suited to the tastes of the Deccan aristocracy.

The textile trade in varieties like *mashroo*, *himroo*, Warangal and Eluru carpets and the *telia* went through great commercial vicissitudes in the eighteenth century. The *mashroo* and *telia* weavers who had flourished under the patronage of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Nizam Shaihs of Ahmadnagar went into a decline on the fall of the Deccani Sultanates. Weavers died in large numbers in the famines which hit the Coromandel coast in the 1680's and yet again in the course of the early eighteenth Century. By the end of the century these exquisite varieties – *mashroo*, *jamdani*, *jamewar* and *telia* – had begun to languish for want of patronage and economic cushioning and are today curio pieces found in the Salar Jung museum at Hyderabad and the Sarfoji Saraswati Mahal museum at Tanjavur.

TEXTILE CENTRES

Dutch chronicler and an official by name Daniel Havert of 17th century gave a list of the textile centres in the north Deccan. Golconda had many traditional weaving villages going back to the Kakatiya or pre-Qutb Shahi period. In course of time, these clusters of weaving villages emerged as important commercial towns and the earliest factories of the European companies were established here. Havert gave an account of these group of weaving villages and the

emergence of textile centres in their nuclei. Thus he said, that at Warangal in twelve villages or there about which lay 72 miles north west from Masulipatnam, the weavers produced betilles, a roals, common sarongs and also finer sorts of cloth. At Eluru and eight villages there about twelve miles from Masulipatnam were woven blue *tappechelas*, *bulangs*, Negro cloth, *madapollams* and every kind of blue cloth which meant cloth dyed with Indigo. The other textile centres with cluster of weaving villages mentioned by Havert in the Golconda region are - Linga with ten weaving villages; Mangalagiri with fourteen weaving villages, Malipura with twenty two weaving villages, Ventapolem with twenty four weaving villages, Mustabad with ten weaving villages; and Dhurampindi with fourteen weaving villages.²²

Warangal and its neighbouring villages were famous for the production of beautiful carpets, sarees, *dhotis* and other coarse cloth and, Siddipet produced a lot of sarees and *dhotis*. *Telia rumals* were made at Devarakonda, Pochampalli, Hanamkonda and Kurnool etc. *Telia rumals* were made on the technique of tie and dye or in other words called *ikat* style by which the wrap and weft threads were separated dyed and afterwards woven on the loom.²³ As the threads were separately dyed and while weaving the colours intersect each other and form a beautiful design in different colours. These *Telia rumals* and Pochampalli *rumals* were extensively used in the Qutb Shahi period as *dupattas*, *dhotis*, sarees, turbans etc. Dharmavaram and Anantapur produced a lot of sarees, *dhotis* and mulmul type of cloth in cotton and many sarees in silk. Hyderabad was noted for beautiful silks specially the brocades of *himroos* and *kimkhab* which are also produced at Aurangabad.

The villages of Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam, Vishakapatnam, Nellore and other coastal districts and specially villages around Kakinada, Rajamundry, Masulipatnam, Palakollu etc., have a high reputation of their cotton goods which were being exported to foreign countries through the Masulipatnam port. There was a great demand for variety of textiles both for Indian and foreign markets. Many villages in the above districts had a developed textile industry. Some of these villages are famous for the production of beautiful textile even today. These

centres were supplying textiles of varied types to the Golconda Court for the use of curtains, tent covers, *dhotis*, sarees, *Jamas* skirts and for many other uses. Eluru was supplying beautiful carpets. Masulipatnam, Palakollu, Kalahasti, Kakinada were producing lot of Kalamkari clothes and Masulipatnam chintz which were being exported to the foreign countries.²⁴ Fine muslin cloth was also produced in the kingdom of Golconda. The royal figures wearing muslin *jamas*; ladies wearing muslin *dupattas* found in the miniature paintings of Golconda most of them probably came from the great weaving centres, which were producing fine muslin cloths from Adoni, Warangal, Hanamkonda, Venkatagiri and also from Tanjore in Tamilnadu. These muslins were little inferior in quality to the Dacca Muslins produced at Dacca, Mursheedabad of Bengal, Nilambaris of Banaras and Tanda etc. but they were mostly used and patronised by the Golconda kings and local noble men. They were mostly used for turbans and men's costumes. They are in white with gold or coloured bands. Rajamundry, Nellore and Anantapur were also producing muslins of lesser quality.²⁵

Ghanpur, Pangal, Koilkonda, Badepalli,²⁶ Nagulapadu, Devarakonda, Bhongir, Madhira, Khammammet, Rangshaiyanipet, Hasanparthy, Mattewada, Elagandal, Ibrahimpattam, Kondavidu, Kondapally, Nirmal, Madapollem, Nizampatnam, Kalingapatnam, Bhimunipatnam, etc. were textile centres during medieval period. These centres manufactured cotton, silk, wool and mixed fabrics in Andhradesa. The Bahamani, Vijayanagara, Qutb Shahi rulers encouraged textile industry in Andhradesa.

Keeping climate, religion and caste into consideration, many centres in the Andhra desa supplied textiles and costumes to the customers. Almost every race or caste or religion had its favourite customs colour and method of dressing. Many printed cloths were supplied to the mosques and household for the purpose of prayer, named as prayer carpets with the design of Mihrab tree to suit the taste of the Persians and local muslims. In order to satisfy the need of the temples, painted and or printed textile, clothes were supplied depicting the Hindu religious themes like Ramayana and Mahabarata, narrating the entire story with the help of figures in Telugu inscriptions. They were

mostly made at Kalahasti, Masulipatnam, Palakollu, Kakinada and Pulicat etc. Besides festive seasons and ceremonies costumes were marked by the use of distinctive colours. These facts are clearly mentioned in the Quliyat of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah. It narrates the customs and the traditions of the people of his kingdom including festivals of both Hindus and Muslims. The dress worn by the women in various ceremonies that occurred in the life of his people, such as birth day, marriage, games played by the people festival days and most of other ceremonies. It further says 'let the happy pair drink *sherbati* and let them have a betel to chew and let the sarees have their hems adorned with pearls.'²⁷ The different varieties of Textiles were exported within India and outside India from Andhradesa between 14th and 16th century. The textile were exported from different routes and through different types of transportations. The external trade mostly continued on sea, but the local trade continued on the road. The oxen carts were used for local trade by Lambadies in Andhradesa who participated actively in local trade.

INTERNAL TRADE

The upper classes in Goa and Calicut also wore the Muslin of Andhradesa. The textiles of Andhradesa exported to Gujarat, Goa, Diu, Daman, Balasore, Orissa, Barampuram, Madras, Mysore, Nagapur, Raichur, Bidar, Bijapur and Gulbarga, Nanded etc. Hyderabad Mashru and *Himroo* sent to Karnataka regions. Muslin, Chintz sent to South Deccan, Carpets and Kalamkari textile exported to Ahmadnagar, Dawlatabad and Burhanpur etc.²⁸

During Qutb Shahi regime the Muslims, Carpets, Kalamkaries, Chintz, Calicoes and Mixed fabrics exported to Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Mutan, Peshwar Rajasthan and Gujarat. Andhradesa carpets occupied great demand in local trade. The Muslims of Northern India Crazy about Carpets of South India particularly Andhradesa. The mixed fabrics of Qutbshahis were also in demanding in local markets. The customers were crazy of different types of cloths of Qutbshahi dynasty. Andhradesa played an important role in trade and commerce of Southern and Northern India. Karimnagar and Nizamabad textiles were exported to Gujarat in the Vijayanagara and Qutb Shahi rule.

A substantial part of the cross-country trade in textiles was carried on the coast. But textiles were also transported in carts along high-ways linking important centres. Trunk roads, led from Surat to Burhampur. The trunk road linking Hyderabad and Masulipatnam passed through Kolar. There was also a direct road from Vijayawada to Madras. The route taken by Tavernier and they were not provides an idea of the system of road ways. A letter of the Dutch factors written in 1615 reveals that goods from Masulipatnam to Pulicat were transported by being loaded on nine hundred oxen and nine hundred *Sirbary* or *coolies*. Apparently the load was carried on the heads of the *coolies*. Besides this, goods were also transported on carts. It has been held that wheeled traffic was absent in the south, in contrast to Gujarat and Bengal. Cotton, Yarn and Cloth, apart from salt, pepper and other commodities on carts.²⁹ Coarse cloth for local consumption was produced virtually everywhere and the cloth was sold at weekly fairs called '*Santa*'. From Kakatiya regime the '*santas*' were useful for trade for local people in a week.³⁰ In Telangana many places i.e., Elagandal, Warangal, Armur, Vemulawada, Manthani, Athmakur, Rangashaipet, Medak, Nizamabad, Madhira, Khammammet, Pangal, Ghanpur, Koilkonda, Badepally etc. the local trade depended on '*santa*'. The peasants, artisans, communities to sold their articles in the local fairs between 15th and 17th centuries in Andhradesa.

In 1615, the Portuguese sent a consignment of 304 pieces of Balagate cloth, 7818 pieces of bettilles (fine Golkonda muslin), 445 pieces of coarse bettilles, 1,877 pintodo as and 110 pieces of tapechiras. In 1616, the Golconda bettilles the tune of 25,290 pieces while 17,060 pieces of chinzes, 280 pieces of tape chinzes and 1900 pieces of Sarassas were exported.³¹ The textiles exported to Pegu, Ormuz, Aden, Malacca, Sumatra, Malay, Archipelago, Patani, Singora, Tennaserim, Cambodia, Achin, Priamam, Bontam, Java, Arabia, Persia, China, Portugal, Amboyna, and Africa etc.

CARPETS

The floor coverings have always been an important part of the interior of a home in India, the use of furniture being very limited. The homes of rich and poor used until recently a

minimum of furniture and most of the living was done at the floor-level. Carpets were probably introduced into India from Iran.³² The earliest reference to them is found in the 15th century, when their export to other countries was mentioned in the travelogues of the period.

Most of the writers think that the carpet weaving has come from Persia. But this was an indigenous industry in the long interior of India and the remote villages of Andhra Desa. The details were found about the carpet industry in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.³³ During the Mughal period, this industry flourished in Agra, Delhi Lahore and also in the Deccan. The emperors of Delhi and Agra encouraged the art and kept their State weavers. The weavers produced marvellous carpets, Moreover it is fairly certain that at many important centres of administration all over the empire, there were state factories, though the *Ain-i-Akbari* has little to say about them.

There are two centres in Andhradesa noted for the woolen carpet industry, such as Eluru and Warangal. The carpet industry introduced in Warangal by Muslim *Nawabs* during their rule. The industry was obviously borrowed from Persia. The industry with its technique already developed in Persia, appears to have been introduced in Warangal for no other reasons than the availability of the chief raw material, namely wool, at the local tanneries and the demand for the carpets from the luxury loving *nawabs*. It would appear that originally, mostly

prayer carpets of size 4' x 2' and a set design were being manufactured here and supplied to the Muslim nobility³⁴. It is however, not clear when exactly the woolen carpets started to be manufactured at Warangal. It is well known that during the time of the Golkonda rulers there was free inter course of trade and culture between this part of the country and the middle Eastern countries.

These are all Persian designs and said to consume a lot of labour. It has to be mentioned here that the designs are not standardised. Generally, the design which could be manufactured are too numerous, but they bear no individual names as such. No particular care is bestowed at Warangal for naming the carpets by their designs.

Warangal was a centre of the carpet industry, and in Coromandel coastal cities such as Masulipatnam, Persian immigrants were engaged in weaving of Persian carpets for exports. The carpets exported from Warangal to Hyderabad, Madras, Kerala, Bangalore, Bombay, Bengal, Delhi, Agra, Bihar in India. Iran, Iraq, Mecca, Madina, Arabia, Srilanka, Bangladesh and Europe etc. Even today also Warangal and Eluru exported thousands of carpets to different states within India and outside India. The carpets were produced in different colours and quality in Warangal district of Andhradesa during Qutb Shahi rule.³⁵

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DEVELOPMENT OF OIL MILL INDUSTRY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA

L.C. Venkatachalapathi & Dr. N. Shaik Masthan

Introduction

The profession of oil making goes back to ancient times. It has been developed along with human civilizations. The oil mill industry was a major industry. This catered to the needs of the common man. Temple and royalty as most of the inscriptions of time refer frequently to oil presses (gana), Kottalis and Okkalu. It was so important that a region around Chamarajanagar, Mysore District was referred to as ennenadu¹ or enneainattu². There are many evidences to show that people used oil during those days. This tradition continued in the later periods of history in India. There are many Historical evidences for the development of oil mill industry in Karnataka also. Someshwara talks about this profession in his 'Manasollasa'. Further if you come to Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Hoysala and Vijayanagara period there were organizations for oil mill profession. This profession developed as big industry. Mysore, Chamarajanagar, Chitradurga, Kadur, Hassan and other parts were also important places.

Early medieval period

The oil industry has been one of the ancient and important industries in India. From decades, most of the regions in the country have been recognised for the production of different kinds and varieties of oil seeds. There are evidences to show that the oil industry was in a flourishing condition in medieval Karnataka. A Kadur record³ of 1143 CE, refers to the old man guild as Telliganakhara. The Dambal record⁴ of 1098 CE, States that the fifty Families of oilman granted oil for the perpetual lamp in the Bauddhavihar, constructed by one Sangara-setti. The record is interesting also in this sense that the epithets referring to the oilman, such as

budha-bandhava, Saksarika, apparently speak of the literacy of the members of the community. These oil pressers were also called ganiga⁵, and the term gana means an oil- mill. It must have been a popular and wide spread industry. The industry was often encouraged by rulers and officials. Sometimes oil produced in the mills was an exemption from taxation, to encourage the industry.

Production and Trading activities

The oil- mill industry was a major industry of the period as seen from the large number of references to it in inscriptions. Perhaps the area around Chamarajanagar in Mysore district was the centre of this industry because the area was known as Ennenadu in inscriptions⁶. As the oil mills were generally taxed the gift of that income was generally given to the temples, as the temples required oil in large quantities for food and for burning lamps. Some temples maintained their own oil mills which were operated by okkalu (devaganada okkalu) ⁷. These people who followed this industry are referred to as fifty, five hundred and even one hundred. Perhaps it referred to their guild. Telliga nakhara is also referred to in the sense of a guild of oil producers⁸. Though oil was extracted from many seeds, Sesamum alone is motioned in the records, and Lokopakara also mentions it⁹. However, ghee is frequently mentioned in Lokopakara¹⁰.

The oil mill industry was a favourite product of taxation by government authorities. Oil or oil mills generally formed the most popular and desirable object of grant to temples. Sometimes the right to levy taxes on oil mills was also granted. The oil mills generally stone oil mills were either drawn by bullocks¹¹ or turned

by hand¹² or pressed with feet or tread oil mills¹³. Till-seed oil was the variety of oil largely produced, which was demand more by the temples and Brahmins then by the others. The oil-mongers lived in their own Streets, had their own tanks and temples¹⁴ The oil mill industry was fairly widespread in every part of Karnataka, including practically every village and important city was dotted with oil-mills, it can be gathered from a study of inscriptions that oil mills were located in several places as seen below¹⁵.

Varieties of oil seeds

There are different types of oil seeds which are used to produce a variety of vegetable oil and edible oil, which are used for cooking, beauty care, and medicinal benefits and for many other purposes. Groundnut seeds, Mustard seeds, Soya Bean seeds, Sunflower seeds, Palm oil seeds, Sesame, etc.

Origin of the Ganiga Community

From ancient times in India vegetable oils were obtained by crushing oil seeds in villages, using an oil press or Ghana. A ganiga is a person who extracted oil using a Ghana. In Sanskrit literature of about 500 BCE there is a specific reference to an oil press although it was never described (by Monier-Williams, M. 1899. A Sanskrit-English dictionary, Delhi, India, Motilal Banarsidass. Reprinted 1963). Ganiga is a profession known in Karnataka State of South India. They are some communities involve in this profession and they were called with specific professional name ganiga such as Somakshatriya Ganiga, Ganiga Shetty, Jyothipana Ganiga, Ontettu Ganiga, Veerashaiva Ganiga, Vijayanagara Ganiga etc.

Economic condition of oil mill industry

From the early times to the medieval period, the Ganiga communities had occupied a pivotal position in the economic activities. In the society Ganigas and oil producers were the most prosperous group followed by the merchants. Although they are said to be belonging to the Sudra in Varn-Asrama system, they deal with the manufacture of oil and selling them and thus they were behaving as Vaishyas. Even though many kings, nobles encouraged this industry, it faced several problems like problems of security of raw material, low production, lowest wage, migration, transport and communication problem along with marketing problems.

Formation of Guilds

The guilds which regulated their trade and industry not only controlled them but also protected them by assuring employment. However, they were fond of drinking and gambling. Inscriptions mention that there were guilds for the Thelligaraiokkalu, Thelligaseni, Ivathokkalu, Ganigarokkalu, Uraivathokkalu¹⁶ etc. the profession of these people had been inherited by generations. Their affiliation with temples and the united character of their guilds were important factors for the enhancement of their influence along with the property gained through new economic opportunities.

Taxation

Epigraphical evidences point out the list of taxes collected by the state from the Oil mill. A variety of taxes was imposed on the oil mill industry. Oil mill tax was frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. The system of taxation that prevailed in Karnataka for the purpose of a detailed study of particular taxes imposed could be subdivided into the following categories on the basis of sources of collection. Two kinds of taxes on oil mills, one on bullock oil mills and other on tread oil mills were imposed family of oil mongers had to pay the levy of okkaludere¹⁷.

Trade and commerce had played a vital role in the Economic development of any country. Among these the Oil mill industries also responsible for expansion of indigenous and foreign tread during early medieval period. The status and role the Ganiga community's in Medieval Karnataka. Reflected the Ups and down of their economic condition. The Ganiga community had essentially functioned as a military group under the Vijayanagara. Then they emerged as full-fledged professional oil press in the Karnataka. The oil mills as an artisan group had played very important role in society.

Conclusion

Thus the oil industry in medieval Karnataka flourished to cater to the needs of the general public as well as the needs of the temples. It secured very good revenue to the government while provided a social standard and economic profession to the trained community of the oil pressers. It was one of the non agrarian professions that engaged and employed a section of the people towards the economic development of the society.

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TRADE AND COMMERCE, EXPORT AND IMPORT UNDER QUTB SHAHI PERIOD- 1518 to 1687 A.D

Badavath Ramesh

Trade in Golconda kingdom was conducted by merchants known as Chetties (Setties), Baniyas, Komaties, and Muslims. The Sultans of Golconda were able and efficient rulers of Deccan. They ruled for a period of 170 years between 1518-1687 A.D, in this period seven kings ruled the kingdom. The first king to come to the throne was Sultan Quli Qutb Shah who ruled between 1518-1543 A.D., under Qutb Shahi's Deccan prospered economically. They gave much importance to agriculture and constructed tanks wells and canals. The Qutb Shahi Sultans were of Persian origin and belonged to Shia sect of Islam like Adil Shahis of Bijapur. They had special

attachments/affiliations with Safavid dynasty of Persia in terms of religion and foreign/diplomatic relations and trade as well. Therefore, Qutb Shahi Sultans extended their submissiveness and modesty to the Persian along with making the trade and commerce. Regarding customs duties of the kingdom, tax at the rate of 31/3 to 4 percent was imposed by the government on exports and imports and realized either in kind or in cash according to the direction of the officers. The Qutb Shahis government used to collect tolls also. Tolls were collected by the private individuals usually the Brahmin community.

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE, EMPEROR KRISHNADEVARAYA, THEIR MONETARY SYSTEM AND COINAGE

Balagopal Chanayil

The 15th and 16th century AD saw the rise of Vijayanagar Empire in South India which later became the most outstanding affluent Kingdom not only of India but of the world at that point of time. The emperor Krishnadevaraya was an outstanding emperor of Vijayanagar Dynasty which can be compared to Asoka of Maurya Dynasty and Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya of Gupta Dynasty and Akber of Mughal Dynasty. During his time South

India became the harbour of the world with ever increasing trade with world powers of that age. Krishnadevaraya had very good relations with portuguese of Goa. Gold was mined from Hatty Gold mines and with this gold Krishnadevaraya issued beautiful gold coins. He also minted silver and copper coins. His gold coins especially depicting the god of Tirupati Venkitachalapathy which became world famous.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN THE STATE OF MYSORE AS DEPICTED BY FRANCIS BUCHANAN

Dr. H.S. Basavegowda

Land Revenue was the most important source of income of the state. It was the primary source of the state exchequer. It was a matter of fact the collection of land revenue, its structure and assessment varied from state to state and from period to period based on the policies and progress of the ruling government. Similarly the State of Mysore in later half of the 18th century which was ruled by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan had developed a scientific procedure of collection of land revenue towards making in healthy economy. Francis Buchanan who visited Country of Mysore and collected data directly from the people, observed what existed and

exercised by Sulthan in the State of Mysore and have tried to reveal the process of land revenue. The fixation and collection of the revenue was under the department of 'Amani' of direct management of government. The cultivators of dry lands paid a fixed money, the rent calculated would be equal to one third of the crop while the revenue for the wet and rice lands were considerably more i.e., about one-half of the crop which was generally paid in kind and rarely paid in money. In the central and some parts of Mysore the mode of payment of revenue was only in kind.

HISTORY FROM ITS ROUTES; NAYARANGADY, THRISSUR

Brolin Paul Varghese

Thrissur originally known as Thirusivaperur is the fourth largest city in Kerala. It is a center of big merchants and trade relations. It is characterised with both water and road trade. There are so many communities have this trade centers in the heart of Thrissur, which is the cultural capital also. These communities include nairs, Christian's, muslims etc... Here, we focus the trade relations and trade centers of Nair

community. They flourished their trade around vadakkunathan Temple. The market led by Nairs is known as Nayarangadi. The early medieval period of Kerala witnessed rise and growth of several "Angadis" or market centers. The activities in these market centers are detailed in contemporary travel accounts as well as manipravalam literature.

HISTORY OF MODERN BANKING IN KERALA; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PALA CENTRAL BANK [1927- 1960].

T.A. Divyamol

Pala Central Bank was a commercial bank headquarters in Kerala, South India that functioned during the middle of last century. Although it was started in a small remote town by Augusti Mathai Kayalackakom, who belonged to a family of agriculturists and traders, had carried on some other business before going into banking. The bank grew up to become the biggest institution of Kerala, after the state government. The bank was also a pioneer in introducing modern advertising, which was quite different from the staid advertisement of other

banks of the day. The Kerala High Court in 1960 ordered the the liquidation of Pala Central Bank on a petition from the Reserve Bank of India. After the liquidation of the Bank, there aroused the demand for protecting the interest of depositors in the event of similar crisis led to the passing of the Deposit Insurance Act by Parliament in 1961 and the eventual formation of the Deposit Insurance & Credit Guarantee Corporation [DICGC]. The topic will help us to understand more about the modern banking system in Kerala.

"HORTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGALORE --AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS"

C.R. Gopal

Karnataka is one of the most progressive states with great potential for all-round development, particularly Agriculture and especially Horticultural progress in the gardens of the state. The history of Horticulture in the state has a thrilling innovation in scientific and technological experiments that take place with historical background, which reveals several interesting facts. The milestones of its achievements and pride legacies, related to encouragement by the state is gifted with ten different agro-climatic regions suitable for growing variety of fruits and vegetables in every year. The major horticultural crops grown in Karnataka are grouped into four broad categories as follows- firstly various kinds of Fruits Secondly Different varieties of Vegetables, thirdly Spices, fourthly plantation crops and commercial flowers. Apart from this cultivation of potentially high-value crops like aromatic and medicinal herbs are also taken up to grow in

certain areas, suitable with the climatic and weather and condition. Historically recorded that in the Mysore province in the year 1768 Hyder Ali started a small royal orchard near Bangalore Fort, which was called as Lalbagh. Later, his son Tipu Sultan improved making systematic layouts and undertaking comprehensive planting programme. He collected several important native and exotic species of flowers, fruits, vegetables and other plants, obtained from several far off places such as Malacca, Isle of France, Oman, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Zanzibar, France and other European countries. With the advent of colonial rule, the commissioners encouraged for the development of horticulture in and around Bangalore. All these Historical facts will be brought to light in my research paper. The study focuses on Major growing horticultural crops in Bangalore and now it is identified as GAREN CITY.

OCCUPATIONAL SUSTAINABILITY OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND THEIR LEATHER DEPENDING COMMUNITIES OF TELANGANA: A STUDY ON NAGARKURNOOL

K. Kurumaiah

Occupations of the Scheduled Castes can be said that they were economically poor and generally were/dependent on agricultural labour and the low- income occupations besides their own traditional occupation. In fact, the greatest majority of Scheduled Castes occupational force is engaged in agricultural labour in rural areas. Besides these occupations, their primary feather working, scavenging and who deal with carcass recovery also follows. In urban are-s: a large proportion of cartpullars, hamalis and like manual workers and other un-organised non-agricultural wages and civic sanitational workers also belongs to the Scheduled Castes. A traditional leather technology of Scheduled Caste communities is an important element in the Indian culture. It is not only helped for the economic development of the people but also

constitutional enrichment oi the socio- cultural life of the people since ancient times.

Scheduled Castes in villages are collecting carcasses, tanning the skins to more leather and producing items of every day local use from it. Scheduled Castes at the constellation specialized in tanning in high quality manufacturing of particular articles with the repair of foot wear which is familiar in the recent past as a generally available fall back. The importance of leather working which provide secured livelihood to be obtained from it. Which means even leather 'YOikers in villages might support Scheduled castes operating over wider areas amongst them arc Dakkalas, Sindhu Madigas and other performing castes to be noted in Telangana.

COMMERCIAL CROPS IN QUTB SHAHIS - A HISTORICAL STUDY

Moluguru Srinu

This paper presents a synoptic sketch on the cultivation of commercial crops and their maritime trade in Golconda introduced rich and noble traditions of art and culture together with high ideals of life in the Society. These sultans did not lag behind any contemporary rulers in maintaining peace and security to life and territorial integrity of the kingdom. Qutb shahi rulers maintained cordial relations with the

contemporary rulers viz. The Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar, Adil Shahis of Bijapur, Barid Shahis of Bidar, Iqbal Shahis of Berar. Further the Qutb Shahi rulers also maintained diplomatic and cultural relations with the mighty Mughals and the Maratha rulers during the last period of Golconda Kingdom of 17th Century. Telugu literary works, foreign accounts, and inscriptions are the main sources of this study.

THE GENESIS OF ALL INDIA KISAN SABHA, 1935-1937

Dr. S.P. Prem Singh Muthubalan

The peasant movement and the Indian National Movement which were seen interdependent came to be challenged in the 1930s in the wake of Great Depression that revealed the class interests of landlords. The result was the foundation of a new forum called

All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS). This paper discusses the origin of AIKS which may seem to be slightly an external criticism but it's a historians craft to clarify the date of the event that is nothing but the origin of AIKS or the Lucknow session of AIKS.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LEATHER INDUSTRIES TOWARDS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEMPORARY TAMIL NADU – A STUDY

D. Ramalingam

The leather industry is one of the oldest traditional industries. It makes significant contribution towards economic growth, balanced regional development, employment generation and overall poverty reduction in the field of leather and allied product manufacturing. The Leather industry is bestowed with an affluence of raw materials as India is endowed with 21% of world cattle & buffalo and 11% of world goat & sheep population. Added to this are the strengths of skilled manpower, innovative technology, increasing industry compliance to international environmental standards, and dedicated support of the allied industries. The leather industry is an employment intensive sector, providing job to about 2.5 million people, mostly from the weaker sections of the society.

Women employment is predominant in leather products sector with about 30% share. Based on Tamil Nadu Leather Tanning Industry in Year 1978-79, she focused attention on some selected issues related to the structure of work force, Mechanization and the prospect of the traditional skilled and unskilled workforce in the industry. Major findings were that the leather tanning sector in Tamil Nadu, about 90.0 per cent of the total entrepreneurs" belonged to the Muslim Community and rest belong to the Hindu Community. As regards the Mechanization of Industry, most of the tanning and manufacturing units were using Labor-intensive technique, in which the skilled hand workers formed a majority of the workforce.

RYOTWARI SYSTEM IN WESTERN REGION OF TAMIL NADU

M. Sathyalingam

The purpose of this paper is to find out the historical aspects of Ryotwari system which has been studied by scholars Nilamani Mukherjee and R.Frankenberg. But this study is an attempt to understand heterogeneity of Ryotwari system and its impact in the Tamil region. Ryotwari system is always identified with name of Thomas Munro. The study examines the valuable collection of Baramahal sources as well as the statistics available on Ryotwari during the British

period. The paper makes a study of historical and cultural aspects of western region of Tamil Nadu, where Ryotwari system was introduced for the first time in Tamil region. The study is also on how Thomas Munro ardently worked for the villagers in the country side, understanding dominant aspects of village settlement prevalent in the region. Ryotwari system was as much incorporation of ancient village settlement as of British improvement over prevalent system.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF TIPU SULTAN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION TAXES

Dr. Shaheena Bano

The revenue administration of Tipu Sultan, The ruler of Mysore was remarkable one. He realised that agriculture was the main aspect of economy and most important for the welfare of the people therefore he developed agriculture & irrigation he collected 1/3 of the share & revenue on wetlands & 1/2 on dry lands. Tipu Sultan not only dams and restored tanks for

irrigation but also supervised their maintenance. Since tax was collected from farmers, Tipu felt that it was his bounden duty to set right irrigation, sources for the benefits of farmers, in march 1798, the Sultan went with his escort to a place on the banks of Kaveri, talcar 25 miles from Sri rangapatanam to superintend the repairs of dam across the river.

'THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANGALORE' THROUGH THE AGES -A BRIEF STUDY

Dr. Sridhar

Bangalore also known as Bengaluru is the capital of Indian state of Karnataka. It has population of about 8 million and a metropolitan population of about 8.52 million, making it the third most populous city and fifth most populous urban agglomeration in India. It is located in southern India on the Deccan plateau. It, which was governed as a part of British India. Following India independence in 1947 Bangalore became the capital of Mysore state and remained as capital when new Indian state of Karnataka was formed in 1956. The two urban settlements of Bangalore city and cantonment which had developed as independent entities merged into a single urban centre in 1949. The existing Kannada name Bengaluru was declared the official name of the

city in 2006. Bangalore is sometimes referred to as the silicon valley of India (or IT capital of India) because of its role as the nation's leading information technology exporter. Indian technological organisations ISRO, Infosys, WIPRO, HAL, are headquartered in the city. A demographically diverted city, Bangalore is the second fastest growing major metropolis in India. It is home to many educational and research institutions in India, such as Indian Institute of science ,(IISc) Indian Institute of Management (IIMB) Indian Institute of Fashion technology, National Law school of India, National Institute of Mental health and Neuroscience (NIMHANS) Bharath Electronics, Hindustan Aeronautics are located in the City. The city also houses the Kannada Film Industry.

MUGHAL RULE- SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF PEASANTRY CLASS

Dr. (Mrs) Tanuja Kumari

The peasants in the mughal period led a simple life and their simplicity had constituted the pattern of life for centuries .It led several European travellers who visited the Mughul Empire into thinking that the lack of elaborate furniture and spacious houses was an index of the poverty of the people, though they themselves record similar facts about the lives of people who were apparently in affluent circumstances. Pelsaert, a Dutch visitor during Jahangir,s reign observes "The common people live in poverty so great and miserable

that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark and the dwelling place of bitter woe.... their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking. "Progressive deterioration in the living standards of the peasantry as decades and centuries passed was observed. Alberuni, Barani, Ibn Battuta and shams Siraj Afif talk about the prosperity of the people right up to the fourteenth century.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BANGALORE : SPECIAL REFERENCE TO K.R. MARKET

Vadde Venkatesh

Bangalore is Home to millions of people from varied ethnicities, and the IT capital of India which is the fastest growing metropolis and a major commercial hub of the southern part of the country. The bustling populace of this city is served by many centralized market areas, the most prominent being KR Market (Krishna Rajendra Market), the largest wholesale market

for various commodities. This market was the first place in the Asian continent to be electrified. It is the oldest market which originated with Bangalore Pete in 1928. Today, the market is most sought after destination for people looking for gold, food, apparels, home décor and almost everything.

HISTORICIZING MEMORY AND IDENTITY: THE CASE OF SHAHJAHANBADI JAINS AND DIGAMBAR JAIN LAL MANDIR

Aakriti Suresh

Facing the formidable Qila-i- Mubarak, the Sri Digambar Jain Lal Mandir sprawls over a relatively large complex in the otherwise crammed marketplace of Old Delhi. On entrance, the visitor is greeted by a very elaborate Manastambha, a classical trope of Jain temple architecture. Beyond the Manastambha lies the main temple complex, entirely made of red sandstone, with 3 modern shikharas adorning the skyline of Shahjahanabad. The inside of the temple comprises of 3 decorated domed structures, supported by arched pillars and the central chamber of the sanctum comprises of 3 white marble Jina images, namely that of Parsavanath, Neminath and Chandraprabha. The entire sanctum space is adorned with murals in gilded paintwork. Scenes from the life of the various tirthankars, animal motifs and female musicians dominate the rich artwork on the ceiling. The temple complex of Lal Mandir is also home to a very peculiar Charitable Bird Hospital which, according to the temple authorities, is one of its kind in the world.¹

What makes the story of The Sri Digambar Jain Lal Mandir worth studying is the contested history of its past and building activity. Going by the popular tradition that is verified by both Delhi Tourism and INTACH, the Lal Mandir's position on the site dates to the period of Shah Jahan and is, therefore, seen as part of the original plan of the city that came to be built in the 17th century. As the story goes, the temple was built in 1656 AD and was originally referred to as the Urdu Mandir. Since the inception of the city, a sizeable Non-Muslim population in Shahjahanabad, constituting of rich Jain merchants, were allotted coveted plots of land in the vicinity of the fort. As Catherine Asher asserts, it is, therefore, not surprising that between 1639 and 1850 Hindus and Jains built over a hundred temples many of which continue to survive.² Lal Mandir traces its history to this socio-political context. In addition, the tradition regarding the foundation of the temple claims that the seat of the temple was originally a military tent of a Jain soldier who served in the imperial army. The soldier

reputedly placed 3 deities in his tent for personal worship and later the Aggarwal Jain community acquired the three idols and built a temple over it on the same spot as the tent. Given the narrative tradition that gives veracity to the claim that the site of Lal Mandir is of considerable antiquity, the temple, until very recently, was called the Urdu/Lashkara Mandir or the Camp Temple.

Historicizing the Legend

When it comes to historicizing the popular tradition that takes pride in the 400 yr old heritage of Lal Mandir, the task is not an easy one. Popular memory and history often share an ambivalent relationship. As a gullible student of history, I decided to look for the 'authentic' sources that give direct evidence about the historicity of the place. The earliest modern written record on the temple that I have been able to trace comes from Hasan and Page's compilation of the list of monuments in Shahjahanabad. Hasan's description of the temple reiterates the popular legend but also questions the claim that the temple was built in 1656 CE.³ The fact that the popular memory around the temple was enshrined in an official historical record further gives legitimacy to any claims about the site's antiquity made today.

However, in context of our site of study, it doesn't need the eye of a professional historian or archaeologist to comprehend the fact that the Lal Mandir in its present state is in no way a reflection of its original design, if there was any. If the temple is in fact as old as Shahjahanabad, the modern day shikhara of the temple doesn't do justice to this claim.⁴ The red colored shikhara is architecturally more similar to the 20th century temples than to the early modern temples of Shahjahanabad that usually have a domed circular/polygonal or a flat-roofed haveli facade.⁵ One thing that is then certain is that the temple has undergone massive rebuilding and enhancement, especially in the 20th century. While the temple authorities today continue to claim that the temple was built in the 1670s, what needs to be emphasized is the fact that the popular tradition itself doesn't follow a uniform

trajectory. While the official brochures are ignorant towards the process of constant rebuilding, some knowledge about the renovation does come from other temple accounts. Catherine Asher in her work asserts that bulk of the Jain Lal Mandir was built between 1835 and 1870s, as claim made not only by historians⁶ but also by Chakresh Kumar Jain Bijli Wale (President, Managing Committee) in his piece on the temple's history, published in a catalogue by *Digambar Jain Naitik Siksa Samiti in 1995*⁷. If we note the fact that both texts have been produced by the same author, then, given the popularity and readership that the official brochure would receive over an old one-time catalogue, accessible only to select academicians and not the general public, it can be speculated that a conscious attempt at deliberate omission of some details may have been made.⁸ The power of popular memory and the efforts made to keep it alive, thus, becomes evident through the study of the Lal Mandir. Associating the heritage of the temple with the bygone glory of Shahjahanabad allows the authorities to take pride in the ancient legacy of the temple and provide local roots to the identity of Jains in Delhi.

As the authorities claim, the temple stands as a "banner of victory of Jain identity", one that witnessed the various shades of "rise and downfall of the Mughal Empire". This emphasis on the changing fortunes of Mughal rule becomes significant in context of a legend that is importance for our purpose of study. This tradition, reified in Hasan and Page's compilation and today displayed inside the temple complex as part of the 'Aarti Lal Mandir Ji Ki' asserts that Mughal emperor Aurangzeb was annoyed by the sound of drums coming from the temple and decreed that the music should be stopped at once. However, in spite of the best efforts made by his officials, sound of drumming continued even though nobody could be seen beating them. When Aurangzeb went himself to stop the rhythmic sounds, he was surprised to see that no one was beating them. Mesmerized, the emperor immediately gave orders that the temple drums were to be beaten at all times without any restrictions on them. This legend, I believe, plays a very important role in asserting Jain identity in Mughal court. The might of Jain thought in a Persianate court, powerful enough to withstand

the emperor's whimsies and leave him spellbound has been brought to light. Many Jain popular texts, communicating the experiences of Jain monks in Mughal court to the local audience, portrayed the relationship of the Mughal emperor like Akbar with monks as an exclusive one, without portraying the wider context of Akbar's religious overtones.⁹ These accounts took pride in the fact that the monks were able to convince emperors such as Akbar and Jahangir to adopt Jain philosophy of non-violence, change their dietary habits and minimize their hunting expeditions. The legend associated with Aurangzeb, I believe, falls within this Jain tradition of documenting Mughal encounters with Jain thought. Another point of analysis concerns with the image of Aurangzeb that emerges from the legend. Here the legend gains inspiration from the modernist understanding of Aurangzeb and his rule, feeding into the image of a bigoted emperor as created by both Imperialist and Nationalist historians. The legend, therefore, reflects the 20th century academic thought and its impact on the public opinion that projects Aurangzeb's reign as intolerant.

Jains and Shahjahanabad: Changing Morphology and Context

The 1750s map of Chandni Chowk, as shown by Susan Gole, does not make any reference to the Lal Mandir in its present location.¹⁰ Catherine Asher has shown that a map datable to 1850 refers to a dharmshala where the Jain and Gauri Shankar temples are located today, thus merging the 2 temples under one common identity. Asher further brings the reader's notice towards an illustration of Chandni Chowk by a British artist, dated 1838.¹¹ Here, as it is clearly visible, the layout of Chandni Chowk is dominated by Fatehpuri Masjid and the imperial congregational mosque, with no sign of the Lal Mandir on the skyline of Shahjahanabad. Thus, it can be argued that the dominant appearance that Lal Mandir holds today is not a feature of the 17th or 18th century. Even if the temple existed where it is today, its role in the urban sphere of Shahjahanabad was not significant enough for it to be identified separately.¹²

In the aftermath of the 'Great Revolt', the morphology of Shahjahanabad was drastically

altered. Along with the urban spatial layout of the city, what also got upset was the sense of order and hierarchy. There was a steady increase in population in Delhi after 1860 and Jains formed a major chunk of the new immigrants. As Narayani Gupta asserts, Delhi's role as a centre of trade and handicrafts became important once again with the increasing presence of rich Jain and Hindu businessmen.¹³ When the railway line for the city was being laid out, the rich Jains and banias were among the first ones to back the decision. Delhi soon emerged as the largest contributor to volume of Indian trade from the region of Punjab, a great role in this again played by the Jains. When Muslims were marginalized after the revolt, many of their plots and havelis in Chandni Chowk were bought by the rich Jain merchants. This increasing success of the Jains, consequently, led to rivalry between the Jains and the Hindus that lasted for more than a decade. Tensions had risen between the Jains and Hindus towards the end of the 18th century, over the Jain procession of a Rath jatra which the Hindus objected to. In 1807, Hindus carried out demonstrations against a Jain banker followed by recurring clashes in 1816 and 1834.¹⁴ New to the administration of Delhi, the British wanted to quell the possibility of any riots and maintain a balance between the communities, thus decided to impose a ban on these processions. After the revolt, the Rathjatra procession again became a bone of contention between the two communities, however, only this time the victor was replaced, as the Jains succeeded in convincing the authorities to lift the ban. In 1877, when the Hindus protested against Jain aspirations of conducting a massive celebration, the officials did not side with the Hindus because they could not afford to displease the latter as leaders from the Jain community had become significant financiers of the British government.¹⁵ This conflict between the leaders of 2 communities, as Narayani Gupta has shown, led to greater consciousness on part of the Jains to be identified as a separate community.¹⁶ The census figures of 1868 became a reflection of this new found identity as Non-Hindus. The census figures early in 1868 showed 1000 Saraogis, but later in the year it was claimed that they numbered 4000.¹⁷ This sense of distinct identity only strengthened with time, with the 1881 census

becoming the first official document to use Jain as a separate category. The Delhi Gazetteer presents the census figures of 1881 and lists the Jains as separate from the Hindus in categorization of Delhi's population on basis of religion. The distribution of every 10,000 of the population shows 114 who identified as Jains.¹⁸ When placed in this social context, the completion of the Lal Mandir in 1870, therefore, bears testimony not only to the economic and political potency of the Jains but also to the social processes and realignments that shaped Shahjahanabad in the late 19th century.

Conclusion

Jains came to acquire a dominant role in the socio-political world of colonial Delhi, often owing to their economic success in the region. In the aftermath of the revolt of 1857, the British authorities wanted to create a new band of loyalists. The ones preferred were usually those who had been hesitant to join the mutineers and had thus remained on the side of the British. Jains figured a great number in this category. The Delhi Gazetteer of 1883-84, in its list of leading and influential families of Delhi, mentions two prominent Jain Bankers of the time, Lala Paras Das and Lala Dharam Das as respectable members of the local society. Reward also came in form of nomination to the Municipality and it was the Jains and the Khatri who won this favor. Many Jains joined the Delhi society, where leading members of the Jain and Hindu communities who had earlier clashed with each other on the issue of Rath Jatra processions now seemed to support each other's arguments on issues of education.¹⁹ Towards the turn of the century, as Muslim presence on the political fabric of Delhi came to be revived, local politics came to be largely dominated by matters concerning the Hindus and the Muslims. These ranged from issues of Ram Lila and Tazia processions to location of slaughter-houses. The building of a new slaughter house at Kadam Sharif in 1915 sparked off vehement protests by the Hindus who were joined by Jains. Thus, while the increasing dominance of the Jains encouraged them to assert their identity as independent of the Hindus, the Jain- Hindu conflict did not draw a permanent schism between the 2 groups. Even though the Jains, since the 1860s, had begun to assert their identity as distinct

from the Hindus, the politics of the early 20th century often saw a merger of interest and collective action on part of both communities. In this context, the Lal Mandir served as a

testimony to the rise of the Jain social and political power in the rapidly changing world of colonial Delhi.

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DONATIONS MADE BY DANCING WOMEN TO TEMPLES

R. Abbas & N.Asadevi

The performance of dance as a holy offering is mentioned in the Agamasastras. According to the agamas, dance was considered as an important aspect in the worship of gods. This hieratic dance was rendered exclusively by women called Devaradiyals or Devadasis (Votaries of god). In their child hood they were married to the deity of the temple by a symbolic tying of the wedding hedge (tall) by the temple priest and the function is called "pottukattuthal" in Tamil¹. The role of dancers and their services to the temples made the temples as a sub-lime synthesis of art and religion.

This art of dance, mentioned in Silappadikaram, reached its zenith under imperial Cholas with the auspicious activities of the temple dancers. This was the treasured heritage of the temple dancers who maintained

the aesthetic perfection of their sacred art with deep devotion. According to Silappadikaram, the training was stayed at the age of five and dance use came out at the age of 12 or 13.² This paper "Donations made by Dancing Women to Temples" deals about the dancing girls' donations to the temples during medieval period.

The temple dancers were adorned richly with jewels and flowers and performed Nave Sand hi Nritya, a dance offering to the presiding deities of nine junctions and rendered ritual dance appropriate to each deity. During the ceremonial bath of the holy image of Lord Siva, the temple dancers performed the "Malappu Nritt" of the Tandava in front of the processional deity. This performance was accompanied by Panchamukha Vadya, large bronze pot-drum with 5 drum heads symbolizing the five faces

(Pancha-mukha) of Siva³. The kings appointed Devaradiyars to the temples. In the same way even people of wealthy nature too granted women as Devaradiyars or servant maids or slaves to the temples.

The devadasi system had been described in the Pancharatra Agama which mentions the practice of dedication of devadasis to the temple. The Brahminic tradition of ritual and philosophic thought gave rise to the system. The Agamic tradition and the Bhakti movement shaped the ritual and religious orientation⁴. The rise of the institution dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries during which much activities in the matter of building temples and elaborate services held by them⁵. The practice of dedicating girls to Hindu temples existed in Madras Presidency in various forms. The intention of the founders of that institution was that girls ordained required to lead an unmarried and pure life and devoted themselves to the religion and temple service.⁶ According to Edgar Thurston there were seven classes of dasis mentioned in old Hindu works.

1) Datta or one who gave herself as a gift to the temple. 2) Vikrita or one who sold herself for the same purpose. 3) Bhritya or one who offered herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family. 4) Bhakta or one who joined a temple out of devotion. 5) Hrita or one who had enticed a way and presented to temple. 6) Alankara or one who was being well trained in her profession and profusely decked was presented to a temple by kings or noblemen. 7) Rudraganika or gopika who received regular wages from temples and were employed to sing and dance⁷

Devadasis were recruited to the Hindu temple through a ceremony called Pottukattu or Gajjepuja⁸

Appointments of Devaradiyars to the Temples:

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri as mentioned by Marco polo had mentioned that there was a tradition called pottukkattal. It was a custom among the Tamils of the medieval period to handover their girls to the deities of the temple of their like. Those girls were used to celebrate a festival with joy. Different varieties of food stuffs were also cooked with their assistance. After offering them to the deities the food materials

were distributed to the guests and others who were present in that temple. Such practices were continued till the dedicated girl got married⁹. The devadasis and devaradiyar were experts in fine arts such as dance and music. The Chittannavassal paintings reveal the execution of the dances with the Gajahastta and Latha Vrichchuham poses by their left and right hands respectively. The devaradiyar of Tiruchendur Subrabmanya temple were receiving grants to dance in that temple during the rituals, called Mahabooja and Andhikkappu. The women dancers were enjoying high respect in the Tamil society and the experts among them were issued land grants and they were also venerated even by the title called Talaikkoli. The Devaradiyars were also granted lands.¹⁰

The Devaradiyars, who were well versed in dance and music and engaged themselves in temple activities and rituals, had a respectable place in the society. It was also a customary practice among the Devaradiyars to maintain their status in a hereditary manner. The Chola monarch Raja Raja I appointed more than 400 Devaradiyars to the temples. As they were also associated with the Siva temple it is evident that women of that group too continued to have hereditary possessions¹¹ They were even hailed with the titles. The women dedicated to the temples as dances were entitled as Talaikkoli¹², Sribalikottuvar¹³, Kaverippinakkal¹⁴, etc.

Donations made by Dancing Girls to Temples:

Donations made by Devaradiyars which are pointed out in inscriptions are as follows:

An inscription dated the third regnal year (1015 A.D) of Rajendra I (1021-1044 A.D) engraved on a pillar in the Muhamandapa of the Airavatheswara temple records that one Devaradiyar called Pundal Solai had endowed a thiruvudainilai made of bronze to the God of Thirukurumullur. A 9th regnal year (1021 A.D.) inscription of Rajendra I available in the Punniyanatheswara temple at Thiruvidaivayil informs that 28 Kalams of paddy was donated by a lady to the above referred temple.¹⁵

Kulottunga-IIs (1133-1150 A.D.) eighth regnal year record (1141 A.D.) reveals the fact that Kodaiyalvi alias Puravari Nangai, daughter of the Devaradiyar of the temple of the God of the sacred hill in Perumukkil alias Edirillisolanallur

consecrated the image of Vinayaka in the goddess' shrine. The Sabariyar of thiru unaligai (priests) received six Kasus from her and agreed to offer two nali of rice to God Vinayaka daily so long as the sun and moon endure. This could further be substantiated by another inscription of the 15th regnal year (1161 A.D.) of Raja Raja II. But this donation is associated with the dancing girl (Devaradiyar) Thanyenakkondal Sadaimelirundal alias Padinennayira Nangai and these show no disparity in the execution of charitable activities¹⁶

The temple worship was carried out by the donations of the Devaradiyars and it is worth to note that they had continued that tradition uninterruptedly and continuously for three generations. This is attested by the 16th regnal year inscription (1162 A.D.) of Raja Raja II (1146-1163 A.D.) Audanangai, her daughter Kulothunga Chola Manickam and her daughter Sivanpagamkondal were the three women referred to in this inscription. Such continuous traditional activities of women too reveal their social status. Raja Raja II's (1146-1173 A.D.) 17th regnal year inscription, (1163 A.D.), available at one Mahamandapa of the Vilvanathaswamy temple of Thiruvaihavur informs that one Udayanachi, daughter of Anukkiyar Anangapatakaiyar installed the deity Nittavinodha Kalyana Sundara Devar and his consort in the temple and deposited 200 Kasus with the officials called tanatta tanattar of the temple. The tanattar agreed to supply rice, dish inclusive of pepper, betel leaves, arecanut daily with the money deposited at the temple treasury to the deities regularly. This too will attest the regard and reputation maintained by women in the religious, economic and administrative affairs of the society.

Rajadhi Raja II's (1163-1182 A.D.) 12th regnal year inscription (1175 A.D.), Perumbarripuliyur, the daughter of Tiruttondayar had gifted eight Kasus to the Priest of Bhirampuriswara temple for burning a perpetual lamp.¹⁷ Even during the 22nd regnal year (1200 A.D.) of Kulottunga, III (1178 to 1218 A.D.) one Karayil Nangai had gifted Kasus for burning a perpetual lamp in the Bhirampuriswara temple of Enkan.¹⁸ The same ruler's (Raja Raja III (1216 to 1260 A.D.) 11th regnal year (1226 A.D.) inscription available at Thiruvilimilalai temple informs that the Siva Brahmanas

collected two measures of rice from the offerings granted to the Devaradiyars of the temple. The same inscription reveals that they had even made at Tangements for the regular payment of 7500 Kasus for executing a ritual in that temple. The 11th year (1226 A.D.) of Raja Raja III (1216-1260 A.D.) points out that the Siva Brahmanas after deducting two measures of rice from the one provided to the Devaradiyars appointed by the state to the Thiruvilinathar temple¹⁹ It suggests that the position of the Devaradiyars were subordinated ones to the temple priests.

The 11th regnal year inscription of (1227 A.D) Sundara Pandya (1216-1238 A.D.), available at the Eswaran temple of Perumanadu informs about the grant of land as kudininga devadanam to Alagiya Varadar, the daughter of Kariyar, the Devaradiyar of Vadakonattu Thirupperumadak Koil. This grant was executed by the Deva Kanmis and the administrators of the temple. The women who possessed properties were always law abiding. So that Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (1216-1238 A.D.) during his 31st regnal year (1237 A.D.) had granted Irayili lands to Alala Sundaranagai, the Devaradiyar of the Thirumarainatha temple at Thiruvathavur. Such privileges were granted to her and her family members in lieu of the services rendered by them to the temple as ordered by him. This too will attest the subordinated position of the Devaradiyars even during the Pandya rulers. Though they were generous, philanthropic and pious they had to act according to the commands of the administrators. Maravarman Sundara Pandya I's (1216-1238 A.D.) 21st regnal year inscription (1237 A.D) records the grant of Irayili or tax free lands for food offerings, burning lamps and other expenses of the temple. The donated lands were irrigated by Thiruvathavur tank. This record also mentions about the installation of bronze images of Chandrarekara and Gouri in the temple by the Devaradiyar called Kulanjal Arasan alias Alala Sundara Nangai. It also reiterates that she made arrangements for procession of the deities. In the same way another inscription available at the Urumarainatha temple at Thiruvathavur too informs about the grant issued by the Devaradiyar of that temple. So it is obvious that the Devaradiyars were occupying a responsible place in the society due to their endowed

position to the deity of specific temples. Another inscription of Maravaman Sundara Pandya I (1216-1238 A.D.) points out that the Devaradiyal Ammayalvi of the Kulathur temple agreed to pay paddy, gingili etc., for enjoying the kudininga devadanam of the land sold to the Villinallan and Villivisan of Kulatthur.

During the 29th regnal year (1297 A.D.) of Maravarman Kulasekara (1268- 1308 A.D.), Kakuthandal's daughter Alagiyal, Nachchiyandal and Bhayandal Selamandal had gifted free lands to the Thirumarainatha temple of Thiruvathavur as panangadipparru iraiyili. Thus it is obvious that the women had the right to announce land grants by making them as iraiyili or tax free lands. The inscription available in the Nageswarasamy temple of Kumbakonam dated Saka 1412 (1490 A.D.) belonging to the period of Konerideva Maharaya, successor of Saluva Dhimmana, the Vijayanagar Ruler reveals that even the son of Devaradiyar, possessor of the title Roya Manickam the property of the temple too granted donations. This too stands testimony to the enhanced status of Devaradiyars. It is rather unique to note that even the family of Devaradiyar too were interested in executing grants for the deities due to their position due to God. The names such as Rajavichadivi, Nallappilai of the same family had donated land and cash grants to the Ananda Narayana Perumal temple of Avarani in the Nagapattinam district and these things expose the economic prosperity, piety and social recognition of the Devaradiyars attached to the temple. From another inscription available in the flag mast of the Vittaleswara temple of Vittalapuram Muddhi, the daughter of Sevvan was in charge of the maintenance of the flag mast, it is evident that women served in the temple services also due to their devotion or

Bhakti. An undated inscription available in the Thiruvudai Eswaramudayar temple at Thiruvadisulam mentions that Namselvi Thirugnana-sambanda Manickam, a Devaradiyar, who was the daughter of Selvappillai made arrangements by offering a platform for the dance of Siva and his Consort.

The Devaradiyars were particular in maintaining their status by looking after the welfare of the temples to which they were attached. An inscription engraved on the inner side of the southern wall of the ardha mandapa of Airavatheswara Temple at Anaiyur records that a Devaradiyar called Uyya vandhal had donated eight rna of land to the Thiruvangeeswaramudaiyar temple at Thirukkurumullur. This land was a devadhana land and was inigated by the southern sluice of Varandur." Thus the women were capable of estimating the condition of agriculture and they had turned out their best to promote it²⁰. Another inscription of the same ruler bearing the same date reveals that Perumal and his daughter, who was the wife of Vijayagangan had transacted a land sale to be donated to a temple. As such it is obvious the women were involved in the adoption of traditions and customary practices.

The meritorious services rendered by the temple dancers were acknowledged by the royal court and the commoner and they were held in high esteem. The Madras Devadasi (Prevention of Deidcation) Act 1947. It effectively put and end to the system. However, the act did not stipulate and rehabilitation measure. It resulted in misery in the life of devadasis the sect of women's who were respected by the society once were became as example for bad activities in the society of modern Tamil Nadu. Now this system was totally disappear in tamil society.

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THE DECCAN LANGUAGE EXPANSION DURING VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

H.S. Akther Khanum

The socialism of the Muslim communities is visible in a variant-like manner in the formation of Vijayanagara History. Muslim communities expanded throughout the Vijayanagara empire. Their residential bases are found throughout Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Ceylon in South India. Muslim communities found in different parts of southern India have followed the principles of Islam. But regionally, these communities have been distinguished by elements such as ritual, belief, and culture. In the history of Vijayanagara there is a growing number of new languages. It is important to grow crooked languages. The emergence of new languages in the province is visible after Muslims get their settlements in southern India. After the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom during this period, the influence of these influences found in the Vijayanagar empire. This article discusses the importance of languages that have influenced local communities and cultures in Vijayanagar.

Deccan language

In the year 1347, many Amir Rebels against the Sultan Muhammad-bin-Tughlak rebelled and separated from him. His leaders, Allauddin Hasan Shah Al-Bahamani, ruled the native language in the new region after the sultan, who had been completely independent of the control of northern India in Kalaburgia, Karnataka. The Sultanas who established and governed the Bahamani kingdom, and those who accompanied them, used to speak different languages and dialects. They brought international literature in the Middle East to the Persian language, bringing them with a lot of literary language, making it their native language in northern India, and the nation became a liar to learn it. Thus the Bahamanis made their official language in the south as well

as the well-known façade he had had in the north as a monarch. They were welcomed by adventurers coming to different parts of the Middle East through the West Coast directly from Bahamani. Khalif Hasan Arabi, Dilawar Khan Afghani, Mahmood Gawangiliani, Kasim Barid Sharka were the prime ministers here. The darbar of the Sultanate of the Daccans was a group of habas that were gradually brought from aliens, aliens, and people from Africa. Usually here is the dominance of foreigners. These were generally influenced by the language pharaohs, the Islamic religious literature of the Qur'an. Among the various states of India, the embassy was also used by the Persian Embassy and had an inter-provincial significance. For all these reasons, the Persian language continued to be rooted in the Bahmani kingdom, which included three major regional languages and broke into five pieces, including the Adilshahi, Baridshahi, Nizamshahi, Imadashhi and Qutushahi, and later in the late 17th century as part of the Mughal empire. But this foreign language cannot be universally spread across India in all levels.

Following the mixed local language, soldiers and other personnel, dependent on Dakhan (Deccan) language and clan of languages from northern India, came to the team and settled in the Dakhan area. Such immigration would have been practiced earlier in the early days when Muslim political power was in the south. Most of them were from Delhi and its adjoining country. The native language they brought was formerly known as Hindi to identify it separately from the pharaoh. It was used by a superior officer who used the fossil, not just within himself. It started using contact with the locals. The language, which was influenced by Punjab and Braj languages, was called dakhani because of its slightly different

form and pronunciation after the inland area of the Dakhan region. Language of the area was used to understand the language. They also had foreign descendants. This is basically the language of Delhi and the surrounding area. Poetry of Firoz, 'Peeratnama', Kuraishia 'Bhogopal' were written.¹ The simple, influential sketchy style. They used tatsama (Samskruta words), tadbhava (Kannada words) sounds like happiness, sadness, akas (sky), dharathi(Earth), dharma(religion). The expression of Indian heritage was not a waste for them. They did not utilize parasi and Arabic words. Adilshahi and Outubshahi Sultan encouraged Dekhani literature.² Definition as a native language

The language of the Deccan is called Deckhani, Hindi, Dekhani Urdu. The origin of Urdu, Hindustani and modern Sindi, the 'Khadi Baoli', was popularly known as the Deckhani form, with the macroeconomic and literary prestige being first derived from Gulbarga and Bijapur Adi Shankar.³ This language was found only in Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra. Muslims in Tamil Nadu and Kerala used only native languages. Only in these three regions of the south (subsequently Urdu) was largely accepted as a Muslim language. This language was used throughout the region around the capital city of Vijayanagara during the reign of the Bahamani and Bijapur states. The main source is the tombs of Muslim communities found in the Hampi region. The inscription on the tombstone is found on the tombstone. This carving does not appear anywhere else. Also many graves are destroyed. Most of them are found in Urdu letters on graves. Many Muslim tombs found during field work can be traced to the influence of the Deccan language of the Vijayanagara empire based on the Urdu language engraved on stone buildings. In southern India, coastal Muslim communities were different from those of the Dakshina. The unique, multilingual, Arabic-Malayalam version of Muslims has evolved into Malayalam as the native language of Mawalli. This is a non-Islamic language. Thus, the teaching of Islam in the local language was made on the coastal side. Muslims consider Aryan writing Malayalam writings. The linguistic formation of the Muslim community in Tamil Nadu was multi-faceted. It was a mix of Arabic language with the Muslim community originally Tamil, Kannada and Bengali. Later it came into

practice in languages such as Arabic Tamil, Arabic Kannada, Arabic Bengali, and local languages or regional languages. The Malayalam language of Kerala originated in the Arabic language as a native language. Malayalam writing has evolved into a new communications campaign for Islam. Malayalam was her mother tongue and education was held in Arabic Malayalam. AD Sheikh Mohimaddin in Baghdad in the 11th century printed more than 600 lyrics. Arabic Malayalam literature has grown in Malabar. The mixture of Arabic Malayalam and Tamil was originally composed by Mohinuddin in 1607. Mohinuddin originates the Arab-Malayalam work of the East of Calicut, Baji Muhammadidis Iban Abdul Aziz.⁴ This literature progressed from Sheikh Mohinuddin Abdul Khadar Genani as well. Later in the Vijayanagara period, it developed in the Khadiriya Tariqan form.

Ibn-e-Batuta, travelling to Malabar, refers to the social relations between then-Hindu and Muslim. "Malabar Province spreads from Goa to Qilin and extends for two months. The wooden shade along the bottom is located. Every half mile has a wooden chamber. Travellers can sit back and relax with Hindus or Muslims. These restrooms have drinking water wells. The water is also supplied by a Hindu. And when the drunken man is heated, he gives water in the vessels; if he is a Muslim, he pours water to his boiling water. Drinking water keeps water until it shakes the head. Hindus of Malabar will not leave Muslims in their homes. Or do not allow them to eat in their containers. On the contrary, if the Muslims do, they crush the vessels. Or give it to him. Hindus cook and feed Muslims on leaf. The rest are put to dogs and birds. There are Muslim homes near the road in Malabar. Here are the things that can be purchased and bought. If not, then Muslims would be difficult to travel in this country. "Hindus in this country respect Muslims very much. But they do not leave their home. Or do not allow me to eat with them. If we are going on the road, we will be on the side and stand aside.⁵ This reference has revealed scenes from where the Vedic religion is acting as a untouchables on locally-backed Muslim communities. The Muslim community, which has been traders on the coastline, has also joined the social obligations of Hinduism.

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RITUAL AS AN IDEOLOGY: REFLECTIONS OF PATRIARCHY IN TEYYATTAM

Anjana Menon

Teyyam is a ritual art form confining to North Malabar, the traditional *Kolathunadu* comprising the presentday *Kannur* and *Kasargod* district whose cultural hallmark is credited with this folk ritual pageantry. *Kaliyattams* with multiple forms of visual and verbal manipulations have reshaped itself with time. The generic term *teyyam* is a corrupt form of *daivam* or god. Thus, theyyaattam the dance of god. The tradition of teyyam is a divergent form of various cult practices that came under the configuration of a definitely systematized pattern of performance abounding in many deities.

The ubiquitous prevalence of mother goddess worship in the early cultures all over the world is well known. Its traces run through all ages and remain till today. Naturally, the number of mother goddesses worshiped in the whole spectrum of *teyyam* is very large. Many scholars tend to elevate the status of *Teyyattam* owing to the fact it worships many female goddesses and thus arguing for a socially upper position for this cult. Putting aside such glorified notions this paper attempts to scrutinize this art form under a feminist perspective.

Teyyattams have crossed the constraints of time and space. Teyyam is now the ambassador of Kerala tourism in the global markets. Novels, movies, advertisements etc are utilising the commercial aspects of these red faces. Although *teyyam* exists in symbiotic relation with rituals, within the new cultural sphere the ritual no longer exists with its primeval significance and function. Despite this with the imposing of visual structure and combination of music, dance, colour and light *teyyam* has transformed itself into an art of aesthetic perfection of its own.¹

Teyyattams cannot be merely dismissed as just another art form. It is a faith so much entangled in the economic, political and religious development of the society and it has immense potential for recreating histories. In a time when the question of women's fundamental rights are being weighed against 'age old' traditions, it is essential to examine such traditions under the light of new theories. To examine the entire practice of *teyyattam* or to analyse the aspect of women as discussed in this diverse system is much beyond the scope of this study. Hence, present study is only an attempt to briefly analyse a few myths belonging to the *teyyam* cult. The selection is made based on their popularity and typical nature.

Myths and legends and fairy tales are often repositories of gender stereotypes with underlying possibilities of subversion². As such, the presentday performance of *teyyam* may to a great extent be attributed to the mother goddess worship and fertility cult. Divine motherhood is celebrated across the subcontinent.³ Sometimes she is considered fearful, malevolent and dreadful, and as a bejewelled warrior, she is an insatiable blood thirsty fighter, who will not rest until she has vanquished her foes.⁴ On the other hand the linkage with the fertility cult obliquely speaks of men's seeds, of its importance for the creation of progeny, and its ostensibly cardinal role in reproduction.⁵ As V.Geetha points out, "*The 'seed' always already dynamic and virile, is contrasted to the earth that receives it, in this case, the woman, and by definition, she is rendered passive, parched, waiting to fulfil her destiny, which is to carry 'his' seed.*"⁶

The fear of female sexuality and power that is associated with chastity is a clearly

visible in any patriarchal norms. Sexual violence is only the most visible aspect of a general climate of misogyny in which all women are always under the scanner for signs of immoral behaviour.⁷

Based on an experiment conducted at Florida State University in 1978, Psychology professors Russell Clark and Elaine Hatfield concludes in their article *Gender Differences in Receptivity to Sexual Offers* that, "Men are naturally polygamous, and are just fighting the nature when they get tied in to long-term relationships. Women are monogamous, and are always looking for the perfect partner."⁸

Charles Darwin, the famous evolutionary theorist, in his work *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, observes that males indiscriminately chase any women so as to father the most number of children; and females tries to escape unwanted male attention in the careful search for the best quality father for their offspring.⁹ Interpreting Darwin, a botanist and genisist Angus John Bateman explains that males are eager to pair with any females, whereas the female, though passive exerted choice.¹⁰ Bateman who has conducted his experiments on fruit flies to substantiate Darwin's arguments concludes that "there is nearly always a combination of indiscriminating eagerness in the males and a discriminating passivity in the females"¹¹ Bateman believes that even in monogamous species, with fairly equal numbers of males and females, persistence of the old pattern of sexual behaviour may be expected.¹²

Culture, precedes structure in our understanding of gender. Such arguments make sense only in terms of the cultural stereotypes we have. There are others scholars too who speak in similar lines. Prominent anthropologists Don Symos stresses on the idea that men seek out sexual novelty while woman look for stable, monogamous relationships.¹³ The sexual selection theory, as in the case of human beings may puts forth the notion that men are promiscuous and indiscriminating while women are highly discriminating and sexually passive.¹⁴ Like most popular cultures, it portrays the picture of women in nature as 'chaste and choosy'.¹⁵

Most societies expect woman to behave more modestly than a man. When this pressure is not enough to limit her behaviour, humans have gone to elaborate lengths to enforce it. The most aggressive include forced marriage, domestic violence and rape.¹⁶ Male sexual jealousy, the fear of being cuckolded and such vicious mate-guarding suggests that females aren't naturally chaste or passive at all.¹⁷ Citing Mary Jane Sherfey, 'Coached in superstitious, religious, behind the subjugation of women's sexuality lay the inexorable economics of cultural evolution which finally forced men to impose it and women to endure it'.¹⁸ Women have voluntarily acted as the mistresses of their own oppression across time and space of her history. Sarah Hrdy rightly remarks that history cannot be understood without taking in to account the background of the researchers involved including their gender.¹⁹ When an idea is hegemonic it has become the common sense, and has been internalised even by those oppressed by it.²⁰

The legend of Kathivanoor Veeran theyyam is a much popular one. The story of Mandappan who on his death was elevated as Veeran and was given godly status is also marked by the striking and irreplaceable presence of Chemmarathi his wife. But she although is believed to have appeared along with Mandappan, after her death however do not transform as a goddess. Perhaps the domestic image of a faithful wife was meant to be known only in the reflections of her husband. This clearly brings to light an identity crisis.

In contrast to lower caste women, upper caste considered pure, ethereal and custodians of chastity in everyday speech, in song and a dance, the chastity of upper caste women, the power that inheres in the submissive wives or pathivrithas, the authority that a sexually pure women possesses are time and again reiterated and celebrated.²¹ In thottams of virgins, who chose death in the face of sexual violaton, the dead girl is transformed into a powerful local Goddess, demanding appeasement and worship. The story of Neeli, a pulaya woman who on her death became the Neeliyar Bhagavati is worth discussion at this point. Here power of her virginity is feared by the power yielding upper castes.

The story of Kandangod Makkom reminds the society that a *tharavad* that functions on the words of women shall soon be destroyed. The myth of Muchilott Bhagavati though details the sufferings of a talented woman under patriarchy, it serves the social function of reminding the society that a woman's knowledge can bring easily bring dishonour to the family' name. All the rebellions that is put forth by these females goddesses ends with the teyyam. This can be an indication to the social notion that woman are easily tamable. A scientist, Trivers is of the opinion that "*the females must be choosier and less promiscuous in selecting a mate than males because they a lot more to loose from making a bad choice*".²² Thus he is reinstating the social argument. The most debatable teyyam is *Aalicchhamundi* who is a rapist who was a rapist who was killed by one of the victim of his atrocities. Aali along with the woman whom he raped gets elevated status as a god.

For patriarchal forces, rape is evil because it is a crime against the honour of the family, whereas feminist denounce rape because it is a crime against the autonomy and bodily integrity of a woman.²³ A cursory look in to Teyyam cult will reveal that it holds strong patriarchal ideologies. In such a perspective, generally rape is a fate worse than death; there is no normal life possible for raped woman; the way to avoid rape is to lock women up at home, within the family, under patriarchal controls. In the wake of this understanding, the raped woman is responsible for the crime against her because either she crossed the *lakshmanarekha* of time or the *lakshmanarekha* of respectability.²⁴ Quite contrary to this under the feminist lens, the raped woman does not lose her honour, the rapist does.²⁵

The dichotomy of mother goddess being benevolent and malevolent alike are derived respectively from intimacy and horror in human psyche²⁶. All devouring aspects of her as who spreads diseases, pursues her victims, puts them to hardships and slaughters for "little or

no reason at all"²⁷ and innumerable victimisation of cattle and people and the fact that all the victims being men highlights the fear factor enshrined in this art form and its patriarchal nature. This may be observed as human psyche responding to fear of destruction and vulnerability. Here the fear factor is women and hence to conquer that fear society mandates him to tame her and construct boundaries for her.

The significance and inevitability of feminist literary criticism as a mode of critical inquiry and interventionist strategy are now indisputably established in theoretical paradigms.²⁸ Its high time such discussions get a place in the mainstream historic writings also. Cultural megalomania as put forth by Jules Hermand in 1910, to legitimise the British Colonial rule and conquest in India is certainly not unprecedented in its degree and kind. Similar ideas were and are sought to be disseminated through different media to establish not only political power but also social power. Naturally, art occupying a considerable role in the development of culture, has been engaged in realizing that end. The continuing patriarchal forces in the society needs to be explored through the feminist lens from this angle also.

The ever increasing faith and popularity of *teyyam* culture paves way for a discussion of women's presence here, to understand analyse her, alongside historic developments. The meanings and messages that are encoded within structures of the ritual performance of *teyyam* regarding women needs to be explored in great detail to understand the much unexplored masculine power structures enshrined in the women portrayed and the glorified notions of women in Kaliyattams cultivated by earlier scholar who have dealt with the subject needs to be deconstructed. For such a genuine structural transformation to happen, our understanding and imagination need to suffer unease and disturbance.²⁹

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JAHANGHIR PEER DARGAH – A SYMBOL OF RELIGIOUS HARMONY

Ankam Jayaprakash

Introduction

"It is the message, not the man, which is important to the Sufis." — **Idries Shah**,

In the Deccan (South India) region in Hyderabad city and on its eastern side at the distance of 32 miles there is one village and it is known as Anmul Narva or Newman Narva. Some person calls it as Newman Nirva and also some person calls it Vemen Narva and so the real name of the village is not known and also in the official records its different names are available but at last its old name was found as Yenimidi Nara and its Urdu translation will be Rupees 8.50. In the local village many persons think number or word 8 as unlucky and so with the name Rupees 8.50 village name the local persons think that unluckiness was added as per thinking of this village. So as per above information it is known that once this village was well known as unlucky one.

Sufism: Islamic mysticism often referred to as the internalization and intensification of Islamic faith and practice. Sufis strive to

constantly be aware of God's presence, stressing contemplation over action, spiritual development over legalism, and cultivation of the soul over social interaction. In contrast to the academic exercises of theology and jurisprudence, which depend on reason, Sufism depends on emotion and imagination in the divine-human relationship. Sufism is less a doctrine or a belief system than an experience and way of life. It is a tradition of enlightenment that carries the essential truth forward through time. Tradition, however, must be conceived in a vital and dynamic sense. Its expression must not remain limited to the religious and cultural forms of the past. The truth of Sufism requires reformulation and fresh expression in every age. Sufism or *tasawwuf*, as it is called in Arabic, is generally understood by scholars and Sufis to be the inner, mystical, or psycho-spiritual dimension of Islam. Today, however, many Muslims and non-Muslims believe that Sufism is outside the sphere of Islam.

Sufism in India: Muslims entered India in 712 A.D under the Arab commander Muhammad bin Qasim, by conquering the regions of Sind and Multan. This historical achievement connected South Asia to the Muslim empire. Simultaneously, Arab Muslims were welcomed along the Hindustani (India) seaports for trade and business ventures. The Muslim culture of the caliphate began to permeate through India. Sufism has a history in India evolving for over 1,000 years. The presence of Sufism has been a leading entity increasing the reaches of Islam throughout South Asia. Following the entrance of Islam in the early 8th century, Sufi mystic traditions became more visible during the 10th and 11th centuries of the Delhi Sultanate and after it to the rest of India. A conglomeration of four chronologically separate dynasties, the early Delhi Sultanate consisted of rulers from Turkic and Afghan lands. This Persian influence flooded South Asia with Islam, Sufi thought, syncretism values, literature, education, and entertainment that has created an enduring impact on the presence of Islam in India today. Sufi preachers, merchants and missionaries also settled in coastal Bengal and Gujarat through maritime voyages and trade. In India the four major *silsilas* to take root were Suhrawardiyya, Chishtiyya, Qadiriyya and Naqshabandiyya. From these major orders many suborders such as Shattariyya branched out. Every tariqa has a silsila. Silsilas originated with the initiation of Sufi orders which dates back to the Islamic prophet Muhammad. Most silsilas trace their lineage back to his cousin and son-in-law Ali bin Abi Talib such as the Qadiriyyah, the Chishtiyya, the Noorbakhshia and the Suhrawardiyyah orders. However, other silsilas owe their ancestry to other caliphs such as the Naqshbandiyyah order of South Asia is through the Caliph Abu Bakr.

History: It is the fact that these pious personalities were real brothers. So as they were very close in their worldly lives and in this same way they are also together after their death and the situation will be same till the Day of Judgment. Actually these pious persons are different and they are known as Jahangiruddin and Burhanuddin. As both were two different personalities but were one and like the same. So as per saying of the Urdu language that one body with two souls so in this matter now the

time is watching this live fact by its eyes and till the Day of Judgment it will watch the same. Both two holy personalities who possessed two different names have become one name and so it is well known and famous one name as Jahangir Peeran. Their father's name is Ahmeduddin and he was a resident of Baghdad city. After the death of their father these two brothers came to India. They faced many problems in their journey towards Delhi. After reaching Delhi, they wanted to visit Deccan (South India). In the Deccan they visited the city of Gulbarga, the capital city of Bahmani kingdom. They participated in wars and expeditions and in which they were seriously injured and reached to the place where their mausoleum is situated and after some rest on the stone which is available on their head side of their graves and as the blood was passing too much from their bodies due to serious injuries and too much passing of blood they both became unconscious and in this condition they have died and at that time these pious were very young and left the world un-married.

The Urs: The Urs is death ceremony of a Sufi saint celebrated at Dargahs. The Urs of these two holy brothers is celebrated every year on the grand scale. During the Urs ceremony on this day sandal ceremony is organized and on the next day lights are illuminated on the mausoleum. After some years it is practical that the Urs ceremony will be celebrated on next Thursday after Tilsankranti. On this day sandal ceremony is organized and on the next day lights are illuminated on the mausoleum. On this occasion people from various walks of life, irrespective of caste and creed, assemble to celebrate the Urs which takes place on the above date at the famous mausoleum of Hazrat Jahangir Peeran every year. Several hundred thousand devotees from near and far, irrespective of religion and beliefs, gather there to seek blessings

The religious harmony: it is one dargah which Hindus too visit in large numbers and offer prayers. Jahangir peer dargah is symbol of religious harmony. Irrespective of religions many people visit every day. Irrespective of their beliefs, people come here and mingle, setting an example of communal harmony and oneness. Interestingly, the number of Hindu devotees visiting the shrine is more on certain occasions.

About the saints buried here, it is believed, that they were soldiers who came along with an army from Baghdad (Iraq) and martyred in a battle waged for the Golconda kingdom. However, some years after their death, a shepherd who lost a few of his sheep prayed at their graves and eventually got them back. Miracles began happening at the revered burial site and word soon spread of the divine powers of the dargah. It is said that all one has to do is a pray with total belief and their prayers are answered. The ritual is very simple. One has to make five rounds around the graves of these blessed souls, offer your prayer and tie a red chord around one of four minarets. There are various stories as to why the dargah is deserted at nights. It is said Hazrat Jahangir Peeran does not like to be disturbed by people at night and wants to live in peace.

Conclusion: Jahangir peer dargah is symbol is of religious harmony. Hazrat Jahangiruddin and Hazrat Burhanuddin are taking rest in this place and the devotees and visitors will visit at the shrine for the fulfilment of wishes and desires. The visitor who will visit the shrine and pray Allah for the fulfilment of their desires and wishes for the sake of the sheikh's names and due to the kind grace of Allah his desires and wishes will be fulfilled. As per history record they belong to a family of Banu Hashim of the A In the tomb in the right side grave Jahangiruddin was buried and whose age was 18 years old at the time of his death and his younger brother Burhanuddin was buried by the side of his brother's grave on the left side and whose age was 19 years at the time of his death and both of them martyred in their young age on the way of Allah for the teaching and preaching mission of Islam. Allah's last prophet.

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SCULPTURAL STUDY OF SIRKAZHI THONIAPPAR BRONZE

S. Anuradha

Sri Sattanathaswamy temple Sirkazhi is one of the most ancient and biggest temples in Tamil Nadu. It has a unique place in the history of Saivism. It is closely associated with St. Tirugnana sambandar of Sirkazhi. The temple and the place are sung by St. Appar and St. Sambandar, this proves the existence of this temple in the early 7th century A.D. Both the Thevaram Trio's refer the God and Goddess in the padigams as Thoniappar and Periyanyaki

who housed in Tiruthonimalai, which is located just western back side of the main Bhramapuriswara shrine. Further they mention this Tiruthonimalai as Manimadakkoil. The Madakkoil type of architecture was probably constructed by Kocenganan, a Chola ruler of late Sangam age.

Besides, the literary and architectural evidences, the temple epigraphs mentioned

Thoniappar and His Goddess as Tiruthonipuramudaiyar and the Periyanchiyar respectively. In Tiruthonimalai, a huge stucco image of Thoniappar and Periyanchiyar images are found. This paper focuses mainly on the bronze image of Thoniappar and Periyanchiyar based on historical evidences.

Lord Siva, in order to create a new world after pralaaya (deluge) by the power of His grace, clothed only 64 arts without His usual serpent, crescent moon, garland. He made the pranava which is the sound of the Vedas in a boat or Thoni in Tamil. This incident perhaps given a name Thoniappar to the God and Thonipuram to the place Sirkazhi. Thonipuram¹ better known as Sirkazhi,² is an important place in the Nagapattinam District of Tamil Nadu and is famous for its religious and historic point of view. It has a unique place in the history of Saivism. It is closely associated with St. Thirunanasambandar of Sirkazhi.

At the age of three, Sambandar drank the Divine milk of Parvathi who housed in Thonimalai. The Divine couples, Uma Maheswara otherwise called Thoniappar gave Divine Darshan to St. Sambandar. After that, he started singing of Thevaram hymns. To commemorate this incident, the temple is being celebrating Thrumulaippal (April-May) festival every year. His Thevaram hymns are considered as the primary source which proves the existence of the shrine in the early 7th century A.D.³ He has composed 67 Thrupadigams in praise of Thoniappar, Periyanchiyar and the divine deeds of Lord Siva of this temple.⁴ The hymns of the Thevaram trio refer to the place Sirkazhi as Thonipuram and also the deities of the Thiruthonimalai.

Thiruthonimalai may be the earliest structure in the Sri Sattanathswamy temple complex. The shrine Thiruthonimalai and its deities is found on the western side ie., just back of the main Bhramapuriswara shrine. St. Sambandar's padigam mention Thoniappar temple as Manimadakoil⁵. It indirectly proves that this temple was proved that this temple was probably constructed by Kochenganan⁶, a Chola ruler of late Sangam age, whose style of architecture was Madakoil type⁷ also referred in His Aludaiyapillaiyar padigam.

The representation of Somaskanda, an aspect of Siva, familiar in the days of Pallavas has taken a different form as Umamaheswara.⁸ In some temples of the Chola region including Sirkazhi, Umamaheswara images are found instead of Somaskanda. But we know only that the tradition of representing Umamaheswara at the back wall was inaugurated by the Cholas. Somaskanda and Umamaheswara are two iconographical forms which first appear in the cave and structural temples of early medieval South India in certain isolated pockets. The dates of these temples are not easy of determination as they have undergone renovations.

In the Sirkazhi Sri Sattanathswamy temple, God Umamaheswara called Thoniappar is found in a separate shrine just west of the sanctum (Brahmapuriswarar) instead of on the sanctum well itself. The antiquity of this image which goes back to the days of St. Sambandar⁹ is clear from his hymns. The iconographical details of Thoniappar (stucco) are apparently seen in the bronze image. At present it has lost its original form due to weather changes. Most of this temple inscriptions mentioned Thoniappar and His Goddess as Thiruthonipuramudaiyar and Periyanchiyar.¹⁰ A record¹¹ of Rajaraja II (1163A.D) mentions the gift of gold vessel (vattil) to the temple of Thonipuram.

Takkayagapparani, a literary piece of this period (1169A.D)¹² composed by Ottakkuttar also mentions the deities such as Bhairava, Umamaheswara and St. Sambandar of this temple.¹³ A record of Kulottunga III¹⁴ refers the land gift for the offerings to Thonipuramudaiyar and Periyanchiyar. Aalong with the usual food items, the inscription mentions to illai-amudhu and Adaikkai-amudu, which is nothing but the betel leaves and aricca nuts. Another record of this king, states the donation of lands for perpetual lamp burning to the temple of Thonipuramudaiyar and Periyanchiyar (Uma-Maheswara). This land gift was given by him after his victory over the Pandyas (second Pandiayan invasion). It is clear from his name mentioned in his Maikerthei, runs as "Thrubhuvanachakravarty Madurai Kondaraulina Sri Kulotunga Chola deva". It further mentions the land survey conducted in the 16th regnal year of Kulottunaga I.

In order to decorate the Gods and Goddesses of this temple by beautiful garlands, the royal families of Tamil country donated lands to the Nandavanam. One such record of Kulottunga III (1192 A.D)¹⁵ mentions the servant nandaavanakarar, who was specially appointed to take care of the nandavanam given to Thoniappar. After the Cholas donations to Thoniapuramudaiyar followed by the Pandiyas¹⁶ and Vijayanagar rulers.¹⁷ Apart from the daily pujas, special pujas and festivals are being celebrated in a grand manner. The huge stucco image of Thoniappar receives special abisheka on Mahasivarathri. On the 3rd Jama, incense oil abisheka is offered to Thoniappar. Then he is decorated with 64 parivattam (cloths), an attractive ceremony which is still in practice. Thrumulaippal festival is celebrated on the second day of Bramosthavam. During this day, thousands of people in and around Sirkazhi gathered before the temple tank, where St. Sambandar got the Divine Milk and Divine Darshan of Lord Siva and Parvathi (Thoniappar panel). It is believed by the pilgrims those who drunk the neivedya Divine milk will get the Divine knowledge like St. Sambandar from the God and Goddess.

The literary and inscriptional evidences pertaining to the Thiruthonimalai, Thruthonipuramudaiyar and Periyanchiyar (Thoniappar) are clearly gives information about the image and the shrine. Regarding the sculptural description, This bronze image (Siva h. 0.65m) has a high jatamakuta possessing distinct emblems like dhurthura flowers; crescent moon and serpent these are seen in the left and right side of His head dress. His ears are empty. The face is square and expresses perfect calm. The contours of the chest of Siva broaden gradually from the waist, a special feature of the Chola sculpture which is well seen in this image. It is peculiar and also unique, that the upper two hands of Siva hold nothing and the lower right is in abhaya, and the corresponding left is shown in katakamudra pose.

According to Silparatana,¹⁸ Suhasanamurthy should carry an axe and a deer in His upper right and left arms, the lower right hand should be in abhayamudra and the left hand should be in kataka or simhakama pose. But the iconographical details of the upper hand of Siva given in the Silparatna are quite in contrast

with this image (Thoniappar). He is meagerly ornamented. Around the neck kandigai is placed. The chest is adored with sthanasuthram, yagnopavita and udharabandham (stomach band). A single valaya is carved in the four hands of Thoniappar. The rendering of the part below the waist is beautiful. He is seen with a simple loin-cloth. The tassels hanging around the hip are attractive. The well proportioned legs are seen with simple padasaras.

On the left of Thoniappar, Uma (h. 0.51m) is equally well executed in uttakupidhasana pose. The noteworthy feature of this figure is the kesamakuta. The ears are empty. Simhakama pose and varadamudra are shown in Her right and left hands. The slandering of the yagnopavita in Her chest adds to the beauty of the image. Kachchubanda is absent. Like Thoniappar, the two hands of Uma are decorated with valayas. The waist is akin all respects to the rendering of the corresponding part of Thoniappar except in garments. The garment sari is only present here. The iconographical features of the Thoniappar, image clearly indicates that it was the creation of the Cholas.

Apart from the Bhogasakthi seated on the side of Thoniappar, an individual Sakthi locally called Taniamma (0.75m; 11th to 12th century A.D) is striking in its appearance. It has limited ornaments. The noteworthy features of this figure are slender but proportionate limbs, full breasts and hips, beautiful sway of yagnopavita, calm and attractive face, fine drapery with characteristic lines suggesting folds and gemsets from which hang festoons and tassels. It is interesting that the right hand of this image is in varada pose, whereas the left hand slopes downwards and gently shows the abhaya-hasta. Like the front view, the view of the back is also noteworthy for discussion. Siraschakara, with hanging curling hairs on the back, yagnopavita, dress arrangement position of arms and legs are nicely executed.

In **conclusion** to say, Lord Siva, in order to create a new world after pralaaya (deluge) by the power of His grace, clothed only 64 arts without His usual serpent, crescent moon, garland. He made the pranava which is the sound of the Vedas in a boat or Thoni in Tamil. The legendary history, perhaps give a name

Thoniappar to the God; Thonipuram to the place Sirkazhi. St. Thrugnanasambandar got Divine milk and Divine Darshan from Thoniappar From the literary sources, from the literary evidence Thruthonimalai, Probably constructed by Kochenganan, a late Sangam Chola ruler. It is difficult to fix the date of the present structure of Thiruthonimalai. This shrine

received continuous patronage from the Late Cholas rulers to the Marathas of Thanjavur and at present by the Dharmapuram Mutt. Thoniappar and Thaniamman bronze panel belongs to the middle of the 12th century A.D. The bronze image of Thoniappar (Uma maheswarar) and Thaniamman of Sirkazhi temple is of great significance.

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SHAPING REGION'S IDENTITY: A STUDY OF KOILKONDA FORT IN TELANGANA

Aruna Pariti

Introduction

A monument without a geographical space has no base- geographical space without a monument has no identity (Italics mine).

The main aim of this paper to study the different features of and explain its socio-political significance in the then contemporary times by taking the case study of Koilkonda/ Kovilkonda fort located in Mahabubnagar district of the present Telangana state. Telangana region being part of the rocky terrain of the Deccan plateau region, it served as a natural fort for many ruling dynasties since ancient times. It may be observed that most of the forts are surrounded by huge hillocks which are impregnable for the enemy. It is around these natural forts that the politics of the region evolved and decided the destinies of many ruling families. Telangana region houses several

major and minor forts. Since it is not possible to study the history of all the forts of the region, it has been decided to study only the fort of Kovilkonda which is a hill fort for the purpose of this paper.

Etymologically the term 'fort' is an English word which means 'castles' or 'fortresses' in which the raja or the chieftain resides.¹ When the British Government initiated cataloguing of Indian forts, they used the term 'fort' for all formidable structures having political activity. But in the Indian language, several terms were used to distinguish forts from other structures. In Sanskrit, the term *durga* was used. In Hindi the word *qila*, *gad* or *garh* in Rajasthani, Marathi and Assami, *kota* in Telugu were used respectively, to distinguish forts from other royal buildings.

In ancient India, the earliest forts were earthen ramparts which were constructed of the sand dug out of the ditch surrounding the fort. Except the Kangra fort, which was built by Katoch dynasty after the famous Kurukshetra war, the other forts could not survive the vagaries of time. The second type of forts were built with rubble with earth on the outside which was sturdier. The third type of construction was with stone and masonry work. These were the strongest. Often materials from demolished forts were reused in the building of new forts.²

On the basis of their location in natural geographic areas the *Arthashastra*, the Indian treatise on military strategy, describes six major types of forts differentiated by their major mode of defense.³ These are:

Jala-durga (Water fort), which is an island fortress, surrounded by natural (sea or river) water bodies. They are also known as *Antardvipa-durga* (island fortress). **Sihala-durga** (Fortress on plain): These are built on the plains but are surrounded by artificial moats or irrigated by a river. **Dhanvana-** or **Maru-durga** (Desert Fort): Surrounded by an arid area of at least 5 *yojanas* (73 km). **Giri-durga** (Hill fort): Located on a flat hill summit. **Guha-durga**: Located in a valley surrounded by hills, where the outposts and the signal towers are located. **Vana-durga** (Forest fort): Surrounded by a dense forest over a distance of at least 4 *kroshas* (14.6 km). **Mahi-durga** (Earthen fort): It is surrounded by earthen walls, as well as stone or brick walls. The walls are at least 5.4 m high and their width is half of their height.

Each of these types of forts have their own advantages and disadvantages. For example, according to the *Manusmṛti*, the forest fort suffers from monkey attacks, the earthen forts get swarmed with rodents, the water forts were plagued by diseases, etc. The *Manusmṛti* considers the Hill fort to be the best defensive structure. Some Sanskrit texts consider hill forts to be the abode of gods and hence auspicious.

With the advent of the Muslims and introduction of artillery, several changes took place in the construction and design of forts. These changes were similar to the changes that took place in Western forts with the advent of gunpowder, i.e. the lowering of walls, thickening

of walls, further pushing out of bastions etc. The construction of a citadel in the centre and putting in more area between the citadel and the walls was characteristic of Muslim forts. Classic examples of such structures are the Golkonda and the Berar fort. The medieval Indian forts have certain characteristics which are as follows:

Forts were built with stone. A wall could be an earthen rampart faced with stone on both sides or it could be a rubble-built wall joined with mortar. This made the fort strong and long lasting. Drainage channels were installed along the length of the wall from top to bottom. The main binding material for construction was Lime mortar. They are highly decorative. They have Hindu style with a lintel and the Mughal style with an arch. Gates were often high and wide to allow elephants to pass. Often they had rows of sharp, stout iron spikes to dissuade an attacking army from using elephants to break down the gates. The walls of the forts were often looked higher from the outside than the inside as the forts made use of the natural rock formations on hills. The lower walls of the fort were entirely made up of natural rock providing almost a perfect defense against the use of elephants to tear down the walls. The main gate to the forts was located mostly facing north direction, this was to avoid its deterioration by the rains, winds and the sun. They also have works of sculpture, inscriptions, temples, mosques within their surroundings, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science and also as part of cultural heritage.

Thus forts can be regarded as the combined works of nature and man that speak about the past.⁴ They are tangible buildings which have different nuances. They are the ideological symbols of the ruling elites. They convey the technological advancements made in a particular period. They tell us about the various social groups of the society who were involved or associated with them. Importantly they also tell us about the politics and economics of the time. Most importantly, they are the manifestations of the creative skills of man exhibited in different periods of time. Hence as cultural symbols, forts show us the continuity and changes in the traditions followed in different periods.

Geo-Historical Background of the region

Geographically, Koilkonda is located in the Mahbubnagar district which forms the southernmost part of Telangana and is located between 77° 15' and 79° 15'E, of the eastern longitudes and 15° 55' and 17° 20'N, of northern latitudes.⁵ It is bounded on the north by Rangareddy and Nalgonda districts, on the east by Nalgonda and Guntur districts, on the south by the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra and on the west by Raichur and Gulbarga districts of Karnataka State.

Mahbubnagar district derived its name after Mir Mahbub Ali Khan Asaf Jah VI, who renamed it 'Mahbubnagar' on 4th December 1890.⁶ Prior to this, the region was known as 'Cholawadi or the land of the Cholas'. Later, it came to be called as 'Rukmammappeta' and 'Palamooru'. From 1883 CE, Mahbubnagar became the headquarters of the district. In October 2016, the district was reconstituted into four districts namely Mahbubnagar, Wanaparthy, Jogulamba Gadwal and Nagarkurnool. It is said that the famous Golconda diamonds including famous 'Kohinoor' diamond came from this district.

The strategic location of Telangana on the rocky terrain of Deccan plateau has provided natural fortification. Further, the agrarian resources available in the hinterland and its control made the region politically the most viable areas and hence during the medieval period it was able to exercise both political and military power and played a crucial role in the politics of medieval times.

In the context of the present study, the study of forts as symbols of past politics and culture is significant as they remain as an important tangible source for us to muse over the dynamics of military strategies and the decisive role they played in the politics of the region. The Koilkonda/ Kovilkonda in Mahabunagar district is one such fort which occupied an important place in the medieval Deccan politics.

Koilkonda/ Kovilkonda Fort

It is located at a height of 464 metres (1525 feet) above the sea level in Mahbubnagar district. Initially, it was a Kakatiyan fort which was later developed by the Qutub Shahis. The

fort played a very important role in the politics of the medieval period in Deccan. It was here that a historic alliance was forged in 1550 CE amidst the succession dispute following Jamshid's death. Pir Miyan and Saiyid 'Ali Miyan- and other nayakwaris brought Ibrahim to Koilkonda fort and had sworn a mutual pact to support Ibrahim in his claim to the throne of Golconda. It was at this strategic fort that Ibrahim had pledge to safeguard the people. Hence, historically this fort occupies an important place. It was also an important outpost for the Qutub Shahis.⁷

Koilkonda fort is one of the most impregnable forts. It is surrounded by hills all around. To reach the top one needs to trek across a deep gorge on the west or a series of streams if coming through east before reaching a plight of steps. Just before the entrance of the fort, there is a broken sculpture of Hanuman. At Koilkonda fort there are seven gates leading to the top of the fort. Near the first gate, stands a Telugu inscription of Ibrahim Qutb Shah dating back to 1550. Near the fourth gate is a dilapidated palace, a mosque, an Idgah and pond. The Fort also has an ashurkhana dedicated to Bibi Fatima, where both the Muslims and Hindus gather to offer prayers particularly during Moharrum. Most of the other gates have some sculptural representations of animals. The hill gives a panoramic view of rare rock formations in Telangana.⁸

From the size of the fort it appears that the construction of this fort involved huge labour, though the availability of material was not very difficult. The various structures inside the fort such as warehouses, temples, mosques, bastions all reflect the typical medieval forts which was built and expanded during the reign of the Kakatiyas and the Qutub Shahi rulers. Though most of these forts are ruined, they speak a lot about fort architecture, its history, and political, social, economic and cultural aspects of the period. Considering their historic importance, forts can be regarded as an important symbols of our heritage.

Socio-Economic Aspects of forts

Having described the historical and architectural features of the Koilkonda fort it is apparent that this fort might have played a significant role in the socio-political and

economic and cultural life of the people. For instance, the Koilkonda fort stands out as an example where large social groups played a diversified roles in the forts. The presence of a temple indicate that this place must have been culturally vibrant with the celebration of festivals and fairs in the temples. Secondly, huge labour force must have been employed to construct the temples as well as in expanding the fortifications. This also requires huge resources. The Qutub Shahi kings appears to have given importance to the maintenance of forts which was done with the help of the local chiefs.

Though the Koilkonda fort was hewn out of the natural rock formations and was built with the locally available granite, the quarry of the stone and erecting huge gateways at different points and the construction of bastions, store houses, palaces and other structures inside the fort show that its construction

involved huge labour. Considering the extent of the fort area, it is possible that their construction took several years. To sustain the labour force for so long would involve lot of resources. Hence forts should not be viewed as mere political spaces but also as socio-economic structures involving continuous occupation of people and their maintenance. They give an identity to the region in which they are located.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we reiterate that forts are indicators of prosperity of the communities that built them. They require vast investment of time, labour and material resources. They also communicate to us not only the splendors of the past but also the political, social, cultural and economic life of the people in that age. They are part of our rich tangible heritage and hence need to be preserved.

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SUFISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO HINDU – MUSLIM UNITY IN KURNOOL DIST OF ANDHRA PRADESH

K.Bade Saheb & K.Shahabaz Banu

The story of the development of Muslim mystic ideology and institutions in the Deccan forms a chapter of absorbing interests in the history of religious movements in medieval India. All the traditions of Muslim mysticism as they had developed in north India were transplanted in the South. The Deccan was very quick to assimilate Muslim mystic literature and to indianize it by translating its ideas into the Dakhni language. The initial phase of the contact of Islam in Rayalaseema was effected through a group of missionaries and Sufi influence on the subsequent history of the Muslim community was profound and side spread. The Sufi cult in Kurnool Districts played important role in this regard.

The Sufi movement in Kurnool districts depends on the moral and spiritual culture of the people. "Sacrifice all your leisure and comfort for the sake of the happiness of mankind" is attracted thousands of the people and cultivated brotherhood among the Hindus and Muslims.

One of the ideals of the Sufi saints of medieval India was to strive for the abolition of all discriminations and inequalities from contemporary society. They believed in the equality of all human beings and disdained all artificial distinctions. They received all men – rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims freeborn and slaves in the same way. Since men belonging to different religions and speaking

different languages assembled in the Khanqahs, it was only in natural that a common Lingua Franca was evolved there.

Taken as a whole, the Sufi movement, apart from providing moral strength to the people and created a favourable atmosphere for cultural rapprochement between various culture-groups in the Kurnool District.

Famous Sufi Centers in Kurnool District

1. Ganjahalli
2. Yellarthi
3. karumanchi
4. Kurnool
5. Gonegandla
6. Kottapeta etc.,

In Kurnool District hundred's of Sufi centres are located and some of them very famous and contributed cultural bandage between Hindus and Muslim communities.

Rituals and Practices in Sufism

Sufism is deferent from orthodox Islam principles and in many occasions they observed various types of Rituals and Practices to serve the Supreme Allah. Sufism had played significant role to attract hundred and thousands of people through the Singing, dancing, and offered prayers at Graveyards of deceased persons, reciting holy Quran Verses at the time death, Fatheiha and Conducting Jalsaas, Urs etc.

Singing

Sufi music signifies the connect of the spirit with the supreme. Its powerful verses, rousing singing and vibrant music have made this genre universally popular. Apart from their power-packed concerts, they indulged in playback singing too. Some of their well-known film songs are 'Rangres' 'Tu mane ya na mane', 'Asan te tenu rab manneya' etc attracted lakhs of the audions in cinema halls. In Kurnool and kadapa districts separate days were allotted to singing and playing music. In some Darghas hindu bhakti songs also performed in the same premises. In Gangahall Dargha, Veerabramendra Swamy songs were singing in every Thursday.

"URS"

The Arabic meaning of Urs is the death anniversary of a Sufi saint in Rayalaseema , usually Urs, is done annually for a saint by his disciples (Mureeds). They hold this Urs in the mosque near the grave of the saint. They recite the Qur'an and various scholars give lectures on different topics of Islam. The audience are allowed to question the scholars on anything they wish. At the end a du'a is said and then hospitality is done for the people. The hospitality is solely done for the blessings.

Urs are very famous in Kurnool district and conducted in big manner. In Kurnool Dist many Darghs decorated with colourful lights and observing special days and offered coconuts. Usually Horse is using to perform Urs and many Darghas permanently kept horse for this purpose only. In villages god's horse has the right to wander anywhere and to eat anybody's cultivated lands. They think that it is a sin for not allowing the gods horse in their land. Nobody dares to beat or ride the god's horse.

Generally Urs are conducted by the Muslim family and they have the hereditary right to hold prayers in the name of the Sufi saint. These family members visit each and every house hold in advance of 30 or 40 days of urs. They collected money and food grains in the name of urs. It is general practice in Kurnool dist and in some other places they do not use horse they don't collect anything.

Hundreds and thousands of people are gathered during these three days and offer their prayers at graveyard of Sufi saint. In these three days various types of shops were built in the village and recreation games also exhibited. Sweet shops, bangle shops, toy shops, cloth shops, and different types of fruits are also available on this occasion. These Urs are helped for the purpose to village economy. Village people sell their local products and it gave employment to unemployed youth.

Hindu –Muslim Relations

Sufism not only attracts hundred and thousands of people but it impacts on their lives. Many families of both community are encouraged by Sufi festivals and they donate land, property, money etc., They think that

Sufism is not only related to Islam but it's their family responsibility to protect and preserve the Sufism culture. In the villages of Kurnool District many housed hold families of Hindu and Muslim given the Sufi Saint names to their child Ex: Mastanaish, Khadarlinga Swamy, badesaheb, hussainaih, etc., they don't think that the names belong to Muslim community but it is their duty to respect the Sufi Sanints.

Many Sufi Darghas managers donated land and money to Hindu Temples. Kowthalam village of Kurnool Dist Syyed Munna Pasha Saheb, son of Syyed Saheb Peera donated money for the development of Sri Ramalinga swamy temple at Kowthalam and he said that all religions are one and there is no difference between Allah and Ram. We must co-operate each other and it is the responsibility of the human beings.

Andhra Pradesh is more secular than the other parts of India due to impact of Sufism. Hundreds and thousands of people actively involved in each and every activity of Sufi festivals and it contributed communal Harmony among the people. People visit and offer prayers to Sufi saint Darghas without caste and creed. Hindus are more believers than the muslims in Andhra Pradesh and faith in Sufi Saint. Many household names of Hindus are named after Sufi saints in these areas. Bade saheb is Sufi saint of Ganjahalli and it is common name of all caste Gonegandla Mandal of Kurnool dist. Dastagiri, shaiksha, shashavali, badamma etc are common names of all caste of hindus in Kurnool district. They don't think that Sufism is different from Hinduism and totally surrender to Sufi saints.

Sufism Vs Fundamental Islam

Fundamental Islam is denied by the Sufism and branded as unethical and un-Islamic. They quote the Chapters' and quotes of the Holy Quran and encourage the people against the Sufism sect. In the present, Islamic society follows two paths one is believe in only On Allah and the other is believe in Allah and sufi saints. Sufi saints were great preachers of Islam and they are considered as mediators of Allah. As per Traditional Islam it is not to cure or help the people from the sufferings and Allah only may grant each and everything. They vehemently opposed blind practices in the

name of Islam. But people of Hindu and Islam devotees never cared about the Islamic principles, but follow only their own principles and fulfil their choices.

Sufism mainly existing in all sects of Islam whether they or Sunnis or Shias. Both believes in the principals of Sufism and follows the fundamental principles of Islam and Sufism. They argued that Sufi saints were mediators of Allah and they have the capacity to cure the diseases and showed their magical powers and control the bad evils.the following of principles adopted by the Sufism followers.

They are

- 1) Namaz is Compulsory and believe only on Allah.
- 2) Sufi Saints are great followers of Allah and they are mediators between Allah and Common Man.
- 3) Construction of Darghs and conducting festivals in the name of Sufi saints is compulsory for the benefit of the society.
- 4) Birth and Death day ceremonies is compulsory for Muslims.
- 5) To hold prayers at Darghas and Graveyards is benefit to Human beings.
- 6) Singing and dancing is compulsory to reach the Almighty.
- 7) Remembering and offering the prayers in the name of deceased persons at the time of Ramzan and Bakrid.

Disparity towards Women In Darghas or Sufi Saints Grave Yard

Majority of the Darghas in the two Districts men and Women were allowed inside of the Graveyard or Sanctum of the Sufi Saint. The famous Ameen Peer Dargha at kadapa, they do not allow the women inside of the graveyard. It is great disparity towards women equality. They think that women were not as pure as men. Women were not allowed to perform Fathaha or Puja and breaking coconuts at the shrines. All these traditions and customs adopted by the sufi followers from the Hinduism. Many Darhgs were denied or permit the women in the Darghas. The concept of no entry for women in to the Darghas is influenced by Hinduism. Many Muslim believe in astrology, vastu, good and bad days and casteism. In many villages of kurnool dist lower caste people are not allowed in Muslim houses and they donot offer water with their regular vessels and water will be poured in the hands of lower communities.

Local Sentiments Respected by Sufi Saints

It is unique in the Sufi culture, Sufi saints believed in the social harmony between Muslims and Hindus. Therefore, they adopted local customs and traditions of the areas. It created brotherhood and unity among the two religions. In Ganjahalli of Kurnool dist, people were not allowed to sell milk, milk products and killing of cows is also prohibited as per the will of Sufi saint Hazrat Bade Saheb. During Urusu or Festival people of that village provide accommodation to outsiders. Guntupalli of Kurnool Dist, people believes that Hazrat Idrusu is local god and people will remain him before doing any work Ex. Marriage, saving heads etc., People strictly follow the tradition and are not allowed to sell any type of meat. Joharapuram village of Kurnool District, people invite their daughters to festival and offer new clothes. In kowtalam village of Adoni people believes, that Khalalinga Swamy is Jagatguru (Supreme god) and reciting Panchanga Sravanamu during the Ugadi Festival in front of Swamy. Hazrat Shaik Shavali of Yellarthi is famous not only for Kurnool Dist and also in Karnataka. Many devotees came here for the blessing of Shaik Shavali and offered Chaddar and breaking

Coconuts, garlands. They believe that diseases are also cured by the Sufi saint, such as incurable diseases and free from devils or saithans (Evil spirits). It is one of the main centers to freed from black magic and curing the psychological problems. People make agreements and promises in front of the Sufi saint and they believe that if anybody broke the promise, he will be suffered lot. So people will not dare to make promises or break promises in the name of Sufi Saints.

Conclusion

Sufism is the strong bond between Muslims and Hindus in this particular area and it is contributed for the peace and Harmony for seven hundred years. During the demolition of Babri Masjid there is no untoward incidents was happened due to the strong presence of Sufism. Now a day's Sufism is facing threat from fundamentalism of Hindus and Muslims, especially for the majority of the Muslim and Hindu population residing in great number. It is threat to brotherhood of society and it leads to communal tensions among the people. Sufism is to fill up the gaps of society, where poverty, illiteracy, inequality rampant.

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WHEN WAS BENGAL A REGION? PREPARATORY NOTES TOWARDS A CULTURAL HISTORY OF PRE-INDEPENDENCE BENGAL

Baidurya Chakrabarti

Introduction

In the contemporary 'federation' of India, it is more or less taken for granted that the aforementioned nation-state consists of 'regions', marked by unitary or majority

ethnolinguistic communities. However, a region is more than a mere ethnic coherence, linguistic homogeneity, and so on; beyond being a subordinate political unit in the atypical political organization of the Indian state, it is also a specifically modern, post-colonial formation of

subjectivity that is made subordinate to the 'larger', equally modern, and colonial-imperial formation of the Indian identity. This is atypical in the global scenario, since almost anywhere else in the world, a coherent ethnic and linguistic community living in a geographically contiguous space would immediately qualify to be a nation in itself. But unlike the rest of the world, such a situation led to being a 'region' within the supra-national identity called India, leading to a discrepancy in historiographical description itself: while one can freely write about the cultural emergence of a Telugu or Bengali 'nationalism', the remit of political history marks its emergence as merely that of a 'region'. I would like to, thus, begin my essay by inverting a usual historiographical trope of writing the cultural emergence of a region within India as a burgeoning nationalism and asking a different question, namely, what did (and does) emergence as a 'region' entail within the always-already defined and definite (supra-)nationality called India? What did it (and does it) mean to be 'regional' at a time of nationalism? The object of my study here would be the undivided Bengal of pre-independence era, particularly since the shift of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911.

My remit here is centrally that of cultural history, which allows us to posit questions that are much harder to envision within the much more hardened disciplinary encrustations of political or social history. For example, the received history of modern Bengal up until the Partition of 1947 has been told by most commentators in a two-phased bipartite structure. The bipartite part of the structure involves a parallel discussion of imperial policies vis-à-vis the Dominion (say, the Bengal Partition of 1905) and the indigene/nationalist reaction and consolidation against such policies (hence the *Swadeshi* movement and so on).¹ In this scheme of things, culture appears to be an echo chamber of sorts next to the busy drawing room of politics and ideas. Once this bipartite structure is established, the history of the province of Bengal since the Mutiny of 1857 is more or less told in two phases, namely, the ascendancy of the Bengali landed, mostly subinfeudated, middle class (the Bhadrakalok) and their imagination of Hindu reformism-cum-Indian-nationalism, and the growing parochialism and communalism of the Bengal

polity after the shifting of the imperial capital and the subsequent Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, but more militantly since the Communal Accord of 1932, leading up to the disastrous Partition of 1947.² Then there are the other histories, both cultural and social, that situate themselves, somewhat self-consciously, at a distance from this political mainstream and envision social and cultural changes within the broad rubric of the emergence of an Indian modernity under—but at a distance from—the power structure of the British Empire in specific and imperialism in general.³ In the case of the latter, culture is the midway house where modern contestations over at once superseding and maintaining what appears to be the medieval (caste, religious fervour, rituals and so on) in the historico-evolutionary scheme took place. While both these models of historiography are important and I draw from, a major part of the question of culture falls through the fissure between the two. Take for example the question of undivided Bengal (henceforth mentioned only as Bengal) and its regional status: when was Bengal a region? And, to ask its twin possibility, when was it a nation?

From the establishment point of view, this is an easy question to answer. The answer is that Bengal is an ethnic and linguistic national entity which has willingly subordinated itself to the 'historically' longer and Hindu identity of India, which (not so) incidentally proved to be an empire. Politically, we can give it a date even: 12 December, 1911, when the announcement of the shifting of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi reduced this former heart of the empire into a gradually marginalized region. However, if we agree that both nation and region are modern and parallel modes of power that are also consensual and collective modes of belonging, then the aforementioned question takes up a singular significance. It cannot be answered through the mainstream political history mentioned above alone, and particularly not through its implicit evolutionism, where the nation comes *before* the region, both synchronically and diachronically. Neither can it be answered at a distance from the political mainstream, as a contestation over the medieval and modern, since it determined to a large extent the eventual destiny of the Bengali people. To answer it in its totality, we need to

first recognize two things. First is the autonomy of the question of region and regional consciousness in the bildungsroman of the 'Indian' identity, as both supplement and obverse of the latter. It cannot be thought of as—either evolutionary or structural—epiphenomenon to Indian nationalism. Second, one needs to provide an equal autonomy to the field of cultural history, where the latter must no longer be thought of as an echo chamber of the political or the halfway house between the modern and its others. Culture instead denotes the grey areas that hold the abstracted political and social histories together and give them their indiscipline enough to take freely from both of the aforementioned modes of historiography and yet be autonomous in itself. It must answer for the totality we name as modern. Now, if we transpose these hypotheses onto the question we have asked when was Bengal a region and/or nation two things become clear. First, one must seek the question of Bengali regional identity *within* the question of nationalism at large from the very beginning, so much so that an enquiry into any 'regional' identity must become, in the last instance, a critique of the diarchy of nation/region. Second, such a question can only be broached by opening up the field of culture as squarely the *site of political struggle*, over definitions and consciousness, without falling prey to notions of mechanical reflection or representation.

Was Bengal ever a region?

Now that we have expounded upon these hypotheses, let us get back to the question of the regional consciousness of Bengal. Among the studies of regional identity and consciousness in pre- and post-independence India, this question holds a singular importance. This importance stems from the fact that the representative class of modern Bengal⁴, the *Bhadralok*, came into being explicitly as a native ruling class for the Indian empire, as famously envisioned in Macaulay's minutes. From the beginning imbricated in colonial power and representatively 'national', this class has been central to the early cultural and political imagination of the 'Indian' nation. This well-known fact forbids us from reading Bengali regionalism as a *reaction* to Indian nationalism, with the latter forming somewhat of an other /outside, because then the question becomes,—

the reaction of whom?⁵ It cannot surely be of the same class that was the vanguard of the seemingly 'other', Indian nationalism? But did this privileged class ever think in regional terms, and if yes, then why? Or is regionalism the ambit of the other, non-ruling castes? Here also we run into trouble, because if we expand the *Bhadralok* as an ever-hungry aspirational *ideal* sublating a class-caste reality (as is the case on ground), then there could have been no caste or class that existed outside its ideological pale,—no more than a caste can exist beyond the pull of casteism, despite being its perennial victim.⁶ But then, when was Bengali regionalism and by/for whom?

If one looks at the early nationalist cultural production of colonial Bengal, one is struck by not the lack of a concrete sense of the region *in present*, but *in past*. Simultaneously, when one takes into account the early envisioning-s of the Indian 'national' identity, one is struck by a lack of a concrete sense of the nation *in present*, supplemented by a strong imagination of the nation *in the past*. It is enough to take a cursory look at the cultural production of someone like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay to become aware of this. For example, it is well-known that the popular nationalist anthem of *VandeMataram* does not actually mention the word 'Bharat' (or a similar one) even once; indeed, its mention of the '*saptakoTikanTha*' (seven crore voices) is a direct reference to the then population of the Bengal province. This is not unique to Bankim; in fact, most popular patriotic literature of the time shows a similar tendency, where a concrete description of the geographical qualities of Bengal is used to invoke patriotic feelings clearly geared towards the Indian nation.⁷ The region, as a geographical materiality, became a metonym for an as-of-yet unmarked national territoriality, thus also maintaining the alluring possibility of an ever-expanding empire.⁸ Thus, Chattopadhyay's oeuvre of historical novels centrally engages with a continuous, glorious Hindu past for both the region and the nation, punctuated with moments of great crises, like the Muslim invasion. Here, at the level of the imagination of the past, the boundary between the nation and the region became fluid, and what was revealed and elevated was the bildungsroman of a historically Hindu nation, along with a significant presence of the Muslim subjects. In

other words, the early nationalist thought at the realm of popular culture was already a double duality: geographically, it needed the concrete avowal of the geographic region whose compendium is the only form in which the nation could be envisaged *in present*,⁸ while through the discourse of the past, this concrete region is subsumed within a *longue duree* narrative of Hindu history cum civilization. To this day, this is the dominant sense in which regions exist in the India polity: as a more immediate realm of belonging which at the same time makes one 'aware' of the larger entity of the nation, which is then buttressed by an overarching religious grand narrative of a civilizational history to which geographic and other such at-present modes of belonging must be subordinated. One can even speculate that this remains the horizon of the possibility for regions within the Indian national polity; anything beyond it will be a question of sedition/repression.

Now, if for the Bengali Bhadrakalok class, the Bengal region simply served as a metonymic stepping stone to the larger identity of India, in turn reflecting this class' vanguard status vis-à-vis Indian nationalism, then when did Bengal emerge as a 'region in itself', if ever? We do know that first the proposed division of Bengal of 1905 and then the shifting of the imperial capital to Delhi triggered a crisis of the region from which it never really recovered. In fact, JoyaChatterji begins her book-length study of the period, *Bengal Divided*, by juxtaposing the two partitions of Bengal, first in 1905 and then in 1947. She compared the severe resistance to the first at the level of the region which ultimately led to the withdrawal of the 1905 partition proposal with the scant resistance shown only a few decades later to the 1947 partition. She asks for the reason of such a reversal of attitude, which, according to her, resulted from a growing political 'provincialization' of Bengal after 1911 and a resultant communalization of its body politic, especially since the 1932 Communal Accord. In other words, as long the region remained the metonymic center of national imagination and as long it was challenged at the regional level, it could successfully resist such assault on its own terms. However, once it became just another subsumed region within the nation-compendium and became merely the site of the

'Partition of India', now being affected along a pan-Indian and historicist binary of Hindu/Muslim, Bengal could not prevent being provincialized and communalized. One may indeed debate the specifics of this broad story delineated by Chatterji, but the general trajectory of the narrative woven by her seems quite persuasive.

But does this mean that we should also, as a reflection of this political reality, divide the properly cultural question of Bengali regional imagination into two such similar stages? Should we posit that Bengali regionalism was of and for the Bhadrakalok class as long as it was the vanguard of Indian nationalism, thus allowing the region the metonymic freedom to stand in for the larger entity of the nation? Should we envisage what followed as just a growing crisis and impossibility of this imagination, as an irredeemable bifurcation of the region along a pan-Indian religious divide?

While in the last instance, such irresistible bifurcation is truly the story of the Bengal region, while it is true that no force, either social or political, could resist such a bifurcation of the region *in the name* of the Nation, that story is not a complete one from the perspective of cultural history. While this was surely a tragedy, culturally it did not denote a lack thereof. This is where the autonomy of cultural sphere becomes imperative, because culture is as much about utopia as about reflection.⁹ Thus, as cultural historians, one cannot just stop at the gate of a political determination; one also needs to take account of the other potentialities culture envisioned that finally fell by the wayside. I shall now propose that the political crisis of the Bengali regional imagination resulted not in a crisis of imagining the region at the level of culture, but a proliferation of it, both in the burgeoning modernist literature and art of the time and in popular culture like cinema. However, this cultural proliferation, bereft of a political counterpart, could not result in an autonomous consciousness a 'region-in-itself', thus being in the last instance remaining bound by the determinations of political, economic, and social ground realities.

Towards a cultural history of modernism and Bengal as a region

Let us now indulge in a schematic presentation of a much larger research project, of which this paper is only the launching notes. The following remarks should be taken strictly in the spirit of further investigation, rather than a finished argument. It is to be noted that the aforementioned 'crisis' of the Bengali region was coterminous with the rise of what has been termed as the arrival of modernism in Bengali high culture. This movement within the realm of literary and artistic spheres also signalled the arrival of authors/artists who often emerged from a social stratum exactly one step below that of the earlier litterateurs like Tagore. Many of them arrived at the literary scene from the *mufassil*-s, which mirrored the deepening political scenario of Bengal then, where the political locus was shifting from the metropolis of Calcutta to provincial towns.¹⁰ But perhaps more importantly, both demographically and representatively, these figures represented the office-clerk *babu*, a class marked both by an aspirational continuity with the former landed Bhadrakol class and a differential socio-economic life and life-world. If this Bengali modernism was a new imagination of Bengal as a region, as I shall shortly claim, this imagination was by and for this still-upper-caste, new class.

However, as cultural historians, our focus should principally be on cultural form. From this aspect, the story of Bengali modernism, especially in the literary sphere, is one of *cultural untranslatability*. While Bankim, Tagore, and Sarat Chandra were all easily translated into many Indian languages and more importantly found a large pan-Indian readership, Bengali modernist literature not only not found such translations, but seemed to have almost resisted such activity *in form*. Let us take for example the oeuvre of Bibhutibhusan Bandyopadhyay, whose novels were marked by an intense naturalism focused on the Bengali countryside, which was marked unique by his almost obsessive invocation of region-specific flora, so specific in their iteration that even to this day to an urbane Bengali they appear archaic! Bandyopadhyay surrounded his rural protagonists with the plenitude of such *purely Bengali* things, the loss of which in the face of

urbanity then became the emotive fulcrum of this protagonists' bildungsroman-s. Here, then, Bengaliness becomes a literary form, an inner *thing* that lives in the literary alone; whose interiority was now not aligned with any moral axis but a historical one. This interiority was a realignment of the regional imaginary as well as a tacit acknowledgement of its crisis.

A direct corollary of such untranslatable interiority is formal *density*, whose perhaps the best proponent was the poet Jibanananda Dash. Explicitly inspired by European modernism, Dash's poetry, after a juvenile nationalistic period, seems to have shunned the 'Indian imagery' altogether, reducing the latter into the 'things' and places of contemporary capitalism: Juhu beach, Bandra, American soldiers (during WWII), and so on. On the other side of this dense description of the 'Indian' lies his obsessive mythopoesis of Bengal—its riverine nature, its indigenous mythological characters, along with the Bannerjee-like naturalistic description of the 'things' of rural Bengal—which he immediately connects to a Marxist-Hegelian dialectical philosophy of historical change. The density of Dash arises out of his skipping of the frame-of-reference of the nation altogether, where the reader needs to flesh out the seemingly esoteric connection between Bengal's nights filled with sad owl-calls and the inexorable dialectics of capitalist progress! This melancholic density, which the poet explicitly and repetitively marks as Bengal's own, is - I shall again propose - an inward imagination of a region bereft of a political equivalent.

I have till now only restricted myself with what is clearly High Culture, which, in its deliberately conscious nature—which is in the last instance only the consciousness of class—misses out on the immediacy capitalist popular culture enjoyed at period. If we now turn to popular cinema, in this case, early Bengal cinema, this substitutional regionalism in the realm of culture took the form of *allegories of dual/split sovereignties*. My first exhibit from popular culture is a 1941 folklore-fantasy film, not exactly a remarkable one, titled *Abatar* (Premankur Atorthy). The film follows a convoluted story of an idealist gone corrupted by the allures of becoming a monarch and being opposed through popular mobilization by

his former Brahmin Guru, while being encased in a meta-story of Vishnu and Lakshmi taking human birth to further this human comedy; even an evil engineer and displacement due to dam-building is also thrown in! The convoluted and fragmented specifics of such a popular film need not worry us here. What is remarkable about the film is that, while at one level, it being the story a villainous monarch being taught a lesson by a Gandhi-like Brahmin figure, the emotive burden of the story is to elevate this anti-hero of a Raja into a tragic figure in the classical Greek sense! Thus, the story does not lead to an overthrow of this monarch, but the people's continuing sympathy for him (despite popular protests) and finally his change-of-heart, now mediated by the supreme authority of the Brahmin. This fantasy of a monarchic sovereignty being re-formed by a nation-like figure seems to indicate the story of a split sovereignty that at once acknowledges the crisis of imagining such popular sovereignty in autonomous terms and the intense desire to do so. The regression of such sovereignty into the realm of a monarchic fantasy is symptomatic of the repression of the regional under the nation-state, as has been demonstrated in the context of South Indian cinemas by M. Madhava Prasad.¹¹ Moving away from such folkloric representational realms, one sees even in the social genre, for example in films like New Theatre's *Daktar* (SubodhMitra; 1940), repeated allegories of transfer of sovereignty along the father/son generational axis, where, again in a counter point to the plot-wise destiny, the emotive burden is to identify with the erstwhile patriarch, who must finally sacrifice his

sovereignty for the continuance of the Son. While this is only a summary survey, I propose that the entire popular realm of Bengali culture can be read in this line, which reflects both an acute recognition of a sovereignty crisis and regressive imagination of alternative ones.

Conclusion

Perhaps the biggest post-facto justification of Bengali modernism as a new mode of regional imagination came from East Pakistan, which erupted into a truly popular and linguistic nationalist movement almost immediately following the partition.¹² If the bifurcation of the Bengali people along the pan-Indian, national, Hindu/Muslim binary was so complete, then how does one explain this explosion of linguistic mobilization across the region, without imagining a political sentiment *ex nihilo*? But the point of my essay is not to prove this regional imaginary as somewhat more autochthonous to the pan-Indian nationalistic discourse. It will be foolhardy to underestimate the continuing legacy of the communal-national divide in South Asia. However, as a cultural historian, I would propose that our survey of regional imagination must not stop at the ones that have managed to successfully cohabit with the dominant 'Indian' discourse. The point should be precisely turn our attention to the ones that could not do so, that fell by the wayside, the ones that live on only as a painful memory of a lack, because in doing so, we may unveil deeper machinations of the power structure and buried histories that we so often fail to observe.

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1. For a model of such historiography that will be replicated widely across Indian historiography, refer to Amit Sen, *Notes on the Bengal Renaissance*, People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1946. In this short pamphlet—on of the early attempts by the Indian communists to codify the historiography of colonial Indian history—officially endorsed by P. C. Joshi, we see that cultural history appears in each chapter as an addendum almost, reflecting the reading of culture as an epiphenomenon to history of ideas and history of actions. It sets of model of historical storytelling that till this day underlines most left-leaning understanding of such history.
2. The literature on this period is extensive. To give a few examples, refer to JoyaChatterji, *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947*, Cambridge South Asian Studies no. 57, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 1994; Partha Chatterjee, *Bengal 1920-1947: The Land Question Vol 1*, K P Bagchi and Sons, Calcutta, 1984; Partha Chatterjee, "Bengal Politics and the Muslim Masses, 1920-47", in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, OUP, New Delhi 2012.
3. One can situate the entire Subaltern Studies school and what has followed since more or less under this rubric. For a somewhat different representative example, refer to SekharBandyopadhyay, *Caste, Culture, and Hegemony: Social Domination in Colonial Bengal*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004.
4. I intentionally do not use the term 'ruling class' here, as there is a historical gap between the two, especially in the colonial situation.

5. Which is how we understand, somewhat justifiably, the formation of regional political movements in the aftermath of Indian independence.
6. For example, we can at most look into the long strategic coalition between the Dalits and Muslims of Bengal against the landed class and urbane bhadralok as a symbol of differentiated consciousness determined by caste positioning. However, it is also a historical fact that this alliance broke down in the decade immediately prior to the Partition and the Dalits shifted to the side of the Hindu nationalists. In other words, these social and political alliances worked within the dynamics of the nation/region and showed no signs of challenging such overarching ideological binds. One should not fall for the noble but ontological illusion of projecting alternative consciousness onto the oppressed: there is nobody outside ideology proper; there are only difference in positionality. For a detailed account of the aforementioned shift in alliance, refer to Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Caste, Culture and Hegemony: Social Domination in Colonial Bengal*, 2004, pp. 191-239.
7. For example, refer to the somewhat later patriotic song entitled *DhanaDhanyePushpeBhara* by Dwijendra Lal Ray, which also works up a similarly ambiguous geographic description. Songs, as a mode of popular mobilization, interpellates one in the present, which is why songs are especially a rich field of such fuzzy ambiguity. Such ambiguity served an ideological purpose, as we will see soon.
8. Which is precisely what Tagore's *Jana Gana Mana* does in enumerating the names of the constitutive regions.
9. Refer to the works of Frederic Jameson in this regard, especially *Archaeologies of the Future: the Desire called Utopia and other Science Fictions*, Verso, New York/London, 2007.
10. See JoyaChatterji, "The Emergence of *mofussil* in Bengali Politics", in *Bengal Divided*, 1994, pp. 55-102.
11. Refer to M. Madhava Prasad, *Cine-politics: Film Stars and Political Existence in South India*, Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad, 2014.
12. And perhaps also the rapid withering away of Hindu Mahasabha and other such once-powerful communal forces from West Bengal immediately following partition, although their biggest erstwhile support group, the Hindu refugee minority, came to be the largest electoral pressure group in the state.

FOLK CULTURE IN SOUTH ORISSA (A case study on Dance)

Basant Kumar Nayak

South Orissa in general and Ganjam district in particular has a rich tradition of folk dances. These dances are unique in their own characteristics. Each of them has a typical feature, social and cultural background of origin. The folk theatres of South Orissa can be broadly classified into three categories. These are: (1) Nataka, (2) Leela, (3) Nach or Nrutya.

Nataks (Plays) Prahalaad Natak

Prahalaad Natak, the most popular of the folk dance forms captivating the imagination of people beyond the barriers of age, sex and social position, is predominately a musical melodrama written both in prose and poetry. Dialogues (in prose), poetry and dance are blended through exquisite artistry to cast a lasting spell on the audience. The play is based upon the popular mythological story of Prahallad, the great devotee of Lord Vishnu and Hiranya Kasyup, the demon king. The story reiterates the message of Gita: "Yada yadahi dharmasya glanirbhavati Bharatah Abhuttha namadharmasya tadatmanam srujmyaham" At the junctures, when the social order is imperiled, the evil forces flog their perilous pangs: I shall take a birth on earth to save the righteous by destroying the evil and to restore the land to order.

The epic depicts the Lord Bishnu annihilating Hiranya Kashyup and protecting the righteous Prahalaad in course of His fourth incarnation (Nursingha) in fulfillment of the promises made in the Bhagabat Gita. The authorship of the play is generally assigned to Rama Krishna Chhatray (1857-1905) the Raja Saheb of Jalantara a small principality now in Andhraparadesh. But, according to Prof. Prahalaad Panda the real author of Prahalaad Natak was Birabara Samanta of Tarala. In the words of Dhirendra Pattanaik, "Prahallad Natak is essentially operatic. There are 120 songs in the play, each set a particular Raga and tala. Although music dominates the play, the song, dialogue and the interlinked prose dialogues are equally important.

Prahalaad Natak is normally staged on a big wooden platform. The typical platform is divided into seven segments with a neatly executed stepping arrangement leading from the base. A majestic wooden chair adorns the upper-most stage. The music concert, led by the principal singer, the Gahan, takes the right side of the stage. The Gahan is accompanied by two artists playing on 'mardal' or 'Pakhauj' and 8 to 10 supporting with 'Gini' (Cymbals). Of late, some performers have been using modern instruments like violin, casio, clarinet etc.

The robes designed for Hiranya Kashyup, the demon king and Prahalad are quite different. These include trousers, socks and ghagaras (a waist-band having seven colours). Hiranya Kashyup wears big moustache and beard in typical Musilim style. The man acting as 'Narsingha' wears mask of lion and white dhoti in Bharate Natyam style. The female characters in Prahalad, Natak are launched in typical Oriya outfit with indigenous ornamentation comprising bahuti (band for upper-arm), mathamani (head ornament), Khadu (Bangles), ear rings, mudi (rings), notha (nose ornament) etc. Some of the troops traveled outside the state and entertained the audience by their magnificent performance.¹ Prahalad Natak has a remarkable effect on the rural mass and bears enormous ethical and social relevance. The triumph of Truth over Evil, the cardinal maximum of the story lines is presented in lucid and imperative manner.²

Danda Nata

Danda Nata was very popular folk dance of South Orissa. It was not only a source of folk dance of South Orissa. It was not only a source of folk entertainment but also a popular folk ritual. It was observed in the month of Chaitra (March April). It started in Chaitra Purnima and continued till Maha Vishub Sankranti. Some of the famous terms observed this Maha Vishub Sankranti. Some of the famous teams observed this Dandanata for 21 days i.e. from Chaitra Krishna Dasami to Pana Sankranti.³ Dandanata was derived from "Danda" (pole) and "Nata" a dance which was usually performed in a religious fair called Danda yatra. In this fair Lord Shiva and his consort, Gouri were propitiated. The artists of this Danda Nata were called Bhaktas (devotees). Danda Nata troops consisted of 13 bhaktas. They danced and sang songs for the entertainment of village community. Its origin was traced to 8th and 9th century A.D. (inception of Tantrism) after the decadence of Buddhism in Orissa. "Abhinava Chandrika", a literary works of 1568, mentions about the prevalence of "Danda yatra". It signifies that this folk theatre was very much popular in medieval Orissa. In Danda nata, five musical instruments namely Dhola, Mahuri, Tamak, Kara and Kartal were used. There were three states of Danda Nata such as, Dhuli Danda Pani Danda, Agni Danda,⁴ These are as follows :

Stages of Danda Nata

Dhuli Danda

Dhuli danda started at mid-day. The bhoktas rolled on the hot sand of the summer, danced and sung without any sign of suffering in their faces. They bore all pains to draw the kind attention Siva towards the devotees. The subject matter concerning agriculture like preparation of field, cultivating the land, sowing seeds and transplantation etc. were the main attraction in Dhuli Dana. Four dancers portrayed the scene of a corn field by inter-connecting their heads and legs in a particular manner and style. Then they taught how to sow seeds. Two dancers played the part of a Halia (Plough-man). These were performed in a beautiful and comic style.

Pani Danda

After the completion of Dhuli Danda the bhoktas took their bath and prayed to Lord Siva for fulfilling the devotee's wishes in tank or pond or river. Pani Danda reflected the social life of the common people based on agriculture. In the evening the worshippers performed alati gathering in the premises of Siva temple or on the open sky. Flame was kept burning in the Kanamana Ghata i.e. on houses of desires. It gives the idea that life is full of ups and downs. But one should not despair under any circumstances and keep the light of hope always burning in the heart.⁵

Agni Danda

Agni Danda or Danda Nritya begins in the mid-night. A veteran artist or Bhakta takes part and performs the dance with different postures of his limbs in tune with the dance with different postures of his limbs in tune with the Dhola and other music instruments. The Dholia really plays an important role. The physical feats of the dancer is beautiful and enchanting. Sometimes, the dancer holds the holy lamp. One of the dancers scatters resins on the burning lamp held by him who dances spiritedly and shout intermittently "Kala Rudramani ho jaya" i.e. victory to the black God Siva.⁶

Apart from entertaining village-folk with varieties of dance and songs, the main objective of the folk-theatre is to impart moral teachings in order to remove superstitions and blind faiths in the society.

The Leelas

Leela is a part and parcel of Orissa folk-theatre. This owes its indebtedness to religious sentiments and spiritual consciousness. The transparent triple forms of Natyakala reflected in almost all leelas. The leela literature of Orissa is absolutely based on the traditional mythology. This has never come under the direct influence of Sanskrit leela rather in has come to the lime-light with a rational touch. The soulstirring melancholical songs have been derived from the traditional chanting of the ancient Puranas. The musical instruments, the exchange of heart of heart feelings touch the core of the onlookers' heart. A special mention may be made of Rama Leela. It is the most ancient leela of Orissa. Then comes Krishna Leela, Rashal Leela, Radhaprema Leela, Gopa Leela and Bharat Leela. These enactments even in the rustic villages have become totally popular.

Rama Leela

Rama Leela is also classified into seven Khandas like "The Ramayana's Saptakhandas". There is no different in its story. This leela was staged under the sky. In the earlier days (wooden toys) were placed in place of main characters. A lamp was lit. The actors displayed their histrionic (dramatic) talent through different facial expression as per the story demanded. The Gayak while singing presented his total self before the statue of lord Rama. In the later stage the artists put on the costumes as per the situation demanded. Two Gayakas are constantly present in the Leela, one is Sri Gaya and another is Padi Gayak. Sri Gayak puts on tilak in his nose and brow, wore rings in ear swarna khadu in the hand, also baju bandha, kankana, the golden rings in the fingers, the turban on his head. The dress of Padi Gayaka is same as that of Sri Gayak but he does not wear turban. Both wear pata of Berhampur. The Gayaks of Ganjam district sing their melodious songs in the high tone. This is their specialty. One can hear their sweet melodious voice and the sweet song up to three kms. distance during dead of night. We never find such type of costumes in the other Gayaks of other districts. The dress of women characters of this Leelas is presented keeping the culture of Orissa in view.

The significance of Rama Leela of the Ganjam district lies in its well presentation, the

melodious song of the Gayaks, the melodious songs of the Gayaks, the musical rhythms and the dazzling devotional dances.⁷

Krishna Leela

There is very much difference between the presentation of the pattern of Krishna Leela, the dance, the style of song of different regions of Orissa and that of Ganjam district. The Gayak of Krishna Leela in Ganjam district decorates himself as that of Gayak of Rama Leela. Here also we find turban on his head. The Gayak is the holder of strings here. He works as a co-ordinator between the character and the incident of this Leela. Spiritualism but not the mere recreation plays a vital role in this region. The observers of this leela while reaching the stage put the very dust into his mouth. The cry of Haa Krishna rends the air. After that they occupy their respective places.

Radhaprema Leela

Radhaprema Leela was stage inside the palace under the open air sky in the lap of nature. There was nice decoration and stage arrangements. The fragrance of the flowers spread everywhere. The play was very much alluring and attractive and it carried the audience to some unknown region of imagination. So strong was their memory, so short was their intellect, they remember all the soul-strings songs. It shows the musical effect and the magic of the leela.

The great Dharakote king was a true lover of this leela and honoured Gopinath inside royal place. The enchanting songs cast a spell over the audience and they are totally lost somewhere. The leela teacher is the major attraction of the enactment. He creates wonders and miracles with his sweet melody wavering his hand in different mudras. The budding artists play a prominent part. Among the exponents of Radhaprema leela, ananda Chandra nayak occupies a special place. This leela has won the heart of everyone including the illiterate village people. Lord Krishna makes his appearance in different characters and tries to allure the sweet heart of sri radha. The language of the leela is simple the style is lucid but description is flowing. In this connection, the names of the writers who have specialized on different themes and styles were biswambhar das, Krishna Chandra das, kabichandra ananda

Chandra pati, basudev mahapatro and gopinath das. The lucidity of the language and the simplicity of the style arrests the attention of the devotees and the devoted audience. The artistic decoration of the canopy adds luster to this leela. Separate stages are formed, namely khela kunja, Krishna kunja, Radha kunja and Chandravali kunja. Sri radha's companions and friends dance in joy amidst sri radha. The sight is very interesting and interest- provoking. The divine love of Sri Krishna is a rare phenomenon to witness. Radhaprema Leela is a child of the fertile imagination of poets. People find themselves quite delighted in the world of Sri Radha's feelings for Sri Krishna and Sri Krishna's divine love for Sri Radha. One may not be Sri Radha and Sri Krishna but one has the very essential feelings of Sri Radha for Sri Krishna. Here lies the grand enactment of Radhaprema Leela.

The way it is presented, its dramatic art and vibrant personality of Sri Krishna stands apart unrivalled so far as Leela literature is concerned. The dance, the music, the dress, colourful decoration, characterization, dramatization, soul steering dialogue, co-ordination and the poetic diction have brought Radhaprema Leela nearer to any celebrated drama in Sanskrit literature. To conclude, it can be said that, this Radhaprema Leela has cast a tremendous impact, may be an electrifying effect upon the audience to enrich their knowledge, to enable their thought, to elevate their character and to enlighten their dormant faculties.⁸

Rasa Leela

Rasa Leela is also a very popular leela in Orissa. It is based on the universal love story of Lord Sri Krishna and Gopis. The main aim and object of this leela is to generate the devotional feelings (Vakti Rasa) among the observers based on the eternal plays of Lord Sri Krishna.

The popular Rasa Leela are "Basanta Rasa" of Pindika Sri Chandana, Mohan Sundar Goswami and Rasa Leela of Baishnaba Charan Das. The chief composers of Rasa Leela in South Odisha are Kabichandra Hanuman Rayaguru, Gobinda Chandra Suradeo, Biswambar Das, Biswambhar Rajendra, Kishore Chandra Rajendra who are the pioneer to give lyrical touch to Rasa⁹

Opal Leela

Gopa Leela composition is purely based on the divine leela between Lord Sri Krishna and His devotees-the great Gopis, Poet Narasingh Matha has composed 'Gopa Leela' who is also the creator of Raghunath Kritan, This Leela gained prominence after its successful performance in Sitalpalli, Makarjhol, Kurala, Khandadeduli, Nugam, Khalingi, Kankorada, Kaithapada, Mahaguda, Balia, Erendra, Golanthara and Berhampur. This was first staged in Karakhandi the native place of the poet. The first two Gayaks were Bela Pradhan and Lakshamana Pradhan. In the said leela Bhubana Swain of Karakhandi, Gopinath Swain, Dandapani Gouda, Trinath Rath, Ganapati Maharana, Raghunath Matha, Ula Matha, Kartika Gouda played the role of Nanda, Yosada, Krishna, Balaram, Akrura, Kansa, Basudev and Debaki respectively. Khali Rath was the Gayak and Khandha Pradhan was the chief manger. Just like Krishna Leela and Rasa Leela its dress, musicality, dramatic effect were the same. There were no difference between religious rituals and worship. The simplicity, and its emotion sincere feelings were the keys to their real success of this leela.¹⁰

Bharat Leela

Now Bharata Leela has become the sole property and absolutely self made art in Ganjam district. It is the only folk theater which is staged in foreign country for the first time and earned appreciation of the dwellers. More than one hundred Bharata leela team are there in Ganjam district. Among them the countable few are of Kandha Kharida. Tiarpentha, Duanapalli, Arakhapur, Badapone Khalingi, Kamuruda, Kanichapur, Lochapada, Huagada, Kuruli, Kabisuryanagar, Kalasandhapur, Nabaratnapur, Mamudhiya, Gunthapada, Goudagaon, Dig Pahandi, Choudhury Tikaripada, Vijaya Laxminarayanpur, Khariaguda, Sarabadi, Hadichira, Solaghara, Polosara, Mangalpur, Dharakote, Sheragada, Gangapur Sasan, Banthapalli, Pratappur are important.

Bharata Leela is staged under the open sky. But previously a similar stage was arranged as that of the Prahalaad Natak. Arjuna is found on the top of the seat just like Hiranya Kasyapu of Prahalaad Natak. He successfully played where the situation demands. Satyabhama and

Subhadra are also there besides Arjuna. But almost all the leelas are staged under the canopy. The show is conducted at the night. The lighting system can be compared as that of other leelas. Dauuri is used to create sense of humour previously and carries the audience with him. He puts on half-pant, coloured kurta, an over coat and whip his hand brass medals are attached to over coat. He wears ghungura in his feet.¹¹

Nacha (Nrutya) Dasakathia

Dasakathia is a popular dance of South Orissa. It is centuries old ritual performed by a team of two persons well versed in purans, sastras and old literatures. In this dance a ballad is sung by two persons viz. Gayaka and Palia. Gayaka and Palia. Gayaka is the main signer and palia is the assistant singer or repater who sings with the help of the Gayak. In this dance, the singers sing with the help of a set of musical instrument of a pair of castanets of wooden clappers. It is said that, Dasa Kathia is originated from the Ganjam District. The etymological meaning of Dasa is devotee or Bhakta and Kathi means two wooden pieces played in tune with prayer of devotee.¹²

In this folk play, the singers instrument is called the Ramtala whereas that of the assistant singer's is known as Laxmantala. The theme of this play is taken from the great episodes of Ramayana and Mahabharat. These folk plays are titled as Subhadraharana, Kichakbadha, Karnabhadha etc. Daskarthia is composed with chhandha, choutisa and chaupadi. Poems of Upendra Bhanja, Kabisurya Baladeva Ratha and gopalkrishna Pattanayak are profusely used to enthrall the people's mind. Daskathia of Ganjam has close resemblance with Harikatha of Tamil Nadu, Burakatha of Andhra Pradesh and Baul of West Bengal. According to a research scholar of folk theatre, Dr. Bayamani Churchi Sri Agadhu Sahoo was the pioneer gayak who popularized this folk form. Thereafter, his eldest son Krushna Chandra Gayak Ratana and Binayak Sabat devoted their energy for enrichment of this play. The cult of Rama, and Vishnu greatly influence the thematic aspect of Daskathia which has also got mass appeal in rural areas. The dasakathia singers mostly belong to Ganjam District where

most of the well known Oriya poets of medieval period flourished. Generally the traditional singers come from the community of lower Brahmins who plough the land and not taking part in the traditional ritual services. Throughout the length and breadth of South Orissa during the fair weather days, they move to earn their livelihood. Their performances are usually held in mid street or in the somebody's courtyard, in temple precincts according to the nature of patronage. In many districts of Orissa, Dasakathia has also become popular in many festive occasions.¹³

Oshakothi

Oshakothi is based on ancient tradition of Sakti-cult-prayer to goddess Kali, Chandi and Mangala. In Ganjam district goddess Mangala was worshipped as village-deity. On the walls of house the painting of Mangala are made before performance of this folk play with all rituals. It is said that this was originated from Boirani situated in the block of Kabisurya Nagar of Ganjam district.

Many episodes of Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata and other puranas form the themes of this play. It is said that Late Chaudhury Parida of Kabisurya Nagar had great contribution in enriching "Osakohi". Dance music and ritualistic performances are some of the salient features of this folk play. "Dhana Koila" a peculiar type of instrument is used in this folk play. This tradition of folk play is still prevalent in many villages of Ganjam district. In this modern age blending of the folk element with modern theatre is the latest trend in the field of performing art. The revival of folk theatre is of urgent importance as it can be utilized as an alternative platform to create peoples' consciousness in combating social evils like dowry deaths, environmental pollutions and human right violations. The rich glorious tradition of folk theatres of Ganjam district need to be promoted, well documented and preserved by the department of the culture, Government of Orissa for the posterity as an integral part of heritage.¹⁴

Kela Nacha

Kella Nacha which was developed in Ganjam as a household circus of the Kella community has been found in the literature of Kabi Samrat Upendra Bhanja. It is first

vanishing due to lack of patronage. The male participants in this circus play drums and exhibit muscular feats whereas the female participants climb on the top of bamboo and plays difficult acrobatic feats. It is rural circus team used to survive in some important rural centers like Hinjilicut, Chikiti, Bhanjanagar.

Kandha Nacha

The life in Kandha society is full of dance and music. They compose their own song relating to love, marriage and harvest. The girls sing and dance by joining hands and forming a circle during the dance. They bind white cloth as uniform on their waists. The boys sing with the girls and move forward and backward and go round the circle with the rhythm of music.

Sakhi Nachha

Sakhi Nachha is another popular dance of South Orissa. Sakhi Nacha or sangeet parts consist of a vocal instructor-cum-string player, two or three rhythm players and about half a

dozen dancing boys. It was originated from Chikiti. The troop Sakhi Nacha displayed the rich lyrics of Kabisamrat Upendra Bhanja in different ragas and talas. The poet who was also known as Sangeeta Samrat, himself used to organize such dancing teams under his supervision. Sakhi Nach troops move to remotest corners of the district performing mostly the Oddisi song composed by medieval poet like Upendra Bhanja and Kabi Surya Baladev Ratha.

Ranapa Nacha

Ranapa which literary means a stilt was another famous dance of south Orissa. The dance on the stilts is prevalent among the cow-hard communities of South Orissa. The young village dancers standing on the stilts dance with utmost ease to the accompaniment of Dhol and Mahuri (Wind instruments). Songs relating to the boyhood exploits of Lord Krishna are also sung intermittently.¹⁵

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WATERSCAPE TO PLACE: CONTEXTUALIZING THE TRANSFORMATIONAL HISTORY OF SHANMUKHAM ROAD, COCHIN

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The study entitled '**Waterscape to Place: Contextualizing the Transformational History of Shanmukham Road, Cochin**' analyses the histological transformation of space through a human geographical perspective. Shanmukham Road is a major road of Cochin City with numerous shopping complexes and offices,

locates parallel to Marine Drive and Cochin Backwater. This highly commercialized road got its name from R.K Shanmukham Chetty, the Diwan of Cochin State (1931-1945). The right side of the road - from Broadway to the High Court junction- have shopping malls, Seaload Hotel, Penta Menaka(shops for mobile phones

and accessories), restaurants, shops for cosmetics, electronic goods and accessories, the Archdiocese of Verapoly and police station are located. The Gateway of Hotel Taj, Marine Drive, GCDA commercial complex, Joy Alukkas, Pioneer Towers, residential apartments and restaurants are located in its left side. The road also has a canal flowing from the Rainbow Bridge of Marine Drive to the Ernakulam Market. Generally, Shanmukham Road begins from the High Court junction on the north and ends at the Guest House near Broadway at the south. At High Court Junction, the straight road leading to Gosree Bridges and Vallarpadam, right cutting road leads to Kaloor and Idappally, further continues on south as Park Avenue Road. Along with Bay Pride Mall, the Regional offices of State Bank of India, Federal Bank and Indian Bank are located in the Road. Marry Brown at Abad Food Court, Seaload, Coffee cube, Food Mall near Revenue Tower, Triviyum and SFS Plus are the major eateries located here. The most important landmark of Shanmukham Road is Marine Drive, a beautiful promenade which has a walkway with two bridges- starting from Rajendra Maidan to the high court junction- along with open spaces, boat jetties, shopping malls and hotels, residential and commercial places etc. It is a popular hangout for tourists as well as local populace, who gather during evenings to view the sunset and the backwater.

Historical Background of Ernakulam and Shanmukham Road

According to historians the place name 'Ernakulam' is derived from *Erayanarkulam* that means the abode of Lord Shiva. But according to the traditional view the place got its name from *Rishinagakulam*. The Revenue Settlement Register of Cochin State mentions Ernakulam as 'Anjikaimal' or a place under five important persons. They were Kaimals of Cheranallur, Kunnathunadu, Pulakkadu, Kurumalkuru and Vakuru. The word '*Kochi*' is supposed to be a synonym of a Sanskrit word '*gosri*'¹ which meant 'prosperous with cows'.² The earliest reference to the term '*gosri*' may be found in the inscriptions of Bhaskara Ravivarma, which refers '*Kosri Parakkara Iravivarman*'.³ Kerala Mahathmyam and Keralolpathi refers to Cochin as '*Balapuri*' which means 'small town'.⁴ C Achyutha Menon points out that the word

'*Kochi*' is derived from '*Kochazhi*' or 'small harbour'.⁵ Kochi was known to the Greeks, Romans, Jews, Arabs and the Chinese. Foreign travelers like Ibn Battutta, Ma-Huan and Abd-ur-Rassak had mentioned on Kochi. Nicolo Conti called the region as *Kochchi*. During the fourteenth century, Kochi was an important centre of spice trade. Cochin port was formed in 1341 when heavy floods silted up the mouths of Kodungallor port and the surging water forced a channel past the inlet into the sea. The old merchants of kodungallor shifted to Kochi and the harbor gained prominence. The rulers of Royal Family shifted their capital to Kochi that gave impetus to the growth of the town. From the sixteenth century, Kochi witnessed rapid changes through the trading and colonizing attempts of European powers. The Ernakulam district was formed on 1st April 1958 including the Taluks of Alwaye, Kunnathunadu, Kochi, Kanayannur, Parur and witnessed unprecedented trend of urbanization during the past four decades. The characteristic physical feature of Kochi is the expanse of backwater and low lying wet lands. The flat terrain of the central city with the low altitude interspersed with a network of canal system provide link into backwaters. Together with numerous canals, the backwater provides the cheapest mean of transportation especially for the bulk goods to and from the city. But today, they are not adequately used as waterway for transport. These water bodies are in a stage of deterioration or environmental degradation due to waste dumping, silting and other misuses. The effect of inadequate drainage becomes visible with flooding and water logging of low lying areas during rainy seasons.

The place where Shanmukham Road is now locating was known as *Alumkadavu* in early period, as a tiny halt for boats that connected the backwater to the market. In those days, water transport was the backbone of trade activities and backwater served as the major water channel for transportation of men and materials. Boats from far and nearby places had made their voyages through the backwater moved towards the market by touching *Alumkadavu* and *Kovilvattom* areas.⁶ *Alumkadavu* was a tiny halt for *Kettuvalloms* or roofed boats to the Cochin market. Through water transport *Kovilvattom* flourished as a centre of commercial activities and trade boats

from long distances especially Kollam, Changanassery and Malabar were reached to the market through *Alumkadavu*. From the memories of old local merchants the canals and small water channels around the market was filled with trade boats. In order to enter into the market canal, trade boats were awaited near Alumkadavu area for hours.⁷ The place *Alumkadavu* got its name from a large banya tree (*Aal*) existed on the shore (*Kadavu*) of the backwater. Later the tree was cut for constructing a hotel called 'Sealord'.⁸ From Old photographs, we can get a clear picture of Sealord hotel with its small stone fortification facing the backwater.⁹ Later in 1930's the Cochin State reclaimed backwater to construct a road. The first reference on reclamations at *Alumkadavu* area can be seen in the Record of Administration of Cochin State 1938, in which, the Diwan of Cochin, Mr. Narayana Ayyar had sent a letter to the Maharaja of Cochin on 28 August 1927 for the development of Ernakulam fore shore by reclaiming areas with a budget of Rs 15000/- According to it "the Ernakulam foreshore is now in an unsatisfactory condition and the present scheme is to make the necessary reclamations to have a straight line from one end to the other and to take the necessary ground for a Government road for recreation and other purposes."¹⁰ This scheme supports foreshore reclamations for public purposes i.e., public building sites, recreation and garden pace and roads

This Record of is also useful for understanding the actual process of landscape change and it's administrative, socio-political and economic background of Cochin. In 1938, Cochin State had appointed Mr.Dann, the Town Planning officer of Madras Presidency, to prepare a Town Improvement Scheme for Ernakulam town. His report on the Ernakulam Fore-shore Reclamation suggests the construction of a road from Maharaja's College to the west for reducing traffic congestion due to the increase in motor transport and population. According to him, in order to preserve canals there should be public roads for transport to reduce traffic especially in the bazaar area and a foreshore road(Shanmukham road) must built with provision for water side recreation space.

According to Dann, "We may without doubt accept the view that the reclamation- for

public purposes- will be a great boon to the Town. The bulk of reclaimed area will be reserved for recreation grounds i.e., public building sites, garden spaces and roads.¹¹ Later during the period of R K Shanmukham Chetty large scale reclamations from backwater have done for infrastructural development and beatification of the Cochin State such as construction of new parks and a new road that later known as 'Shanmukham Road'.¹² Thus Shanmukham Road has regarded as the 'First Marine Drive' reclaimed from backwater.¹³ From 1980's the Greater Cochin Development Authority (GCDA) had made large scale reclamations from backwater to create a new land for constructing shopping complexes, hotels and apartments. Thus, the continuous backwater reclamations in *Alumkadavu* gradually transformed the place to modern Shanmukham Road. The expansion of human interactions as in the form of large scale reclamations had changed the nature of space from the past to the present context. Therefore the study focuses on the nature of human activities in the backwater and how it reshaped the structure of space from waterscape to road and redefined it according to urbanization and modern commercial trends.

Spatial Transformations from Backwater to Road

According to Human Geography, spaces are socially produced places and spatial activities are the outcome of human activities. Geographic and social spaces are symbolically transformed into places thorough process of human interaction across time. In the context of Shanmukham Road, the space is transformed according to the changes in human interaction over waterscape. In the early stage, the space was represented by *Alumkadavu* and the tree itself stood as an image to specify the landscape. In other words, *Alumkadavu* and its surrounding areas represented the space as an empirical space of daily life where people interacted themselves with trade activities.¹⁴

In the second stage, when the Sealord Hotel came into existence, the tree was disappeared along with the place name. The hotel brought a tremendous change in the entire landscape i.e., a small geographical place's space was forcefully changed to a commercial space, where the hotel itself

became the centre of attraction. From that, the place got a social status or a reflection of high culture, which was accessible only to the rich. The old generation recollects, it was treated as a prestigious moment for those people who enter into the hotel for having a tea. People from far and nearby places visited the place to have a close view of the building. Therefore Sealord represented an image space that has produced new apprehensions of space and also providing a space for consumption thereby became a symbol of economic status.¹⁵ Thus the emergence of Sealord hotel can be treated as the first instance for commodification of a particular place space.

The third important change in space emerged during the backwater reclamations for constructing the Shanmukham Road. We can notice a drastic change in the spatial pattern of the place with emergence of a road. The new extensive road has facilitated the transportation of goods to the market. The pressure on the water channel was reduced by the road, which had the merit of easy and fast exchange of goods. Thus human spatial behavior in this place was in two ways. Firstly, Shanmukham Road has become the major transportation route to Broadway and the market. Different people interacted in its open space, thereby it transformed into an empirical space of human interaction.¹⁶ Shanmukham Road was pictured in Malayalam movies of 1970's especially in the movie *Anubhavgal Palichakal*. The song "*Pravachakanmaare Parayuu...*" gives a clear view of the newly reclaimed road in which the hero is walking through the Shanmukham Road and we can also see the police station on the right side and the backwater on the left side. The fourth stage of spatial transformations emerged during the construction of Marine Drive in 1980's. Large area of backwater was reclaimed to construct a new land and GCDA had implemented different plans such as urban development schemes to transform the reclaimed land to a landscape. The land use pattern also changed with the construction of shopping malls, new bridges and walkways, the land is used for multiple economic purposes or resulted in multiple land use that changed the landscape to urbanscape in a wider context. In the present context, spatialization or spatial

representations are influenced by consumerist mentalities. According to the modern life style and food habits new shopping malls and commercial complexes sprang up on the either sides of the Shanmukham Road that has reduced the open space.

Shanmukham Road's symbolic transformation of space is more visible from the old and new contexts. Earlier, there were few buildings on one side of the road and Sealord was the symbolic image of that time. With few commercial structures, the road has public space accessible to the people and as a place, spatial interactions were comparatively high. It was a place where people met and discussed the pros and cons of everyday life. Therefore it had a symbolic expression and relations of identity where the visitors or users can recognize certain segments of their own history and discover ties that link them to other member of the same place. The road as a venue for public meetings and gatherings provided an open space for human interaction and a leisure space that nourished the social bonds of that time. But in the modern period, either sides of the road are filled with commercial structures that reduced open spaces for human interaction.

Conclusion

The study is on the nature of human interactions in the Shanmukham Road and how it redefined the nature of space from the past to the present. We can identify different stages in the transformation of space i.e., from *Alumkadavu* to Sealord Hotel, then to Shanmukham Road, and from the road to Marine Drive and finally to the large scale developmental activities in the landscape. In the old days, the road had a more public space that was changed in the modern context. The process of urbanization began to play a vital role in the transformation of space and spatial development plan is subordinated to capital interests and political decisions. Today, Shanmukham Road is not only a road or a public place for interaction but also its space has a varied nature and the surrounding spaces are on gradual privatization process of capitalist hyper urbanism.

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BHAGYANAGAR·A HISTORICAL STUDY

Boda. Veeru Bhai

Introduction

Bhagyanagar is the people's Hyderabad city. It is the twin capital of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. A multitude of influences has shaped the character of the city in the last 400 years. The history of the city has deeply affected the culture, language, customs, traditions and way of living of the people. There are various theories about the naming of the city and the city had suppressed over centuries of rule by those inspired by foreign models, it continues to resist oblivion, springing back to manifest life and liberty at every opportune twist and turn of history.

The founder of Bhagyanagar

The foundation for the city of Hyderabad was laid by Mohamad Quli Qutub Shah in the year 1591 A.D. quli was born in the year 1566. He was the eldest son of his father Ibrahim. Mohamad Quli Qutub Shah succeeded his father on 5-06-1580 when he was barely fifteen-year-old. The state of medieval tilang with its capital first at the rock citadel of Golconda and then at the newly established city of Hyderabad forms a connecting link between the earlier kingdom of the bahmanis of which it was offshoot and the later asafjahis domination which replaced it. It was ruled by the members of the Qutubshahi dynasty. The descendants of sultan quli qutub-ul mulk he established

qutubshahi dynasty. The qutubshahi rulers were great builders and patrons of learning and some of them like Mohamad Quli Qutub Shah were themselves poets and literatures. The walled city of Golconda was a place for merchants and soldiers.

Origin and growth of the city

Hyderabad city which was founded in 1591 functioned as the civil capital of the kingdom of Golconda. The Golconda fort was originally built by the kakathiya rajas of Warangal in the 13th century AD. The elevation of the fort is 400ft and circumference of the fort wall is 4miles and containing 70 semi-circular bastions, 50-60 feet high. Certain blocks of granite which have been used in the wall must weigh at least a ton each. They are firmly cemented together some are bound with clamps. Golconda was the military capital the axis of the growth during this period was east-west in the direction of the port muslipatnam which was chief port of the kingdom. The fall of Golconda to the Moghuls in 1687 AD. brought about radical change in the social fabric of the city together with the political change. The Moghul feudal system replaced that of the qutubshahi's and dominated the social and economic situation of the city in the subsequent history of Hyderabad. The year 1778 in the subsidiary

alliance of the consequent establishment of military contention by the British East India Company in the northern suburb of Hyderabad and the coming in of the railway in 1874 not only changed the axis growth west-east to north-south but also introduced new culture patterns which diversified the social and the cultural settings of the city the north Indian culture which dominated metropolitan Hyderabad until 1956 became sub-dominant culture with the formation of Andhra Pradesh and the resultant large influx of Telugu speaking people.

Architecture in Qutb Shahi period **Purana Pul Bridge**

Fourteen years [1578] prior to the foundation of the city Hyderabad [1591] Purana Pul was constructed its one of the oldest examples of Qutb Shahi architecture in the city of Hyderabad which is still in a good state of preservation the bridge has historical as well as functional importance it was constructed by Ibrahim Qutb Shah with a view to afford easy egress and to avoid the risk of life Prince Muhammad Quli who according to legend used to visit Bhagmati is beloved residing in village of Chichalm near Shaha Ali Banda it is also linked the trunk road from Golconda to the east coast facilitating the tradesman to carry in their trade through this route.

Charminar

After the foundation of city Hyderabad in 1591 A.D. the first building to be constructed by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah was Charminar which is a prototype of the Tiziya or Taboot (representation of the tomb of the great martyr of Hazrat Imam Hussai) it was completed in 1592 it is one of the grandest buildings of the country which is constructed in plaster and stone. Its four corners exactly face the four cardinal points. The building is absolutely in square shape, each side measuring 60 feet in length. The four splendid arches one in each direction are 24 feet broad and 30 feet high and from the roof of the building these are 80 feet high and four-storeyed. Upper most story minaret can be reached by 146 steps

Charkaman palaces

After the completion in the 1592 A.D. Charkaman palaces are the four arches were constructed, about 80 yards north of the Charminar. All these arches were constructed in four directions facing the four cardinal points each arch separated from the center by about 375 feet, so that any two arches facing each other is nearly 750 feet. Each arch 60 feet high, 36 feet wide at the base and 6 feet in thickness and it is provided with leading steps to the top with fine view of the surrounding street. At present these arches are as used through fares. They are so high that in the past huge elephants with the canopied litter could easily pass through them. The vast square between the arches which was originally called 'Juli Khana' or the 'guards square' was an appendage to the palace.

Qutb Shahi tombs

The Qutb Shahi tombs are located in the Ibrahim Bagh close to the Golconda fort. The tombs style here is Indo-Islamic. They contain the tombs and niches built by the various of the Qutb Shahi dynasty. The galleries of the smaller tombs are of the single storey while larger ones are two storeyed. In the center of each tomb is a sarcophagus which overlies the actual burial vault in crypt below. The domes were originally overlaid with blue and green tiles, of which now only few pieces remain.

Asafjahi architecture

Osmania hospital

The Osmania General Hospital in India located at Afzal Ganj Hyderabad. It is run by government of Telangana and is one of the largest in state. The present hospital building completed in 1919 on orders of the last Nizam of Hyderabad Mir Osman Ali Khan. It was designed by British architect Vincent Jerome Baig in Indo-Islamic and Indo-Saracenic style.

Osmania university (arts college)

The Osmania University is a public state university located in university town Hyderabad founded in 1918 with the help of chief architect of Mehabub Ali Khan - Nawab Sarwar Jung. It was established by the named

after the seventh and last nizam of Hyderabad mir Osman ali khan. It is third oldest university in southern India and first to be established in the princely state of Hyderabad. The building style of Osmania university is indo Islamic style.

High court

The high court of Telangana is the high court of the Indian state Telangana. Its chief engineer was Nawab Khan Bahadur Mirza Akbar Baig. The high court stands on the bank of river musri. This is one of the finest building in the city. built in red and white stone saracenic style by nizam 7th mir Osman ali khan. The started on 15 april 1915 and completed on 30th March 1919 by Jaipur engineer Shankar Lal and local designer Mehar Ali faizal.

Paintings

Painting Deccani style painting originated in the 16th century in and around Hyderabad, contains an insightful native style with the blend of foreign techniques and had a similarity of neighbouring Vijayanagara paintings. The extensive use of luminous, gold and white colours are generally found in Deccani paintings. Due to the Islamic influence in the sultanate the Deccani paintings are mostly of nature with the background of floral and fauna, and the major use of regional landscape are reflected commonly with regional culture, some of the Deccani paintings present the historical events of the region.

Handcraft

A Fine art metal handcraft Bidri ware (the skills and techniques which came from Middle East to India during the 14th century), was popularised in Hyderabad during Asif Jahi region in the 18th century. Today the production of Bidriware in Hyderabad and neighbouring Bidar accounts highest in India. The Bidri ware is a Geographical Indication (GI) awarded craft of India. The Kalamkari, a fine art of Handcraft (originated in Machilipatnam 3000 year ago is a Handicraft of Andhra Pradesh) is also popular in the city.

Litrature

The Qutb Shahs were regarded as the great patrons of Urdu, Farsi and Telugu language. The region saw a growth of Deccani Urdu literature, the Deccani Masnavi and Diwan composed during those periods are among the earliest available manuscripts in the Urdu language. The literary work of this region is influenced with the regional Marathi, Telugu, and Kannada in parallel with Arabic and Persian including the adoption of poetic meters and a great quantity of renovated words.[36] The Fifth Sultan of the dynasty, Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah was himself an Urdu poet. The period of Nizams saw a growth of literary growth since after printing was introduced in Hyderabad. In 1824 AD, the first collection of Urdu Ghazals named Gulzar-e-Mahlaqa (Mahlaqa's garden of flowers) written by Mah Laqa Bai, was printed and published from Hyderabad. After the Revolt of 1857, many Urdu writers, scholars and poets who lost their patronage at Delhi made Hyderabad their home, that grew and brought reforms in the literary and poetry work. Scholars continued to migrate to Hyderabad during the reign of Asaf Jah VI and his successor Asaf Jah VII. These included Shibli Nomani, Dagh Dehlvi, Fani Badayuni, Josh Malihabadi, Ali Haider Tabatabai, Zahir Dehlvi and many others.

The reign of Asaf Jah VII saw many reforms in literary work. For the first time in history the Nizams introduced Urdu as a language of court, administration and education. Other notable poets, scholars and writers of the early 20th century are Amjad Hyderabad, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Sayyid continued to migrate to Hyderabad during the reign of Asaf Jah VI and his successor Asaf Jah VII. These included Shibli Nomani, Dagh Dehlvi, Fani Badayuni, Josh Malihabadi, Ali Haider Tabatabai, Zahir Dehlvi and many others.

Dancing

Since inception of Hyderabad, the nobles have a tradition of courtesans dance and poetry, which had led to a unique style of dance form in court dance in Hyderabad, the Taramati of the early 16th century and

Since inception of Hyderabad, the nobles have a tradition of courtesans dance and poetry, which had led to a unique style of dance form in court dance in Hyderabad, the Taramati of the early 16th century and the Theatre Development Department of Andhra Pradesh Government had applied efforts to promote the art of theatre with multiple programs and festivals. The result of which that most of the youths have been evolved in the theatre art and drama and it is gaining popularity among the residents

Music

The city is home to many Qawwals, that keep the age-old tradition of Qawwali intact, the most notable of which are Ateeq Hussain Khan and the Warsi Brothers. The tradition is kept alive at various Dargahs in the city, including Dargah Yousufain, Dargah-e-Hazrat Shah Khamosh and Dargah Pahadi shareef

Film making in Hyderabad was started in early 1917 by Lotus film Co during the Nizams era. The city is home to the Telugu film industry, popularly known as Tollywood, the second largest in India after Bollywood. Since 2005, parallel to Tollywood and Bollywood the city base Hyderabad lingo movies initiated by "Hyderabad Deccan Film Club" Films deccanwood, had gained popularity in the region. Annually the city host, "International Children Film Festival", and since 2007, the city has hosted the Hyderabad International Film Festival (HIFF), The Prasad IMAX Theaters houses the world's largest IMAX-3D, In the year 2005, the Guinness World Records declared, The Ramoji Film City located in Hyderabad since 1996, as the world's largest film studio.

Clothing, Jewelry and Perfume Khara Dupatta

The Khara dupatta or Khada Dupatta (uncut veil) is an outfit composed of a kurta (tunic), chooridaar (ruched pair of pants), and 6 yard dupatta (veil) and is traditionally worn by Hyderabad brides. Sometimes the kurta is sleeveless and worn over a koti resembling a choli. The bride also wears a Asaf Jah VII and his heir apparent Mukarram Jah, both wearing Sherwani and Rumi Topi matching ghonghat (veil) over her head. The

accompanying jewelry is: Tika (a medallion of uncut diamonds worn on the forehead and suspended by a string of pearls) Jhoomar (a fan-shaped ornament worn on the side of the head) Nath (a nose ring with a large ruby bead flanked by two pearls) Chintaak also known as Jadaoo Zevar (a choker studded with uncut diamonds and precious stones) Kan phool (earrings that match the Chintaak and consist of a flower motif covering the ear lobe and a bell-shaped ornament that is suspended from the flower. The weight of precious stones and gold in the Karan phool is held up by sahare or supports made of strands of pearls that are fastened into the wearer's hair.)

Satlada (neck ornament of seven strands of pearls set with emeralds, diamonds and rubies) Ranihaar (neck ornament of pearls with a wide pendant) Jugni (neck ornament of several strands of pearls with a central pendant) Gote (Shellac bangles studded with rhinestones and worn with gold coloured glass bangles called sonabai) Payal (ankle bracelets) Gintiyani (toe rings)

Sherwani

The Sherwani is the traditional men's garb of Hyderabad. It is a coat-like tunic with a tight-fitting collar (hook & eyelet fastening), close-fitting in the upper torso and flaring somewhat in its lower half. It usually has six or seven buttons, often removable ones made from gold sovereigns for special occasions. The material is usually silk or wool. A groom may use gold brocade for his wedding sherwani, but otherwise good taste dictates understated colors, albeit with rich and textured fabrics. The sherwani is usually worn over a silk or cotton kurta (long shirt) and pyjamas (baggy pants with a drawstring at the waist).

The Sherwani is closely associated with Hyderabad, although it has spread since to the rest of India and to Pakistan. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru adapted its design and turned it into his trademark Nehru Jacket, further popularizing the garment.

Attar

The traditional Attar, though considered a dying art form, are available in the bazaars

near Charminar and the Moazzam Jahi Market. Many of the older generations still prefer attar over modern perfumes

Cuisines

The city is home to two types of cuisines, the Telugu cuisine and the Hyderabadi cuisine. The former is the native cuisine of the Telugu people and is influenced by South Indian cuisines while the latter is native to the Hyderabadi Muslims and is more influenced by Mughlai cuisines. Hyderabadi biryani along with other Hyderabadi cuisine Hyderabadi cuisine is the traditional cuisine of the Hyderabadi Muslims, originating during the Qutb Shahi and Asaf Jahi periods. It consists of various wheat and rice dishes, often cooked with meat, or paired with meat curries. Some of the most famous dishes include Hyderabadi Biryani, a celebration of basmati rice, mutton, onions, yoghurt and various spices. It's beef variant called Kalyani Biryani is also popular in the city. Hyderabadi Haleem, a stew of wheat, lentils and mutton, is also another specialty of the city, originating from the Arab dish Harees. It is usually prepared during the month of Ramadan. Both of these carry Geographical Indication (GI) tags. Others include Hyderabadi Marag, Pathar-ka-Gosht, Maghz Masala, Khatti Dal, Gil-e-Firdaus, Lukhmi and Hyderabadi Khichdi. Irani Chai is enjoyed all over the city, often with Osmania Biscuits.

Desserts include Qubani-ka-Meetha, an apricot pudding, Shahi Tukra (also known as Double-ka-Meetha), a breadbased dish and Gil-e-Firdaus, the local variant of Kheer. Telugu cuisine is the part of South Indian cuisine characterized by their highly spicy food. The Telangana state lies on the Deccan plateau and its topography dictates more millet and roti (leavened bread) based dishes. Jowar and Bajra features more prominently

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in their cuisine. Due to its proximity with Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and northwest Karnataka, it shares some similarities of the Deccan plateau cuisine. The region has the spiciest food amongst all other Telugu and Indian cuisines. Telangana has some unique dishes in its cuisine, such as jonna rotte (sorghum), sajja rotte (penisetum), or Uppudi Pindi (broken rice). In Telangana a gravy or curry is called Kooru and Pulusu (Sour) is based on Tamarind. A deep fry reduction of the same is called Vepudu. Kodi pulusu and Mamsam (meat) vepudu are popular dishes in meat. Vankaya Brinjal Pulusu or Vepudu, Aritikaya Banana pulusu or Vepudu are one of the many varieties of vegetable dishes. Telangana palakooru is a spinach dish cooked with lentils eaten with steamed rice and rotis. Peanuts are added as special attraction and in Karimnagar District, cashew nuts are added. Sakinalu also called as Chakinalu, is one of the most popular savory in Telangana, is often cooked during Makara Sankranti festival season. This a deep-fried snack made of rice flour, sesame seeds and flavoured with ajwain (carom seeds or vaamu in Telugu). These savories are harder and spicier than the Andhra varieties. Garijelu is a dumpling dish similar to the Maharashtrian karanji, which in Telangana is cooked with sweet stuffing or a savory stuffing with mutton or chicken kheema

Conclusion

Hyderabad which was initially a small village named chinchalam is now a cosmopolitan city. Hyderabad had developed into a cosmopolitan city and is a world famous IT hub. Hyderabad have seen many rulers like the kakathiyas, bhahumanis, qutubshahis, moghuls, and asafjahis (Nizams). In the course of time Hyderabad had imbibed all the traditions, customs, practices and food habits of its rulers. Now Hyderabad is a place of cultural and religious diversity.

DEVELOPMENTS IN MARITIME RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WORLD FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE PRESENT

Bojanapally Ushasri

Introduction

Indian maritime history begins during the 3rd millennium BCE when inhabitants of the Indus Valley initiated maritime trading contact with Mesopotamia. The Roman historian Strabo mentions an increase in Roman trade with India following the Roman annexation of Egypt. Strabo reports that during the time when Aelius Gallus was Prefect of Egypt (26-24 BCE), he saw 120 ships ready to leave for India at the Red Sea port of Myos Hormos. As trade between India and the Greco-Roman world increased spices became the main import from India to the Western world, bypassing silk and other commodities. Indians were present in Alexandria while Christian and Jewish settlers from Rome continued to live in India long after the fall of the Roman Empire, which resulted in Rome's loss of the Red Sea ports, previously used to secure trade with India by the Greco-Roman world since the Ptolemaic dynasty. The Indian commercial connection with South East Asia proved vital to the merchants of Arabia and Persia during the 7th–8th century. A study published in 2013 found that some 11 percent of Aboriginal DNA is of Indian origin and suggests these immigrants arrived about 4,000 years ago, possibly at the same time dingoes first arrived in Australia. On orders of Manuel I of Portugal, four vessels under the command of navigator Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, continuing to the eastern coast of Africa to Malindi to sail across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. The wealth of the Indies was now open for the Europeans to explore. The Portuguese Empire was the first European empire to grow from spice trade.

The National Maritime Day

5 April marks the National Maritime Day of India. On this day in 1919 navigation history was created when SS Loyalty, the first ship of The Scindia Steam Navigation Company Ltd., journeyed to the United Kingdom, a crucial step for India shipping history when sea routes were controlled by the British.

Prehistory Maritime History

The region around the Indus River began to show visible increase in both the length and the frequency of maritime voyages by 3000 BCE. Optimum conditions for viable long-distance voyages existed in this region by 2900 BCE. Mesopotamian inscriptions indicate that Indian traders from the Indus valley, carrying copper, hardwoods, ivory, pearls, carnelian, and gold, were active in Mesopotamia during the reign of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2300 BCE). Evidence exists that Harrappans were bulk-shipping timber and special woods to Sumer on ships and luxury items such as lapis lazuli. The trade in lapis lazuli was carried out from northern Afghanistan over eastern Iran to Sumer but during the Mature Harrappan period an Indus colony was established at Shortugai in Central Asia near the Badakshan mines and the lapis stones were brought overland to Lothal in Gujarat and shipped to Oman, Bahrain and Mesopotamia.

Archaeological research at sites in Mesopotamia, Bahrain, and Oman has led to the recovery of artefacts traceable to the Indus Valley civilization, confirming the information on the inscriptions. Among the most important of these objects are stamp seals carved in soapstone, stone weights, and colorful carnelian beads. Most of the trade between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley was indirect. Shippers from both regions converged in Persian Gulf ports, especially on the island of Bahrain known as Dilmun to the Sumerians. Numerous small Indus-style artifacts have been recovered at locations on Bahrain and further down the coast of the Arabian Peninsula in Oman. Stamp seals produced in Bahrain have been found at sites in Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley, strengthening the likelihood that the island may have acted as a redistribution point for goods coming from Mesopotamia and the Indus area. There are hints from the digs at Ur, a major Sumerian city-state on the Euphrates, that some Indus Valley merchants and artisans (bead makers) may have established communities in Mesopotamia.

The world's first dock at Lothal (2400 BCE) was located away from the main current to avoid deposition of silt. Modern oceanographers have observed that the Harappans must have possessed great knowledge relating to tides in order to build such a dock on the ever-shifting course of the Sabarmati, as well as exemplary hydrography and maritime engineering. This was the earliest known dock found in the world, equipped to berth and service ships. It is speculated that Lothal engineers studied tidal movements, and their effects on brick-built structures, since the walls are of kiln-burnt bricks. This knowledge also enabled them to select Lothal's location in the first place, as the Gulf of Khambhat has the highest tidal amplitude and ships can be sluiced through flow tides in the river estuary. The engineers built a trapezoidal structure, with north-south arms of average 21.8 meters (71.5 ft), and east-west arms of 37 meters (121 ft).

Excavations at Golbai Sasan in Odisha have shown a Neolithic culture dating to as early as ca. 2300 BC, followed by a Chalcolithic (copper age) culture and then an Iron age culture starting around 900 BC. Tools found at this site indicate boat building, perhaps for coastal trade. Fish bones, fishing hooks, barbed spears and harpoons show that fishing was an important part of the economy. Some artifacts of the Chalcolithic period are similar to artifacts found in Vietnam, indicating possible contact with Indochina at a very early period.

Early kingdoms

Indian cartography locates the Pole star, and other constellations of use in navigational charts. These charts may have been in use by the beginning of the Common Era for purposes of navigation. Detailed maps of considerable length describing the locations of settlements, sea shores, rivers, and mountains were also made. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* mentions a time when sea trade between India and Egypt did not involve direct sailings. The cargo under these situations was shipped to Aden. Eudaimon Arabia was called fortunate, being once a city, when, because ships neither came from India to Egypt nor did those from Egypt dare to go further but only came as far as this place, it received the cargoes from both, just as

Alexandria receives goods brought from outside and from Egypt.

It should be mentioned here that Tamil Pandya embassies were received by Augustus Caesar and Roman historians mention a total of four embassies from the Tamil country. Pliny famously mentions the expenditure of one million sesterii every year on goods such as pepper, fine cloth and gems from the southern coasts of India. He also mentions 10,000 horses shipped to this region each year. Tamil and southern Sanskrit name inscriptions have been found in Luxor in Egypt. In turn Tamil literature from the Classical period mentions foreign ships arriving for trade and paying in gold for products. Indian ship on lead coin of Vasisthiputra Sri Pulamavi, testimony to the naval, seafaring and trading capabilities of the Satavahanas during the 1st–2nd century CE.

The first clear mention of a navy occurs in the mythological epic Mahabharata. Historically, however, the first attested attempt to organize a navy in India, as described by Megasthenes (c. 350-290 BCE), is attributed to Chandragupta Maurya (reign 322-298 BCE). The Mauryan empire (322–185 BCE) navy continued till the times of emperor Ashoka (reign 273-32 BCE), who used it to send massive diplomatic missions to Greece, Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus. Following nomadic interference in Siberia—one of the sources for India's bullion—India diverted its attention to the Malay peninsula, which became its new source for gold and was soon exposed to the world via a series of maritime trade routes. The period under the Mauryan empire also witnessed various other regions of the world engage increasingly in the Indian Ocean maritime voyages.

According to the historian Strabo, the Roman trade with India trade initiated by Eudoxus of Cyzicus in 130 BCE kept increasing. Indian ships sailed to Egypt as the thriving maritime routes of Southern Asia were not under the control of a single power. In India, the ports of Barbaricum (modern Karachi), Barygaza, Muziris, Korkai, Kaveripattinam and Arikamedu on the southern tip of India were the main centers of this trade. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describes Greco Roman merchants selling in Barbaricum "thin clothing, figured

linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine" in exchange for "costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, and indigo". In Barygaza, they would buy wheat, rice, sesame oil, cotton and cloth.

The Ethiopian kingdom of Aksum was involved in the Indian Ocean trade network and was influenced by Roman culture and Indian architecture. Traces of Indian influences are visible in Roman works of silver and ivory, or in Egyptian cotton and silk fabrics used for sale in Europe. The Indian presence in Alexandria may have influenced the culture but little is known about the manner of this influence. Clement of Alexandria mentions the Buddha in his writings and other Indian religions find mentions in other texts of the period. The Indians were present in Alexandria and Christian and Jewish settlers from Rome continued to live in India long after the fall of the Roman Empire, which resulted in Rome's loss of the Red Sea ports, previously used to secure trade with India by the Greco-Roman world since the time of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

Early Common Era - Middle Ages

Textiles from India were in demand in Egypt, East Africa, and the Mediterranean between the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, and these regions became overseas markets for Indian exports. In Java and Borneo, the introduction of Indian culture created a demand for aromatics, and trading posts here later served Chinese and Arab markets. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* names several Indian ports from where large ships sailed in an easterly direction to Chryse. Products from the Maluku Islands that were shipped across the ports of Arabia to the Near East passed through the ports of India and Sri Lanka. After reaching either the Indian or the Sri Lankan ports, products were sometimes shipped to East Africa, where they were used for a variety of purposes including burial rites.

Maritime history of Odisha, known as Kalinga in ancient times, started before 350 BC according to early sources. The people of this region of eastern India along the coast of the Bay of Bengal sailed up and down the Indian coast, and travelled to Indo China and throughout Maritime Southeast Asia,

introducing elements of their culture to the people with whom they traded. The 6th century *Manjusrimulakalpa* mentions the Bay of Bengal as 'Kalingodra' and historically the Bay of Bengal has been called 'Kalinga Sagara' (both Kalingodra and Kalinga Sagara mean Kalinga Sea), indicating the importance of Kalinga in the maritime trade. The old traditions are still celebrated in the annual Bali Jatra, or Boita-Bandana festival held for five days in October / November.

The Chola dynasty (200—1279) reached the peak of its influence and power during the medieval period. Emperors Rajaraja Chola I (reigned 985-1014) and Rajendra Chola I (reigned 1012-1044) extended the Chola kingdom beyond the traditional limits. At its peak, the Chola Empire stretched from the island of Sri Lanka in the south to the Godavari basin in the north. The kingdoms along the east coast of India up to the river Ganges acknowledged Chola suzerainty. Chola navies invaded and conquered Srivijaya and Srivijaya was the largest empire in Maritime Southeast Asia. Goods and ideas from India began to play a major role in the "Indianization" of the wider world from this period.

Quilon or Kollam in Kerala coast, once called Desinganadu, has had a high commercial reputation since the days of the Phoenicians and Romans. Fed by the Chinese trade, it was mentioned by Ibn Battuta in the 14th century as one of the five Indian ports he had seen in the course of his travels during twenty-four years. The Kollam Port became operational in AD.825. Desinganadu's rulers were used to exchange the embassies with Chinese rulers and there was flourishing Chinese settlement at Quilon. The Indian commercial connection with Southeast Asia proved vital to the merchants of Arabia and Persia between the 7th and 8th centuries CE. Merchant Sulaiman of Siraf in Persia (9th Century) found Quilon to be the only port in India, touched by the huge Chinese junks, on his way from Carton of Persian Gulf. Marco Polo, the great Venician traveller, who was in Chinese service under Kublakhan in 1275, visited Kollam and other towns on the west coast, in his capacity as a Chinese mandarin.

The Abbasids used Alexandria, Damietta, Aden and Siraf as entry ports to India and China. Merchants arriving from India in the port city of Aden paid tribute in form of musk, camphor, ambergris and sandalwood to Ibn Ziyad, the sultan of Yemen. The kingdoms of Vijaynagara and Kalinga established footholds in Malaya, Sumatra and Western Java.

The Cholas excelled in foreign trade and maritime activity, extending their influence overseas to China and Southeast Asia. Towards the end of the 9th century, southern India had developed extensive maritime and commercial activity. The Cholas, being in possession of parts of both the west and the east coasts of peninsular India, were at the forefront of these ventures. The Tang dynasty (618–907) of China, the Srivijaya Empire in Maritime Southeast Asia under the Sailendras, and the Abbasid caliphate at Baghdad were the main trading partners.

During the reign of Pandya Parantaka Nedumjadaiyan (765–790 CE), the Chera dynasty were a close ally of the Pallavas. Pallavamalla Nadivarman defeated the Pandya Varaguna with the help of a Chera king. Cultural contacts between the Pallava court and the Chera country were common. Indian spice exports find mention in the works of Ibn Khurdadbeh (850 CE), al-Ghafari (1150 CE), Ishak bin Imaran (907 CE) and Al Kalkashandi (14th century). Chinese traveler Xuanzang mentions the town of Puri where "merchants depart for distant countries."

Hindu and Buddhist religious establishments of Southeast Asia came to be associated with economic activity and commerce as patrons entrusted large funds which would later be used to benefit local economy by estate management, craftsmanship and promotion of trading activities. Buddhism, in particular, travelled alongside the maritime trade, promoting coinage, art and literacy.

Late Middle Ages

Ma Huan (1413–51 CE) reached Cochin and noted that Indian coins, known as fanam, were issued in Cochin and weighed a total of one fen and one li according to the Chinese standards. They were of fine quality and could

be exchanged in China for 15 silver coins of four-li weight each.

On the orders of Manuel I of Portugal, four vessels under the command of navigator Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, continuing to Malindi on the eastern coast of Africa, from there to sail across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. Christian missionaries traveling with trade, such as Saint Francis Xavier, were instrumental in the spread of Christianity in the East.

The first Dutch expedition left from Amsterdam (1595) for South East Asia. Another Dutch convoy sailed in 1598 and returned one year later with 600,000 pounds of spices and other Indian products. The United East India Company forged alliances with the principal producers of cloves and nutmeg.

Shivaji Bhonsle (reign 1664-1680) maintained a navy under the charge of General Kanhoji Angre (served 1698-1729). The initial advances of the Portuguese were checked by this navy, which also effectively relieved the traffic and commerce in India's west coast of Portuguese threat. The Maratha navy also checked the English East India Company, until the navy itself underwent a decline due to the policies of general Nanasaheb (reign 1740-1761).

British Raj – Modern Period

The British East India Company shipped substantial quantities of spices during the early 17th Century. Rajesh Kadian (2006) examines the history of the British navy in as the British Raj was established in India.

In 1830 ships of the British East India Company were designated as the Indian navy. However, in 1863, it was disbanded when Britain's Royal Navy took control of the Indian Ocean. About thirty years later, the few small Indian naval units were called the Royal Indian Marine (RIM). In the wake of World War I, Britain exhausted in manpower and resources and opted for expansion of the RIM. Consequently, on 2 October 1934, the RIM was reincarnated as the Royal Indian Navy (RIN).

The Treaty of Nanking was signed in 1842 on board HMS Cornwallis, made by shipbuilders at the Bombay Dockyard. The

Indian rulers weakened with the advent of the European powers. Shipbuilders, however, continued to build ships capable of carrying 800 to 1,000 tons. The shipbuilders at the Bombay Dockyard built ships like HMS Hindostan and HMS Ceylon, inducted into the Royal Navy. The historical ships made by Indian shipbuilders included HMS Asia (commanded by Edward Codrington during the Battle of Navarino in 1827), the frigate HMS Cornwallis (onboard which the Treaty of Nanking was signed in 1842), and HMS Minden, on which The Star Spangled Banner was composed by Francis Scott Key. David Arnold examines the role of Indian shipbuilders during the British Raj.

Shipbuilding was a well-established craft at numerous points along the Indian coastline long before the arrival of the Europeans and was a significant factor in the high level of Indian maritime activity in the Indian Ocean region....As with cotton textiles, European trade was initially a stimulus to Indian shipbuilding: vessels built in ports like Masulipatam and Surat from Indian hardwoods by local craftsmen were cheaper and tougher than their European counterparts.

Between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries Indian shipyards produced a series of vessels incorporating these hybrid features. A large proportion of them were built in Bombay, where the Company had established a small shipyard. In 1736 Parsi carpenters were brought in from Surat to work there and, when their European supervisor died, one of the carpenters, Lowji Nuserwanji Wadia, was appointed Master Builder in his place.

Wadia oversaw the construction of thirty-five ships, twenty-one of them for the Company. Following his death in 1774, his sons took charge of the shipyard and between them built a further thirty ships over the next sixteen years. The Britannia, a ship of 749 tons launched in 1778, so impressed the Court of Directors when it reached Britain that several new ships were commissioned from Bombay, some of

which later passed into the hands of the Royal Navy. In all, between 1736 and 1821, 159 ships of over 100 tons were built at Bombay, including 15 of over 1,000 tons. Ships constructed at Bombay in its heyday were said to be 'vastly superior to anything built anywhere else in the world'.

Conclusion

In 1947, the Republic of India's navy consisted of 33 ships, and 538 officers to secure a coastline of more than 4,660 miles (7,500 km) and 1,280 islands. The Indian navy conducted annual Joint Exercises with other Commonwealth navies throughout the 1950s. The navy saw action during various of the country's wars, including Indian integration of Junagadh, the liberation of Goa, the 1965 war, and the 1971 war. Following difficulty in obtaining spare parts from the Soviet Union, India also embarked upon a massive indigenous naval designing and production programme aimed at manufacturing destroyers, frigates, corvettes, and submarines.

India's Coast Guard Act was passed in August 1978. The Indian Coast Guard participated in counter terrorism operations such as Operation Cactus. During contemporary times the Indian navy was commissioned in several United Nations peacekeeping missions. The navy also repatriated Indian nationals from Kuwait during the first Gulf War. Rajesh Kadian (2006) holds that: "During the Kargil War (1999), the aggressive posture adopted by the navy played a role in convincing Islamabad and Washington that a larger conflict loomed unless Pakistan withdrew from the heights."

As a result of the growing strategic ties with the western world the Indian navy has conducted joint exercises with its western counterparts, including the United States Navy, and has obtained latest naval equipment from its western allies. Better relations with the United States of America and Israel have led to joint patrolling of the Straits of Malacca.

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MAGIC MOMENTS-IN THEIR OWN VOICE: THE LANGUAGE OF WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF MALLU SWARAJYAM OF TELENGANA ARMED STRUGGLE (1946-51)

Bratati Hore

The Telengana armed struggle (*TAS*) began in the middle of 1946 and lasted for five years—an armed resistance of men and women to the feudal oppression of the princely state in Hyderabad. The participation of women was a distinct aspect of the movement. They were illiterate and very poor but their matchless bravery, ready wit; ability to put up united resistance, advanced organizational consciousness filled the leaders and workers with wonder.¹

The story of their heroic & stubborn resistance in defense of their personal dignity, against torture and rape is an inspiring one. Their awakening to new social equality, to a new moral and cultural life, their stubborn fighting quality gives us a glimpse of that tremendous revolutionary spirit & energy that is smoldering in womenfolk. Neither advertising themselves, nor claiming to be a partners of a great movement, but only as participants of a movement of their times, which they have

marked as 'Magic moments', the women comrades reminiscenced in their interview about those exciting time of changing days, feeling hesitant to push their personal achievements forward.

In pre revolutionary life, the boundaries of their homes were their *lax manrekha* while the outside world and politics were unclimbable world. The high tide of the movement showed how the women easily smashed the two walls down between the private & public worlds & almost became the backbone of the movement. Their reminiscences based on the interviews opened the doors of the personal lives for the first time ever. Their personal experience came in front which had never been visible before and as if they challenged for the first time in their lives against the silence of century through such of these. Traditionally the women were marginal in written culture. They used to sing songs, telling stories through which they upheld the norms of culture & in such a way they

conserved the idealism which though often did not show light in patriarchic culture²

The peasants in Telengana were nothing but bonded slaves under the Nizam. Within this system of oppression, the women had to bear two kinds of oppression, (a) as poor peasants & (b) as women. Women had no economic independence though they were involved in all kinds of economic production. Above all these, they had to work in all kinds of domestic chores. In spite of their double role, there was no social recognition for them.

In a male dominated society, the oppression of women was not only looked after as economic oppression but as part of power & its main instance was different kinds of social oppression like *Bhagela*, *Vetti* systems & *Arabapa*; thus economic and sexual exploitation were in many ways closely connected.

For women, this became a time for stepping out of their homes-their involvement was facilitated as the arena of conflict was familiar. Besides, in every mass movement, where there was women's participation, it had been the basic needs of food-shelter, sustenance for children & protection for family that had given women the impetus to join the movement. They not only represented women's leadership but class leadership. In many areas, they decided their own battle strategy; the weapons they used were their own.³

It was not rare that these communist women, being inspired by Marxian ideology, detached from the mainstream of their family lives, joined Communist Party. But the rarest of the rare event was the autobiography / interviews given by them. One reason for these scarce numbers is that according to traditional Marxist thought, the ideal communist abandons all thoughts of the individual self. As a result, after lifelong schooling in the party not to focus on one's identity, communists cannot find inspiration to speak of their own personal experiences.

Born in a conservative landlord's family, Mallu recalled the memory of her mother who was forbidden to come out publicly even in front of washer woman & female bangle-sellers due to so called custom of veil behind which all women were captive, one kind of 'idealistic wall

of obstacles' which regulated the outlook and contemplative ideas. She pointed out that during discussion, dominance and exploitation due to it without any contradiction is only heard. But her mother's courteous and gentle attitude (which provided a space for discussion) along with the influence of her elder brother, a member of Andhra Mahashabha were the main reasons of her choosing Communist Party!⁴

In Vijayawada, at the age of 11, Mallu came in touch with communism. After getting lesson of self protection she felt that for being woman, she was not lagged at all an inch by men. But the atmosphere of surrounding was somewhat different. Everyday suppressed shrill of screaming sound of women came floating into air from every home since evening when the men came back home till the morning of next day!

According to Mallu, Sangham was just like one family. At first their fight was against social prohibitions and prejudices viz demand for toilets, against dowry system, violence in family including oppression to women, forcible marriage, *vetti* system etc. These 'social issues' got elevated into 'political issues' immediately the moment it reached into the villages of Andhra. The traditional Marxists do not speak struggle against patriarchy separately. They believe women's liberation will take place through class struggle. But do the women comrades of Communist Party fully believe in this theory?

C.Rajeswar Rao carefully tried to understand the problems of women. Women's coming into party was appreciated but party did not display any encouragement because of the problem to provide them security into party. In one hand this movement as though has helped to break the social barrier between men and women to some extent & on the other hand it is also true that resultantly it appears where there is any problem, only women were held responsible. When the husband was in imprisonment & wife was underground, if there spread scandals, almost always liability of that incident took stand on female comrades. It appeared to Mallu that both within party & outer society, condition of the women remained the same!⁵

Ramulamma & her husband both came into politics but later, in spite of detachment of her husband, wife did not give up the ground of political fight. The squad, constructed by her skill is called as Ramulamma squad. In later stage, her husband saluted her without having any ego. Again opposite picture is also being got when Sumitra & Mallu were sent to villages by the committee, they had to hear that no work would have been done with 'women' & they were asked to go away. Again during a raid when the two male comrades failed to perform their duty, female comrade Nagamma did it by quick presence of her mind. Despite that she was rebuked instead of being praised. Later, when Mallu took support in favor of female comrades, she had to hear that she had partiality on women. But in context of gender, does not it seem that it is an amazing fallacy to assume that only a male is worthy!

The female comrades were criticized or ridiculed if errors were occurred on their part. But, strangely the guidance of party was nowhere to correct the same. According to Mallu, as a result of this sectarian outlook, politics will be suffered ultimately. It appeared to them (female comrades) that only the spread of literacy, education & democracy was necessary in solving such problems. Here mention must be made of Comrade Narasamma's letter referring above. Radicalism of 1940s communist movement encouraged women involved to question the subordinate status imposed on them, discriminatory imposition of sexual morality & politics of gender division of labor. Sunderayya himself expressed his sorrow but no such step for the solution on the basis of urgent discussion was taken within the party.

Here examples can be cited from contemporary Tebhaga movement (1946-47), last in the series of mass movements launched by rural peasants, male & female in undivided Bengal. It was true that CPI or *Krishak Sabha* did not analyse two-fold exploitation of women, nor did they raise any clear demand against a patriarchal type of exploitation. Indications of patriarchal notions & behaviours would be found in the understated passage.

"Local Mahila Atma Raksha Samity (Women's Self Defense Squad), Dimla branch raised a demand that they (peasant women)

must be made to make muree(roasted rice) as it was nothing but a luxury & a piece of fortune for their children to eat *muree*. Even rice was scarce, where was the chance to eat muree? Or was there any need to learn to make *muree*? At harvest time, a group of cunning businessmen used to sell *muree*. In exchange of a bamboo or cane bowl of *muree*, they take a big plateful of rice-a daylight robbery."⁶

"When women become poor and destitute in working houses & had lost hopes of finding means of living, an agent for Military Labor Corps induced them to join labor corps & start a life of shame."⁷ The writer here speaks language of patriarchal society according to whose accepted principles of behavior the most effective way of humiliating men is to strike at their womenfolk.

Clearly, they lost their 'honor' in the eyes of men or that of a patriarchal society. But more important to the women, if their sensivity is considered, is the physical outrage, violent invasion of their very deep rooted personal freedom or cruel male chauvinist violence that it implied. Therefore, it is important to emphasis that no particular leader-men/women of *CPI/Krishak Sabha* is knowingly being accused of cooperating with power block. In CPI, many ideas continued to remain because their patriarchal character was not questioned hard enough.

Mallu, an extra ordinary orator, said that she had not heard radio for long time, nor read newspapers or turned over the pages of the books for a long time but only remained present at the battle ground for almost 24 hours! At the same time the women had to bear responsibilities of family life also. Resultantly, it may be said that entrance into politics for men is easier which, of course, is not as easy for women as men. It appeared into Mallu's mind when she was cultivating land lapping her child, aged six months that her life as if got ended & here she did not get any help from her comrade, her husband.

In such context, she says that if she survives in politics, then she have been able to give only half of herself. At the final stage when the movement was called off by the party, it was decided that these women comrades would go back to their families & marry. But these women

had no connection with their families because they were involved in political movement leaving their families long ago. How would it be possible for them to go back?⁸ If, in case, they would return to their families, then who would agree to marry such women, waging war against the state? But going back to family lives was not so problematic for men as that of women. It strikes in their mind regarding the right of the leadership to take decision in all respects. They questioned themselves whether the essence of the slogans would only be slogans? The fact that woman did not get land, in the land distribution programme except when they were widows, indicates that they were not counted as individual.

But by no means it can be denied that factually communist party has brought the platform of an enormous consciousness of new hope & realization for women comrades. It was as if the party gave them a chance to make practical sense of whatever learning they had, a source of enormous strength and clarity. They came to a new realization which prompted them to break away from feudal ties. The crisis made them conscious of their condition. Society did not give them equal rights but neither could it give them protection. So, they were obliged to become aware of their own rights. The *Tas* created great women out of unlettered & backward rural women. Sunderayya pointed out the selfless sacrifice, devotion & heroic courage of women; also admitted that they took their proper place in Communist Party after much fight. At the same time, confessed that women had some exclusive problems of their own regarding which party was unable to deal with in proper way & expressed his regrets.

Ailamma went to court for possessing right of her cultivating land & succeeded to do the same behind which there was full support of party too. If it had not had, then would it have

been possible for her? The important role the *Arabapas* played in the rising is, certainly a tribute to the class orientation of CPI.⁹

It was thought by party that initiation must have to be taken on emphasizing enough training on first aid & maternity related treatment. As a result woman like Acchamamba, probably the first bare foot doctor came into being. In each committee of Telengana, at least two such trained women comrades were taken. *TAS* showed the women of their hidden strength, responsibility & duty as a human being & as women. *TAS* facilitated a slow but sure maturing of political vision for women. On one hand, this generated a need in women to step out of domestic confines towards greater political awareness & active struggle. On the other hand, women's participation gave unique shape to the movement itself, as they began infusing the political arena with domestic modes of interaction & familiar patterns of caring, bonding & loyalty, transforming entire movement into what many activists called the sense of being one large family.

Although the entire problems were not solved but some qualitative changes in women empowerment was gained by the struggle, like Kausalya says, 'We did not know what was behind this wall. Now we go out & look to our agricultural works'¹¹

This is how Mallu understands her identity & the inter relationship between the women comrades and the party. A significant thought appeared into her mind that she was born only to take active part in politics & her death too would have been for politics. That is why, no question to give up politics should be raised nor to come out from communist idealism too. In her own words-"It was a kind of rebirth for many of us"¹²

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DRAMATIST BHASA –A HISTORICAL RIDDLE

B. Chandrika

Bhasa –one of the most studied Sanskrit dramatists, whose date is yet to be a riddle among the scholars of India. It may be because of the philosophical outlook of the Indians which prevented them from exaggerating themselves to the public. Instead, they wished to propagate their ideas to the world. As it is a known fact that each author is the product of the period which he belongs it is not that much difficulty in tracing their period. Even then we could see certain similar situations in our history at times, make the task at risk. It does not matter, for there is no use of tracing the details of an author. It does not mean that tracing the period of an author has no significance at all. Of course, there is certainly useful significance like knowing the socio-cultural background of our country which in turn can be mobilized for the Cultural development of a Nation. It can be traced only after determining the period of a writer. The Internal, as well as the External evidence of Socio-cultural background, is to be determined only on finalizing the time of the writer. Even though our writers left no visible evidence in their writings for us to trace the period, they have unknowingly stated certain matters so that it will be easier for a Researcher to trace them. There are so many researches are being undertaken by scholars of both Sanskrit and others for this purpose, no concrete /unanimous decision is being arrived at till today. The present paper is also dealing with the same topic.

Bhasa, a prolific dramatist, who was venerated by Kalidasa in his drama Malavikagnimitra as *Prathitayasam Bhasa Soumilla Kaviputradinam prabanthatikramya Varttamanakaveh Kalidasasya kim bahumanah* ie how can a contemporary man like Kalidasa get veneration while the famous writers like

Bhasa, Soumilla and Kaviputra are there? . Banabhatta also refers to Bhasa. It is unfortunate that no authorized identity is prevalent for the other writers too.

Peculiarity of Bhasa's plays

Usually, the history of Sanskrit dramas begins with the 13 plays of Bhasa. There are certain common factors which helped Ganapati Sastri to ascribe the so-called plays to the authorship to Bhasa. The following are some of the points 1. Almost all the plays begin with the entry of the stage manager [Sutradhara]. This is a deviation from the traditional format of dramas as per Natyasastra. According to Bharata's Natyasastra Sutradhara enters after Nandi. 2. The name given to Pravesaka is Sihapana in the 13 plays of Bhasa .3. Instead of Bharatavakya at the end of the drama, all other dramas except Pratimanataka and Svapnavasavadatta end with a verse in praise of King Rajasimha 4. There are certain verses quoted as that of Bhasa in other plays. 5. The consistency of Language, Expressions and style suggest that they have all been penned by a single author.

Date of Bhasa

Bhasa does not heed to the rules of Bharata-the author of Natyasastra, hence he might have been a predecessor of Bharata. For instance suggestions of death on the stage are prohibited by Bharata. In Bhasa's plays an elaborate and dramatic death of Dasaratha is depicted in Pratimanataka, the death of Bali in Abhishekanataka, Kamsa in Balacharita and Duryodhana in Urubhanga are seen depicted. Bhasa was a predecessor of Panini. There are certain ungrammatical irregularities are seen expressed in Bhasanatakachakra, hence he might be a predecessor of Panini. Bhasa employed much more antique language than

that of Kalidasa or subsequent poets. Bhasa's simple and forceful usage of Sanskrit suggests that he came from a time when Sanskrit was a spoken language. He does not mention Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. Therefore it must be safe to place Bhasa between 300-200 BCE.

Researchers are having the difference of opinion regarding the period of Bhasa. Considering the external and internal pieces of evidence they connect Bhasa with three dynasties. Certain scholars argue that Bhasa belonged to the Gupta period: since in Gupta age the laws administered with reference to the place of the offender in the caste hierarchy. The lowest position in the hierarchy the severe his punishment. The upper class like the Brahmins enjoyed certain privileges in this regard. The kings administered the law with the help of the Brahmin priests. The caste system assumed a new rigidity of its own. The Brahmins were assigned a predominant position in the society. The writings and inscriptions of the Gupta period emphasizes the glory enjoyed by the Brahmins. On these grounds, certain scholars place Bhasa in the Gupta period.

There are certain others who do not support this view and they place Bhasa to the Mauryan period, on the ground that there was no secret system in the Gupta period, wherein the dramas there is certain evidence of spies are seen, and the spy system was prevalent in the Mauryan period. At the age of the Mouryans slavery was an established institution. It is recognized not only by the law books and the literature of polity but is expressly referred to in inscriptions. Inscription of the period refers frequently to Utsavas and Samajas, festivities and merry gatherings. Kings considered it a duty to give a practical demonstration of their sympathy with the people by liberality on such occasions. A prominent feature of some of these assemblies was a joust of arms in which wrestlers from distant regions took part. Basing all such evidence certain scholars place Bhasa to the Mauryan period.

As Kalidasa and Bana have mentioned Bhasa, it is to be assumed that Bhasa lived before them. Bhasa has taken the plot of certain dramas like Pratimanataka from the Ramayana it can again be assumed that he had lived after

Valmiki's age. Taking into consideration these facts, Bhasa can be placed between 4th century B.C and 6th century A.D. There is so many other evidence, which supports this view. Even today the problem of Bhasa is not yet settled.

Socio-Cultural elements reflected in Bhasa's time - Bhasa and Buddhism

It is signified from certain assertions that Bhasa was a practitioner of Vaidikadharma. In addition, there are certain statements, which indirectly extol the religion of Buddhism too. From this one can resolve that there was a conflict between these two Dharmas. There is mention of the performance of Sradha. In the Pratimanataka, Ravana appeared before Rama and Sita in disguise and advised Rama fetch the deer named Kancanaparsva for the Sradha of Dasaratha. From this, we can guess that even animals were offered. Apart from this Ravana himself enumerates articles for Sradha thus "*Virudhesu Darbhah, Osadhisu tilah, Kalayam Sakeru, Matsyesu Makarah*" In the Pratimanataka.

Caste or Lineage System existed at the time of Bhasa's plays.

At the time of Bhasa Caturvarnya system was prevalent. At the cessation of the Buddhist religion, the Brahmins attained a high status in the society. People considered them as having great scholarship, righteousness and honesty. The kings used to stand up from their imperial chair to exhibit reverence for them. On propitious occasions, people used to solicit the presence of Brahmins in banquets and offered them precious gifts. Among the Brahmins, there were priests, sages and scholars. Apart from this, there were another group of Brahmins who had malicious conduct. They used to rob and also were engaged in vicious deeds. The story of Sajjalaka is an example.

Bhasa seems to be so particular in depicting the fact that the Brahmins were not at all expected to show respect to the kings. In the Pratimanataka, the very creation of the *Pratimagrha* [house of statues] itself is only for showing the same sentiment. At the time of Dasaratha's death, Bharata was not there at Ayodhya. He was at the house of his maternal uncle. While coming back from where he was informed that he should not enter the city

before the accession of the star Rohini. This made his stay somewhere outside. The incident made Bhasa create the Pratimagrha. On seeing the statues, naturally, Bharata thought them to be the statues of gods and began to bow down before them. Then the keeper of the house prevented him from doing so saying that "*Na Khalu na khalu pranamah karyah*" i.e. "do not salute them". When questioned by Bharata he replayed thus; "*Kintu daivata sankaya brahmana janasya pranamam pariharami kshatriya hyatra bhavantah*" i.e. I am retrieving the Brahmins from saluting the Kshatriyas[kings] these are all Kshatriyas. All these seem to be introduced purposefully by the playwright to show his idea of the supremacy of the Brahmins over the Kshatriyas.

Next, to Brahmins, the reverence of the people was reserved for the kings. These kings were skilful in wars. They were also known for their benevolence. It is considered a great sin to run away from the battlefields. The major duty of the king was to protect the weak from the powerful. The king revered the Brahmins. Vaisyas indulged in business. Sudras were engaged in serving the other four castes. Among them, there were certain people who indulged in agriculture. Apart from these four castes, there were Candalas too. Along with, Candalas by birth, there were others, too included in these castes, who were thrown out from the other four castes, due to ill behaviour. They were not allowed to come in contact with the other people. They used to stay away from the cities. The qualities of charity and kindness were supposed to be lacking in them. In complexion, they were dark and also were ugly looking.

Asrama system

At the time of Bhasa, the four types of Asrama system predominated and were deep-rooted. The first Asrama was Brahmacharya. People used to acquire knowledge at this stage. In search of competent pedagogues, they used to travel a long distance. The lives of the Brahmacharins were circumscribed and arduous. After the completion of Brahmacharya, they usually got married and led the life of a Grhastha. [House hold]. There were two types of Sanyasins-one type-dwell in the penance groves and the other type spent their life

wandering all over the country. From the drama Svapnavasavadatta, it is implied that there were lady Sanyasins, who spent their lives in forests. The life of the mother of Magadharaja is an example of this type of Sanyasins.

Joint- family System

Even in the early days itself, Joint family System existed in India. At the time of Bhasa also the people were used to live in combination. In this system, the eldest member of the family was the head. The command of that man will be the ultimate. If the father passes a verdict of the death sentence on his own son, he had to accept it with pleasure. Rama's exile-life in the forest and the Bhima's decision in becoming the feast for the demons in the Madhyamavyayoga are best examples for the same. There was no place for any opposite version to the verdict of a father.

Marriage convention

Manu says about eight types of marriages. Manu says that "*brahmo daivastathaivarshh prajapatyas tathasurah Gandharvo rakshasaschiva paisachaschastam adhamah*" [Manu Smriti 3.21]. In the plays of Bhasa, we can trace certain types of marriages among these eight. In Carudatta the nuptials of Padmavati and Udayana occur under the Brahma type of marriage. In Avimaraka, Kaviraja sought the hands of the daughter of Kuntibhoja for his son Avimaraka. But the marriage of Avimaraka took place in the manner of Gandharva. The wedding of Udayana and Vasavadatta was also in the Gandharva type. One can list this under the Rakshasa type, for the parents of Udayana made the couple run away from the place. The marriage of Madanika and Sajjalaka comes under the Anuloma type.

Status of ladies at the period of Bhasa

In Bhasa's plays, the ladies were portrayed in various ways. They were allowed to spend their lives in their father's houses in full joy. They were educated in music, dance and musical instruments etc. They were allowed to play balls with their friends in their homes. However, after marriage, their lives become secluded or isolated. The use of Pardas [veils] was also seen in his plays. Even the ladies of the palace used to wear veils. Being the better

halves of their husbands the prime duty of the wives is to protect their husbands' interests, leaving all the rest on their wish. The foremost duty of a wife was to support her husband in all his plights.

The Dogmas of the common people at the period of Bhasa

People were having high confidence in magical spells and superstitions. The sorcerers were believed to have the power to vanish and manifest himself or herself. Using magic spells, the doors of certain houses were opened and closed. The curses of the sages were believed as true in the literal sense itself. Certain courses have been described as happened on the spot itself. For avoiding afflictions, people used to wear Yantras and Mantras. People had full faith in Jyotisha. In Pratijna- Yaugandharayana, the hero is depicted as doing all his activities in deliberation with the astrologers. For a prosperous or unlucky life, the part of fate was considered as great conduct. For securing a prosperous and successful life people used to dispose of feasts for the Brahmins.

Recreations or Amusements

The recreation measures of the people were songs and dance performances. Apart from seasonal gatherings, they invited their friends and relatives in certain ceremonies and were engaged themselves in festivities. The festival of Kamadeva named, as Kama devanuyana was one among such festivals. This was connected with the Re-birth of Kamadeva. People especially young boys and girls used to take part in that festival. Mostly, this festival is celebrated with the commencement of spring season, when nature is bestowed with all her beauties. Mallavidya- a type of Gymnastic performance was also practiced and people from distant place participated in the carnivals. Even during the modern period this type of festival is being celebrated in the Northern part of Kerala. On this ground some Chakyars opine that Bhasa wrote these dramas for their performance and he belonged to this place.

Moral laws

Even though gambling and the custom of prostitutes prevailed, the status of moral laws was in a dignified predicament. Everybody

esteemed Truth. Nobody liked to refrain himself from his words. People were not at all interested in hearing the secrets of others. Even for joke's sake they never spoke falsehood. In olden days there was a custom of speaking falsely in five special occasions. "*Na narmayuktam vachanam hinasthi trisu rajanna vivaha kale pranastyage sarva dhanapahare pancanritanyahurapatakani*" [Matsyapurana 31/16& Mahabharata Adiparva 82/16] Even on such occasions, the people of Bhasa's period did not speak falsehood. People used to keep the articles of others as deposits, which were entrusted on them, as safe custody [Nyasa]. People were not hesitated to yield even their life [Prana] for the sake of charity. The notion of chastity in them was in a very high order.

Gambling

At the time of Bhasa playing dice was not considered as a bad habit. Even the high-level people encourage the same and they themselves had engaged in the same. In the play Charudatta, gambling has been portrayed in high order. Samvahaka enters the house of Vasantasena in the pretext of playing dice. When Charudatta came to understand that the ornaments of Vasantasena were stolen, he sent the Vidushaka to her proclaiming that Samvahaka took the ornaments in a dice play. From this, we can conclude that Charudatta himself was interested in gambling.

The life of Devadasi [Prostitutes]

Courtesan's life existed at the time of Bhasa. They were Devadasis, who offered themselves to god. Even in their life, there were certain peculiar characters. Generally, people considered that the courtesans were bought by paying money. Comparing with other ladies these types of ladies were well versed in certain art forms like music, dance, playing musical instruments etc. Among the courtesans, there were certain types, who only become the temporary companion of such men having good qualities. Vasantasena was one among such, who never liked to go with the Sakara, Rajyasyala, [brother-in-law of the king] having too much wealth, she liked the company of Charudatta, who was having only good qualities and no money in his credit.

Robbery or Depredation

The act of robbery also existed at the time of Bhasa. The robbers were well versed in the art of robbery. They used to enter the homes at night by cutting the windows. They used bees to extinguish the light. When they enter the house they used to release the bees from the box. Those bees began to sit on the fire and by sacrificing themselves on the fire; they used to extinguish the light. Usually, the robbers had strong and healthy bodies.

Slavery

Certain forms of slavery are seen described in the plays of Bhasa. The slaves were mortgaged and they were kept with the moneylender until the owner arrived there with that much amount to take him/her back. In his drama *Svapnavasavadatta*, the female assistant of Vasavadatta, Madanika is one of such mortgaged slaves. In order to release her from the hands of Vasavadatta, her lover, Sajjalaka, robs.

The system of Polygamy [*Sapatnya*]

Polygamy was predominant at the time of Bhasa. The tendency existed with the wealthy class as well as with the family of kings. For our excitement, the co-wives lived with mutual understanding and love. In the *Swapna Vasavadatta* for the goodwill of her husband Vasavadatta even accepted her husband's remarriage with Patmavati by spreading the scandal of her own death in consultation with the minister.

Spy work

The kings were interested in observing the deeds of other kings and poets. For this purpose, they have engaged the service of spies. These spies were known as 'the eyes of the kings'. They used to wander in the cities in cognize and they were engaged in so many jobs. When Udayana imprisoned Pradyota, Yougantharayana found out and destroyed the network of the spies. The encounters of certain spies used to become in vain in certain plays.

When Pradyota imprisoned Udayana, the spy work was detected.

The very same nature of kingship suggests that Bhasa belonged to the period of The Mouryans who had engaged spies to observe the deeds of the Kings. In spite of all the controversies prevailing on Bhasa seems to be insightful at editing and adapting tales from the Epics only by retaining familiar characters and episodes and presenting them on an altogether afresh canvas. Bhasa saw in the Epics the scope of numerous themes for his dramas. He never left any sentiment from being taken as the theme of his dramas. One of the major strengths is comic artistry. Humor is interwoven either through Slesa or through political satire. All the elements of *Natya* are being utilized by Bhasa in an appreciable style so that a viewer could feel the same without much effort. I think he had burned into light certain untrodden paths for the theatre people and they can be utilized for modern themes by them. He can make the audience stunned by the statements like *canakya yatha Sita marita Bharate yuje. Evam tvam marayishyami Jatayuriva Draupatim* ie I am going to kill you like Chanakya killed Sita in Mahabharata war and Jatayu murdered Draupati. [Mrtchakatika] Unless one does not consider the rules depicted by Bharata, all the plays will gain a new appreciation which will be suitable for all the satirical shows irrespective of time and place. That means unless we cling into the technicalities of, Bhasa's plays can be utilized for political melodramas even in the current age. He had made drama so popular through his versatile genius and those will remain as a specimen for the new generation to appreciate. What is there in which century a dramatist belong if he is portraying something which transcends time? Let us conclude from all these evidences that Bhasa has flourished during the period of Mouryans in whose reign all the so-called activities are being envisaged through the dramas and all the above – mentioned socio-cultural situations being suggested.

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE ARMENIANS IN MADRAS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY

Christina Kokila

The city of Ani, on the highroad between Ezrerroom and Tiflis, was the ancient capital of the Armenians, which has long been deserted and in ruins. The Armenians were themselves been scattered, like the Jews over the face of the earth. They profess to be descendants of Haik dynasty, the grandson of Japhet,¹ and after a descendant of his called Aram² they called the country Armenia and themselves Armenians. Some deny this claim and say they are direct descents from Haik. Armenians constitute a large country in Asia. It is situated partly in Turkey and partly in Persia.

The Armenians were considered as innocent and harmless people, not given to litigiousness. They were thrifty, sober, frugal and well versed in all the places of trade and commodities in India.³ The Armenians were restricted to their commercial transaction to the East India Company. They styled themselves as free traders, without king, company or superiors and held themselves in no way responsible for the actions of others of their nations. In India they traded for many centuries but became quiet noticeable a number of trading centres on by the 16th century. The resident Armenians rose to eminent heights not only as merchants but also in others. It is interesting to find them in sources as officials of the Mughal Empire. *Mirza Zulqarnian*, a grandee of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's time is an example of how they were able to attain illustrious position during the Mughal period

The Armenians were the most established merchants in the trade of this region by the 17th century.⁴ In 1697 the Court of Directors of the English East India Company remarked, "**For most certainly they (Armenians) are the most ancient merchants in the world**".⁵ By 16th and the 17th centuries they were able to spread out throughout Asia and Europe. The list of places

are given in the Journal of Lucas Vanantesi, (a contemporary trade manual) it gives an ideas about their trade operations.⁶

India plays a distinctive role in establishing direct ties and developing trade and economic, cultural and political interactions between both of them since ancient times and this ties intensified during the late Medieval and Modern times. The Intercourse between India and the Armenians at the initial phase of history was more indirect in nature. The orally preserved literature and archaeological evidence disclose continues relation between the people of the Indus region and those of the western Asia. Artifacts found on scattered sites connect the early cities of western India with those of Mesopotamia in Southwestern Asia from about 3000 BC and through the latter with the Armenia plateau.⁷ Armenia is located at the headquarters of the two rivers the Tigris and Euphrates and it is in constant interaction with the Mesopotamian civilization to the South. The Armenians utilized English shipping to freight their goods to various trading centers. The English in return depended on the Armenians, for they were better acquainted with the land and its practices for purchase of commodities. They took the help of the Armenians for the negotiations at the Mughal Imperial Court, for local Mughal administration and for gaining concessions at both the levels.⁸ After the advent of the English in India they were assisted by the Armenians as courtiers, qasids and interpreters.⁹ The English were unacquainted with the languages and cultural environment, hence the Armenians who had a good command of languages and their thorough understanding of the local stage, were the natural resort of the English. The Armenians on the other hand had flair of languages.¹⁰

The First relative concentration of the Armenian population in India was small in number. But soon the embryonic community related to the first of the sixteen century soon arose in the South India and then expanded towards west and north. When the Portuguese arrived in the western coast of India in the year 1498 and then they settled in the southern region of the country, they found many Armenians already live there.

The Armenian merchants in Madras

The first trace of Armenians settlement India can be found at Surat in the 13th century when the Armenians settled after fleeing from the persecution of the Islamic Caliphate in Persia and the Armenian Highland. An Armenian Manuscript written at Masulipatnam by Sarkies Johannes in 1790, informs that Armenians settled permanently in Madras in the year 1666.¹¹

The small town Mylapur (later renamed as San Thome) on the outskirts of Madras had Armenian inhabitants in the *first quarter of the sixteenth century*. According to the Portuguese Sources, it was the Armenians who first resided in Pulikat (or Pulicat in the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, Coromandal) who first led them to the tomb of the Apostle Saint Thomas in Meilapur (Mylapur) where a small church has been built.¹² According to Om Prakesh, the trading Community of Pulicat consist of members of the Muslim Communities of the coastal South Eastern India, known as Marakkayars on Coromandel Telugu speaking Chettis of the Balija and Komatti communities as well as Armenians.¹³

Later in the Seventh century when Francois Martin, the founder of the French Colony of Pondicherry retired in San Thome to write his famous memories, he noted the following about Armenian relations with the town: "It is held that the commencement of the building of San Thome was the work of many Armenians who were frequenting there an account both of trade and also of their pious devotion to the Saint whose name the town bears. When the Portuguese secured themselves in India, the member of those nations settled in all parts of the country, and a number of them in San Thome, where they

united with the Armenians who were already residing there.¹⁴

In the city of Madras the Portuguese had their trading station since 1504, before the English took possession of it. It came under their control in 1602, we can see that the Armenians were well established there in the first half of the 16th century. On the Mount of St. Thomas in Madras, an Armenian Inscription is preserved on the date of construction of the Christian Church in the same area. The year of 1547 is mentioned on the wall gate inscription, despite the fact that there is no Armenian Church in that area and the Armenians were using some common Christian Church.¹⁵ The first Armenian publication was printed at Madras in 1772. The first Armenian journal in the world was also printed at this place in 1794.¹⁶ It was called "Azdarar" means "Intelligencer" in Armenian. The founder and Editor of this journal was Reverend Haruthium Shmavonian (1750-1824). He was called the father of the Armenian Journalism. Shmavonian was born in Shiraz (Iran). He later settled down as a Priest in Old Madras, where he began the journal Azdarar on October 28th 1794. It lasted only for 18 months. Armenian Church was another medium through which information was dispersed. They were also responsible for funding the printing presses, the religious Ecclesiastes who travelled to and fro from New Julfa have also to be taken into account.¹⁷ The Armenians grew rich in trading in textiles, precious stones, silk and spices. An Armenian Merchant, Petrus Wosken became a member of the East India Company's Council. It was he who built Marmalong Bridge across the Adyar River in Madras in 1726. In spite of the heavy traffic for over two centuries the bridge stood till 1960, and then it was replaced by modern structure. He also built a flight of 160 large stone steps leading to the top of St Thomas Mount in Madras, where the Church of St. Thomas was built. In the book named "*Madras: The Land, The People and their Governance*" by S. Muthiah the earliest Armenian tombstone dating back to 1663 (Coja David Margar).

An Armenian merchant named Shahamir Shahamirian established the first Printing Press in Madras in the year 1772. It published lot of important works related to the political and social thoughts of Armenians. The Armenian

merchants settled in Madras.¹⁸ From a valuable Armenian Manuscript, written at Masulipattnam by Sarkies Johannes in 1790, we find that the Armenians settled permanently at Madras in the year 1666. The site of Madras was obtained by the English East India Company by a Grant from the OutbShahi Sultan dated 1st March 1639. Many Armenian merchants assumed the role of the intermediaries between the English and the QutubShahi court. They were very comfortable in multiple cultures. The town of Mylapore (San Thome in Chennai) was captured by Sultan Abul Allah Outb Shah of Golconda from Portuguese in May 1662. The Sultan appointed an *Armenian Markus Erezad as its governor*. In the *Public Record office Museum in London in case K, no.113* a document is kept, which is a letter of Mylapore governor Erezad to the English king Charles II, dated February 4th. It is written in Portuguese language. The Portuguese was the official language of usage in Mylapore not only till the end of Portuguese rule but was also circulated a couple of more decades. The letter was signed by the author in Armenian (Markus Erezad).¹⁹

The Armenian Church in Madras

In the letter dated 29th February 1692 from the governor of the English East India Company in London to the Council in Fort St. George, Madras following interesting fact was mentioned: "We have discoursed Sir John Goldsborough about enlarging our Christian town to a quadrangle so it may be done without the detriment to the company with a handsome stone bridges over the river in which designed new moiety of the city. One quarter of that moiety may be set apart for Armenian Christians to build their new church at their charges with stone and other durable materials and convenient dwelling houses for their merchants.... And the quarter so set apart for their use, you may call Julfa, that being the town from whence Shah Abbas the great brought them in a suburb of his new made metropolitan city of Isfahan and called the quarter he allotted there to the Armenian Julfa by the name of the city from whence he brought them, and they are increased there to be richest people and most expert merchants that we know in the Universe".²⁰

With the countenance and support of the late Honourable East India Court of Directors under a contract, dated 22nd January 1668, in the fourth year of the reign of James the Second by which Armenians were given equal privilege with the British subjects. They were permitted to cross and recross the Indian sea in the vessals of the company as free men, to trade as merchants, to purchase and hold land property unmolested by the company's officers and to enjoy all civil offices and Preferment's like other subjects of the company.²¹ In any of the towns or cities of the Company which contains forty or more Armenians they were provided with temporary wooden place of worship, which might at any time be converted into more substantial ones, so as to worship God after their own fashion, and be unmolested in the free use and enjoyment of their religion. They were allowed an annual Grant of 50 pounds to enable them to provide themselves with a priest to officiate in their place of worship.²²

The Armenian Church called St. Mary, Black Town, Madras, was built by the Armenian Community at their own expense, and is located at No.1, in the head of the street called after the Armenians, Armenian street, in which the bulk of the Armenians resided. The Church was erected in 1712 AD. The Church was first built of Timber in the present High Court area with the permission from the East India Company. The main building forms a long corridor, open at the sides, with a plain altar place at the east end. The belfry is distinct from the main building, within the enclosure of the building, having a room for the residence of the priest, school rooms etc.²³ Rarely did they receive assistance from the Government. In 1833 they received a donation of Rupees 5000/- from the late lottery Funds, for Repairs etc. which enabled to build a substantial Verandah, 118 feet in length and 10 feet wide on the eastern side.²⁴ In 1839 a further donation of Rupees 2000/- was given to them from the Woolley Estate for the Repair of the Church, while to community itself have made additional and alterations to the church and its environment. Their spiritual chief was a Bishop, their priest were permitted to marry and in their ceremonial observances there is a great resemblance to the Roman Catholic Church – like the use of incense, candles, veneration of pictures, representation of sacred subjects, holy

water, sign of the cross with the exception of image-worship. In doctrine point of view the authority of the Pope is denied. One hundred and fifty days are consumed in fasts during the year. Meat, fish, eggs, butter, cheese and milk are excluded on fast days and they are extremely rigid in absorbing them.²⁵

The Armenians established an Orphan Fund in 1783 and opened a School for the young of their community in 1795. They have also a cemetery of their own which was built and made over them in 1862 by the Government.²⁶ The affair of the Armenian Church was managed by the priest, assisted by a deacon and three church wardens. The latter are elected from the leaders of their community. The Orphan Funds are looked by the Governors and the School by the Directors. The Office of the priest is limited to two years, then the Priest has to return to his native place and his place is taken by another send out for this purpose. The salary of the Priest is two hundred rupees per month that of a deacon is sixty rupees. The Deacon resides permanently in Madras.

In Person the Armenians have a short, stout make of body, with full and large faces, well-chiseled bold features, and prominent long nose. In their own country they dressed after Arab and Turkish fashion. Their women covered their mouths wherever they went, even in their house and when out of doors wrap themselves up in white cloaks or chuddhers and the married women lived in great seclusion which is imposed upon them with greater

severity than among the Persians. She lives in silence and conceals her face even from her husband's father or mother.²⁷ They are brought up in ignorance and it is thought not prudent to educate them. In Southern India both male and female take European dress and habits and educate their children. Both Boys and girls receive their best education. They also send them to England for higher studies.

The Armenian marriage ceremony is much after their own fashion by a priest. The bride and bridegroom are made to kneel and are covered over with a shawl. The Priest places his prayer book on their heads and out of it he chants or repeats the prayers. When this is over the young people are made to drink the wine out of the same cup, when the cover is removed they kiss each other with this the ceremony is complete.²⁸

The Armenian Community of Madras once outnumbered among its members some of the wealthiest and most thrifty of our Indian merchants, some of their names are Asphar, Moorat, Sam, Lizar, Johanes and Macartoon.²⁹ The Armenians in southern India generally lived to their old age, they were not addicted.

Some of the Armenians suffered from unusual diseases of the Country like rheumatism, syphilis, asthma etc.³⁰ They led a quiet and peaceful life. It was an uncommon thing to hear the Armenians in trouble, may be because of their scanty population. The Armenians in Southern India within a few course of time dwindled in small numbers.

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UNCHAL MANTAPA IN THE MADURAI MINAKSHI SUNDARESWAR TEMPLE: A HALLMARK OF NAYAK ARCHITECTURE

C. Deepa

Mantapa is a pillared outdoor hall or pavilion in Indian architecture for public rituals. *Mantapa* is used for religious dance and music and is part of the basic temple compound. According to K.V. Raman the *mantapas* are divided into three types. They are named as some of them were derived from their architectural position and characteristics while some from their structural compositions, others from the ritualistic or religious functions performed in them and another one is *mantapas* named after kings, deities, saints etc.,¹ In the Minakshi Sundareswara temple at Madurai contains all the three types *mantapa* such as *Kambatthadi mantapa*, *Kilikatti mantapa*, *Thousand Pillard mantapa*, *Pudu mantapa*, *Vira vasantharaya mantapa*, *Minakshi Nayaka mantapa*, *Mudalipillai*, *servaikara mantapa*, *Kalyana mantapa*, *Annakkuli mantapa*, *Nagara mantapa*, *Mantapa Nayaka mantapa* or hundred pillared hall, *Ashta sakthi mantapa*, and *Unchal mantapa*.² The present study seeks to trace out architecture, sculpture, mural painting of the *unchal mantapa*, and purpose of the architectural edifice through the

ample sources like inscriptions, literature and field survey.

The temple was erected with three well defined forms of plan. One is a Plurality of similar enclosed Mantapa and the principal shrine opening towards east. In the main building with an enclosed Mantapa finally, an open colonnade in front of the enclosed Mantapa.³ The series of rock-cut monuments exhibits a shared organic development from simple single and double celled chambers to progressively more complex larger, and fully elaborated temples composed of *grabha-graha* (sanctums) faced by *Mandapa* (hall), *Mukha* – *Mandapa* (porches), and *sakha* (doorways) flanked by figurative images of deities.

In the early period the temple might have been of moderate proportions confined to the *Agamic* essential structures for any temple such as *Garbhagraha*, *ardha Mantapa*, kitchen, *yagasala*, and tank. From this nucleus the temple must have grown by the latter additions like *Maha-Mantapa*, subsidiary shrines and *prakaras*.

The southern style may be grouped into the five broad divisions namely, Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas, Vijayanagar, and Madurai Nayaks. The southern temples with their characteristic tiered *Vimana* shrines major and minor, the axial and peripheral *Mantapa* adjuncts, which are flat – roofed halls and the towering *Gopura* entrance from a distinct class by themselves as the northern *prasada* temples with their curvilinear superstructures, the crowing *amalaka* and *Mantapas* with rising tiered roofs⁴. Temple building in the Tamil region displays a stylistic consistency, evolving without major interruption over more than four hundred years. The temples of Sangama period imitate earlier models that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Vijayanagara constructions from these prototypes. The problem is intensified by the fact that the 14th and 15th centuries projects are generally simpler and more modest in scale than those of the 12th and 13th centuries.⁵ Under the Tuluvas (1505-70 C.E.) and their successors, the development of religious architecture should much more attainment than the earlier achievement. Temples dating from this time onwards are committed to grandeur of effect, the emphasis being on soaring *gopuras* and spacious *mandapas*. The stylistic development is the best example to study the Vijayanagara- Nayak temple construction.⁶

The Vijayanagara artists preferred the hard granite stones, which were used primarily in the southern traditions and this was used throughout the kingdom. Carried along on the crest of a religious revival, primarily *bhakti* in character, the builders produced new structures, lavishly decorated with sculptures and paintings and furnished and added to numerous older monuments throughout the empire.

The plethora of ornamental pavilions that cropped up during the period such as *Kalyana mantapa*, *Unchal mantapa*, *Vasantha mantapa*, *Ranga mantapa* and *Kannadi mantapa*, *Snapanamantapa*,⁷ *Abhishekha mantapa*⁸, *Tulabharamantapa*⁹ with their magnificent composite columns was only a logical and spectacular outgrowth of the early Pandya prototype. The southern tradition had enriched the Vijayanagara style in the medium and the outer form of the *gopura* and the *mantapa* and in the northern tradition of Karnataka can be

gleaned in the sculptural themes and decorative motifs. The construction of *Kalyana mantapa* or the marriage hall facilitated the devotees as well as the administrators to celebrate the celestial wedding and other festivals. These *Kalyana mandapas* are generally pillared halls with a high ornamental *upapitha* or *plinth* with continuous panels or sculptures illustrating the puranic themes on the exterior walls. They are normally located at the north-eastern part of the temple complex. There are hundreds of such *mantapas* erected during the Vijayanagara Nayaka period. Among them mention may be made of the Jalakanthesvara temple at Vellore, Alagarkoil near Madurai, Andal temple at Srivilliputtur, Thadikkombu near Dindigul, etc. Some of the *mantapas* of this period carry life size *yali* figures on the pillars and so called *yali mantapas*. They are seen at Srivilliputtur, Tirunelveli, Krisnapuram, Kallidaikuruchi and Brahmadesam.

Pillars of the *mantapas* of this period adorn floriated designs, creepers, miniature sculptures and ornamental joints. The sculptor's skill is lavished on the *mantapas*, which contain elaborately carved composite pillars of immense size and exquisite beauty. The pillars show *puspa podigai* (flower bud) corbels simulating the plantain trees with their projecting branch of flowers and fruits usually placed at the entrance of the marriage hall – a typical South Indian practice.¹⁰

Art and Architecture of the Unchal Mantapa

Passing along the eastern and southern corridors of the *pottramarai kulam* (golden lilly tank) one enters the *Unjal Mandapa*. On the western side of the *unchal mandapa* is a platform of black Marble, which contains *upana*, *jagati*, *mahabhatma*, *kanta*, *vritakumutha*, *patti* and *vedi*.¹¹ This is type of *padabhanta adhistana* where golden images of Meenakshi and Chokkanathar are placed on a *Unjal* (swing) on every Fridays.¹² It was constructed in 1563 by Chettiyappa Nayaka.¹³ The mantapa is the eight pillered hall and the pillars are massive and composite structure. In this mantapa depiction of sacred figures such as Bhikshadanar and its related pictures, Risabandhikar, Chandrasekharar and devotees etc.,¹⁴ are chiseled out in the temple columns and piers which is significant features of Nayaks

period. It is continued to evolve during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The practice of depicting family group portraits on temple columns continued into the early eighteenth century is demonstrated. Generally kings and queens are shown facing north and south respectively. As in the case of unchal mantapa, the queen Mangammal is shown facing north in middle pillar of the portico. The queens wear pleated and jeweled saris fanning out between her legs. Goddess Minakshi is facing south also depicted on the centre pillar of the same portion. The portrait of queen mangammal in *unchal mantapa* is represented at Madurai as records of this particular ruler's building activities. Which they wear a typical of the Nayaka court.

Purpose of the Mantapa

If a temple has more than one *mantapa*, each one is allocated for a different function and given a name to reflect its use. For example, a *mantapa* dedicated to *unchal* ceremony (swing ceremony) is named as *unchal mantapa*. The construction of *unchal mantapa* facilitated the devotees as well as the administrators to celebrate the *unchal ceremony*. After the celestial marriage of the gods and goddess, the images of the deities are exhibited. It reflects the ceremonial practice followed in the temple *agamas*.

Paintings

In ancient India, there are sixty four branches of fine arts. The eighth branch of fine arts is painting, which is called *Alekhyia* in Sanskrit.¹⁵ The phase of south Indian paintings after Ajanta is at Sittannaval near Pudukkottai. The Sittannaval painting was discovered by Jouveau Dubreuil. This painting is similar to Ajanta. The Chola paintings in the *prahara* of the Brihadisvara temple at Thanjaur were discovered by S.K. Govindaswami. This painting reveals a new phase of south Indian painting, in this painting Raja Raja I introduced himself as an ardent worshipper of Siva with his queens in the presence of Nataraja in Chidambaram. Even in the Kangra paintings of Rama's Durbar, the Kangra ruler introduced himself as one of the devotees. There is thus one showing also Tulsidas, who lived so much earlier, which along with the late ruler from the Chamba region with so many other devotees all

put together, create a historical anachronism.¹⁶ The Vijayanagara Empire and the Nayakas were the last phase of Indian history and culture. The important examples of paintings in the Vijayanagara style survive in the Virupaksa temple at Hampi and the Virabhadresvara temple at Lepaksi.¹⁷ The Nayaka phase of art in Madurai is as important as the Vijayanagara phase. Such paintings of this period as are preserved or rather damaged, worked over or ruined, as here has been a regular feature and repainting walls, particularly the *sivallilas* on a whole wall of the corridor near the lotus tank where original paintings were painted over and the originals lost. Among the oldest fragments of the seventeenth and eighteenth century paintings are here in the Minakshi Sundareswara temple. One part is found in the small portico, the most noteworthy, of which there is a panel depicts the marriage of Minaksi Sundareswara, the Nayak ruler Tirumala Nayaka with his minister is shown as favoured by the lord by allowing him to be one of the witnesses of the glorious marriage ceremony on the western side of the Golden Lilly tank. This is a composition of several figures, witnesses of this glorious ceremony, men and women (god and goddess) all in continuation of the Nayaka ruler, here indicated as in earlier Pallava, Chola and other portraits of rulers with their folded hands or *anjali hasta* in adoration.¹⁸ In this portion are also to be seen paintings date back to the days of queen Mangammal and also figures of the queen, her minister Ramappayan and her grand so Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. The oral tradition says that Mangammal has scandalous relationship with her minister Achchaiya. So she became unpopular arrested, imprisoned and starved until her death. The most obvious improbability of the story is not accepted by R. Sathiyathatha Aiyar because Mangammal would be gets about fifty five years old.¹⁹ In this hall are also depicted the six *padai vedus* of Lord Murugar. The paintings in this hall were completely renewed during the (1960-63) renovation.²⁰ The Painting is executed on a vivid red background, with delicate back line work and large areas of white, ochre with a flavoring tree in the background. Their marriage costumes remind us of the Nayaka society.

Thus, the Vijayanagara Nayaks were the last great phase of South Indian History and

Culture. *Mantapas*, massive and composite pillars, miniature sculptures and mural Paintings, are increased at a peak level during this period. There are innumerable temples all over South India are representing *mantapas* with paintings

in this period. Similarly the edifice of the *unchal mantapa* in the Minakshisundaraswara temple at Madurai is one of the significant art and architectural features of the Nayaka period.

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THE CULTURAL HUB OF MYLAPORE

D. Devaki

The most ancient part of Madras is Mylapore. It is one of the oldest residential parts of the city. It is also called Thirumayilai. Mylapore is known for its three-lined avenues, Kapaleeshwarar Temple, Katcheri seasons and Ramakrishna Math. Portuguese invaded and demolished the original Kapaleeshwarar Temple and built Santhome Basilica which houses the tomb of Thomas the Apostle. The Mylapore web portal dedicated to Arts & Culture of Chennai, music, drama, awards and events. Hence, it can very well be known as a cultural hub of Chennai, the capital of Tamil Nadu in India.

Mylapore predates British rule by several centuries. It was historically known as Vedapuri. As the available historical and archaeological evidence show, it could well be the oldest part of Chennai, with written records of early settlements going back to the first century BC. It was known for its ancient port with a flourishing trade with the Roman Empire, receiving gold in exchange for its products like pepper and fine cloth. St. Thomas the Apostle allegedly died at Mylapore in 72 AD.¹ Ptolemy had recorded in the 2nd century AD that the port of Mylapore was known to the Greeks and the Romans. The Saints of Saivism of the 7th Century, Saint Sambandar and Saint

Appar, have sung about the Shrine in their hymns. Mention has been made of the early settlement of Santhome by Arab travelers and merchants of the 9th and 10th centuries AD. Marco Polo visited the place in the late 13th century and left a detailed description of the land, the people along with their customs and religion. Let us now turn to the accounts left by a number of foreign travelers who came to Mayilapur from the beginning of the 13th century and who have spoken about Mylapur's connection with St. Thomas. First of them was Mar Solomon of Basrah who visit India in 1222 A.D. He has referred to the incident of St. Thomas being stabbed by a spear and said that the saint's body was laid in Edessa' while 'others say that he was buried in Mahilap (Mylapore).²

The great Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, who visited India in the same century, came to Mylapore. Though Marco Polo does not mention Mylapore, he has this description of a 'little town'. 'The body of Messer Saint Thomas the Apostle lies in this town having no great population. It is a place where few traders go, and where there is very little merchandise to be got there and it is a place not very accessible. Both Christians and Saracens frequent it on pilgrimage. For the Saracens also do hold the

Saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens a great prophet³. He also refers to a Christian tradition current in his time, namely, that the Apostle was accidentally killed by the arrow of a fowler, who aimed it at one of the peacocks for which the place was noted.

The next traveler to Mylapore, in connection with St. Thomas' martyrdom, was John De Marignoli who visited the place in the middle of the 14th century. He mentions Mayilapr as 'Mirapolis' and refers to the peacock, feature of Mylapore particularly in reference to the legend. If Mylapore was mentioned by Marignolli as Mirapolis, the Catalan Map which was executed about 1375A.D. has it marked as 'Mirpor'⁴. Friar Doric in the same century has noted the existence of the grave of St. Thomas, and a few Christians at Mylapore.⁵

It was considerable maritime time and the ancient German and Greek maps refer to the town as Maliarpha. The later Scottish researchers like James Playfair referred it "Meliapour" Mylapore was occupied by the Portuguese in 1523, who established the viceroyalty of "São Tomé de Meliapor" or "Saint Thomas of Mylapore." Portuguese rule lasted until 1749, except for a brief interregnum between 1662 and 1687, when the town was occupied by the Dutch.

After 1749, the British East India Company took possession of the settlement in the name of Muhammad Ali Khan Wallajah, the Nawab of Arcot.⁶ In that same year, Mylapore was incorporated into the administration of the Presidency of Madras. The settlement known as "Luz" developed during this period. The name finds its origins from the 'Nossa Senhora Da Luz' (Our Lady of Light) church built by the Portuguese in 1516 AD. This church is one of the oldest standing Christian structures in all of Tamil Nadu.

In the late 19th and the early 20th centuries the town became the commercial and intellectual hub of Madras city and home to British-educated lawyers and statesmen.⁷ Some of the luminaries based in Mylapore included Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Eardley Norton, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Pennathur

Subramania Iyer, V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, H Bhimasena Rau, C S Rama Rao Sahib, Subanthore Vasudeva Rao, CR Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib and the civil engineer C R Narayana Rao.

Etymology of Mylapore

The word Mylapore is derived from Mayil arparikum oor, which means "Land of the peacock scream". Historically, peacocks have been known to thrive in the area, which is evident from the several statues in the Kapaleeshwarar Temple towers and in the emblem of the Santhome. Thus, Thirugnana sambandar used the word. Thirumalisai and Thirumangai Alvars used the word Nandhi-kkalamakkam⁸, a work composed during the period of Nandivarman III in the ninth Century A.D. also calls Mylapore. So did the Kalingattuparani⁹ a work of the 12th century and Arunagirinadar in the 15th century. Sekkilar in his Periyapuram also calls it as Thirumylapuri. But, Appar refers to Myyilapur as 'Mayilappil'.¹⁰ Some of the inscriptions also refer to it as 'Mayilappil' and as 'Mayilrp'. Thus an inscription belonging to Kampavarman, one of the last of the Pallava king of the 9th century mentions it as Mylarpu¹¹ Some other inscriptions belonging to 12th century mention it as Mayilarppil. Myilarpu is the majestic strut of a peacock.' Mylapore came to be associated with peacocks. It was already remarked that both Marco Polo and John De Marignolli have referred to the peacock feature of Mylapore, in connection with the St. Thomas' visit.¹²

Significantly enough, the goddess of the Vishnu temple (Keshava Perumal Temple) at Mylapore is called Mayravalli, Mayra being the Sanskrit equivalent of peacock. In the Kapalishwarar temple also, the goddess Karpagambal is represented as having been peahen features, for according to the tradition, Parvati put on a peahen's appearance to worship the Lord there. This custom of associating certain places with peahens or peacocks was quite common in south India, and we have many places like Mayilam and mayiladdurai to show the widespread prevalence of the same.¹³

Mylapore is also known as Thirumayilai. Thiru means 'holy' or 'sacred' and is traditionally used in front of names in all parts

of Tamil Nadu like Thiruneermalai (Lord Ranganatha), Thirunageswaram (Lord Vishnu and Lord Shiva), Thirumayam (Lord Vishnu and Lord Shiva), Thirumayilai (Lord Adikeshava Perumal and Lord Kapali Eshwaran), Tiruvanamalai (Lord Shiva), Thiruchendur (Lord Muruga), Tiruchirappalli (Lord Sriranganathar), Thiruttani (Lord Muruga), Tiruchengode (Lord Shiva), Thiruchitrabalam (Lord Shiva), Thirumanancheri (Lord Shiva), Thirunallar (Lord Shani Eshwaran), Thiruporur (Lord Muruga), Thirukkadaiyur (Lord Shiva), Tirukalukundram (Lord Vedagiriswarar temple), Thirukarugavur (Lord Garbhakshambigai temple), Tirunelveli, Tiruppur, Tiruvallur and many more.

The Shiva Saint Thirugnana Sambandar described Mylapore as a place:

Where honey-tree grow in beautiful gardens on the seashore,

Where Devi appeared in the form of a peahen and Kapaleeshwarar

Took her in marriage,

*They lived in Mylapore*¹⁴

Around 200 BCE, the great Tamil poet Thiruvallvar lived in Mylapore. He wrote the Kural, an anthology of wisdom which is cherished to this day and which is cherished to this day and which is the ethical guide for everyone in Tamil Nadu. There is a temple in Mylapore at Veera Permal Kovil Street, dedicated to this great saint poet.¹⁵

Pey Alvar, one of the earliest saints of Vaishnavism, was born in Mylapore. He was found in a well, situated at what is now known as Aurndale Street, near the Madhava Permal temple. Later, he settled down in Triplicane, where he lived and died. Thirumangai Alvar, who lived in the 8th century, also clubs these two names in his epithet 'Mamayilai Mavallikkenian'¹⁶.

According to the Periyapranam all the three Nayanmars mentioned earlier came to Mylapore and sang about this place. It must have been a wealthy town of first grade importance during the period of the Alvars and the Nayanmars, for everyone who mentions say it has spoken in glowing terms about the mansions, the beautiful streets and the general prosperity of the town¹⁷.

Mylapore was also a centre of Jainism. A Jain manuscript refers to a Jain temple of Neminaatha, the 22nd Jain Theerthankara

Music

Mylapore is also known for its classical music concerts. In December every year, Chennai holds a five week-long Music Season, which has been described as one of the world's largest cultural events. The Music Season encompasses performances (kacheries) of traditional Carnatic music by hundreds of artists in and around the city. This happens during the Tamil month of Margazhi and this period is a festive and joyous time in Chennai. The mercury lies in the low twenties and the music rendered by the great musicians is soul-stirring and sensational. Carnatic music makes the December season a must-experience for visitors to Chennai.

Mylapore is the home of music sabhas (cultural organizations) and musicians. December is often set aside as the Music Season when regular and continuous kutcheris are organized by the Sabhas in Mylapore. There are performances by Carnatic Music vocalists and artists during this period. The Parthasarathy Swami Sabha in Mylapore is the oldest Sabha (Assembly) in Tamil Nadu. Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan Auditorium conducts cultural events. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Chennai Kendra launched in May 2009 the golden jubilee celebrations at its premises on East Mada Street in Mylapore. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan was founded in 1938 in India to promote an intellectual, cultural and educational movement. Dr. K M Munshi, its founder was a lawyer, Constitution maker, social reformer, writer and promoter of the arts. It started in a small room made available by the late N. Nilakantan in his publishing firm, B G Paul & Co., on Francis Joseph Street. Nilakantan was a follower of the Paramacharya of Kanchi. The Chennai Kendra was formally inaugurated in 1958 at Rasika Ranjani Sabha, Mylapore by Bishnuram Medhi, the then Governor of Madras.

Festivals

During Mid-January and mid – February, the Tamil month of Thai, comes the festival of Thai Pooam. Images of the God and Goddesses Shiva and Parvathi are taken in

procession in an ornate barge (theppam) around the temple tank. At night, the barge and the temple are lit up to sparkle with a million lights, celebrating the annual filling of the tank with rain water.

Between mid - March to mid-April during the Tamil month of Panguni, comes the festival of Panguni Uthiram. The Kapaleeshwarar temple celebrates when the marriage of Shiva and Parvathi is celebrated for nine day-long as Panguni Peruvizha (spring festival). The festival starts with Dwajaroohanam (flag hoisting), includes the therotsavam, (Tamil, ther, "car/chariot"; utsavam, "festival"). Each day, Shiva is carried on a different vehicle – The bull, peacock, parrot, swan, elephant, tiger and lion respecting all the reation of nature.

Arupathimoovar festival and concludes with the Tirukkalyanam. In Brahmotsavam, the idols of Kapaleeshwarar and Karpagambal are decorated with clothes and jewels, are mounted on a vahana, and then taken around the temple and its water tank in a pradakshinam (a clockwise path when seen from above). This is repeated with different vahanas over the next nine days. The more important of the individual pradakshinams are the Athigara Nandhi on the third day, the Rishaba Vahanam on the midnight of the fifth day, the ther (chariot) (about 13 meters in height and pulled by people) on the seventh morning, and the Arupathimoovar festival on the eighth day.

The Arupathimoovar festival is the most important procession. It is named after the sixty-three Nayanmars who have attained salvation by their love and devotion to the all-compassionate Lord Shiva. All sixty-three Nayanmar idols follow the Kapaleeshwarar idol on this procession. During the car festival, Kapaleeshwarar is depicted holding a bow while seated on a throne, with his wife Karpagambal alongside. Brahma is depicted riding the ther. The chariot is decorated with flowers and statues, and there are huge

gatherings of devotees to pull the ther (chariot). The car festival of 1968 is documented in the documentary film Phantom India by Louis Malle.¹⁸

The temples of Keshava Perumal and Madhavaperumal at Mylapore do not contain old inscriptions¹⁹; they have undergone much reconstruction and renovation. But these temples are referred to in the Divyasuricharitai and Gurparamparai.

There is a reference to the temple in Sangam literature of the 1st to 5th centuries and the earliest mention is found in 6th century Tamil literature. The temple and the deity were immortalized in Tamil poetry in the works of Tevaram by poet saint belonging to the 7th century - Thirugnana Sambanthar has composed the 6th Poompavai pathigam in praise of the temple. Arunagirinathar, the 15th century poet, has sung in the praise of the temple in Tirumayilai Tirupugazh. The 12th century poet, Gunaveera Pandithar had sung about Neminathan under Theerthangar Neminathar Pugazh. Tirumayilai Prabanthangal is a compilation of four works on the temple and the deity. The Mylapore web portal is dedicated to Arts & Culture of Chennai, music, drama, awards and events.²⁰

Mylapore culture is distinctly different from that of any other area in Chennai. The culture of the area reflects its diverse population which has resulted in a unique blend. Mylapore in modern days continues to be traditional and conventional in certain ways. Traditional music, dance and all other art forms are very popular in Mylapore. One can find a unique blend of culture from traditional foods to fast foods, from ancient temple architecture to modern high-rises and from classical music and dance to the growing nightlife in the Mylapore. There are several historical and important buildings, homes and precincts dating back to the last 200 years in Mylapore.

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THE MUTTS (MATHAS) IN THE PANDYA COUNTRY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RIVER VAIGAI BASIN

R. Devisri

Introduction

The Temples are the sacred places. These temples have been built by the mighty rulers of Pallava, Pandya, Chola, Chera and as well as the rulers of the Vijayanagar. The temples should become the natural places for the religious, intellectual and artistic activities of the subjects. The temple is played more important as a social and economic entity than as a religious institution.¹ The rich merchants, the nobles, the kings and the royal members of the palace endowed donations to the temples for the services rendered by the temple to their subjects. The temples and mutts were the most notable recipients of gifts in land and cash and they played an important role in shaping the economic and social life of the masses.²

Mutts in the Pandya Country

Mutts, the subordinate organs of the temples played an important role among the masses. Like temples, mutts also contributed a lot to the upliftment of the Saivism and Vaishnavism during the ancient period. At that time, Brahmadeya villages were the unique centres of civilisation. They were also thriving centre for spreading their distinctive religion and culture to both remote regions as well as the macro regions of the country. The mutts served as disseminating point of a high and distinctive culture not only to young Brahmanas, but those who came, often from great distance, to study and carry back the ritual and theological elements to their home territories.³ In Pandya country, we could get lot of inscriptional sources about the establishment

and the contributions of the mutts, from the tenth century CE. The endowment have given to the mutts consisted sometimes a whole village by the Royal authorities like king, Queen and courtesan and in certain cases large units of agricultural lands were gifted to the mutts.

Role and functions of the Mutts

The mutts played an important role in the temple activities and some of the temples are functioned and maintained under the control of the mutts. Mutts also acted as a choultries which are located on the pass ways. The passengers used to stay on these mutts which are donated by the rulers for the masses. During that times, as differences between Saivite and Vaihnavite doctrine became firmer, and these led to religions orders, Sects. The "Sectarian" education conducted in a mutts provided the comprehensive studies judged necessary for the maintenance of Brahminical traditions of the age.⁴

Many Saivite mutts were under the control of non-brahman gurus or mathapatis during the thirteenth century. Saiva mutts involving non-Brahman participation and leadership arose in the first half of the thirteenth century. Some important Saivite mutts in Tamilnadu are, Tirugnana–Sambandhan matha at Tiruch chatthimurram, Maligai matha at Tiruvidai marudur, Acharamalagiyam matha at Tiruvarur, Tiruvadutturai matha and Dharmapuram matha in Tanjavur etc.⁵ Headships of the mutt organizations constituted a line called Santana and usually bore the title mudaliyar, presumably to distinguish them from Brahman matha leaders.⁶

Types of Mutts

The Saivite and Vaihnvite mutts have played the prominent role in the temples. Saivism have different sub sects viz., Pasupatha, Kabaliga and Kalamuka etc.⁷ Among the Saivite mutts, "Golaki" mutts have played a major role. The Golaki mutt which was first installed in Deccan by Visweswara Sambu may be considered as an important mutt. This mutt imparted education to girls in music, dance, vedhas, ahamas and literature.⁸ Another important type of mutt called "Guhai" which belonged to the Siva temples.⁹ These types of mutts were established for non-Brahman ascetics.¹⁰

Mutts in the Pandya Country

Mathas contributed a lot to the development of the Saiva – Vaishnava sects in Pandya country. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries C.E, the famous Saivite mutts were located in Ambasamuthiram, Thenkarai, Sivapuri and Madurai etc. Large number of mutts activated during the Pandya kings of Maravarman Kulasekara I and Sadaiyavarman Sundarapandya.

During the period of Maravarman Kulasekara and he contributed to the Thirukodukunrathu Mudhaliyar matha which was located near Thiruvanai Temple,¹¹ and also donated 150 cash to the Agathiar Thirumadam by Aandan Kunramerinthan, and also one komadam existed in Thiruthuraiipoondi during his 34th regnal year.¹² During the period of Sadaiyavarman Sundarapandiyan, a land to the Irandayiravan matha in Thiruvendhipuram¹³ was given by the king. The matha called 'Sundarapandiyan matha' was established by Thunjalur Pallavarayan at Naduvirkurram, of Manavalamadam of Thenthiruvarangam. This mutt was established for Thiruthandi ascetics¹⁴ (Jiyars of vaishnavite mutts). Another mutt called 'Sundarapandiyan matha' which was established for feeding the ascetics of the mutt by Maravarman Sundarapandiyan at Rameswaram.¹⁵

Mutts in River Vaigai Basin

The Pandya Kings contributed more for the development of art and architecture. Numerous epigraphs of this period gave information about the temples especially about

the mutts which were functioned during that period. The epigraphical records mention various gifts and endowments to the temples, constructional operations and names of the temple servants, mathas and religious teachers, festivals, currency and measures in use and many other customs of the period.

In the medieval period, mutts played a prominent role in the promotion of learning, culture and religion. From about the 10th century onwards mutts grew in the Pandya country. This paper dealt with special reference to River Vaigai Basin. Many mutts attached to the temples often had control over temple affairs. Numerous temples were constructed by the Pandya rulers along the river Vaigai. Among these temples, some mutts acted an important centers for learning, education and religious activity and helped the growth of religious art and architecture as well as sacred music and dance. The places like Tenkarai, Madurai, Tiruparankunram, Puliankulam, Thirupuvanam, Tiruppachehetti, Sivapuri and Pandiyur, etc provide ample evidences for various activities of mutts.

Mutts of Tenkarai

Tenkarai is situated near Solavandan, on the southern bank of River Vaigai. Large numbers of inscriptions are found in the Mulanathaswamy temple at Tenkarai. The inscriptions furnish information about the mutts.

During the reign of Maravarman Kulasekaradeva I, the inscriptions recorded Alalasundarantirumadam at Tenkarai which dated in his 10th regnal year¹⁶ and also, in his 14th regnal year, mentions the Tirugnana sambandar matha at Tenkarai.¹⁷ It was presided over by the Mudaliyars of the Pandarangavanar Santana. One of them was Umaiyorupagar of kulasekharapuram.¹⁸

During the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Konerimaikondan was recorded on the Mulasthaneswara temple at Tenkarai records the gift of land to the ascetics in the Vananayakan matha situated south of the temple of Mulasthana Udaiyar in Tenkallaganadu, by certain residents of Solakulataka chaturvedi mangalam in Paganurkurram.¹⁹ The inscription of Maravarman alias Tribhuvana Chakravartin Sundara Pandyaadeva mentions

that during his 4th regnal year a land was donated to the Vananayakan matha in the temple.²⁰

Mutts of Madurai

The Medieval epigraphs contain many details of the activities of mutts and the religious pontiffs who presided over them in Madurai. Different sects of mutts were functioned in Madurai. The Tirugnasambandan matha situated in Madurai is frequently recorded in epigraphs of the period. There were Tirugnasambandan matha at various places in the Pandya country viz., at Tiruputtur, Ramnad and Tenkarai.²¹

In Madurai, Tirugnasambandan matha is now situated near the temple between the South Chitirai street and South Avani Mula Street. It still continues to be one of the most important of the Saivite mathas of the Tamil country which is now popularly known as "Madurai Aadeenam". In a record of the second year of Jatavarman Kulaekhara (1190 CE) the Tirugnasambandan matha is stated to have been under the control of the Acarya of the Dakshina Golakimatha of Tiruvarur.²²

Four epigraphs of Jatavarman Vikrama Pandya from the Meenakshi temple at Madurai state that provision was made for feeding persons looking after the cows which were obtained by begging for the temple by Ninrayangiyadevar of the Bhiksamatha Santana and housed in a gosalai named after Mamadi somesvara.²³ The inscription states that a matha was constructed by Sivanaimuludumudaiyal, wife of Nayanar Vikrama Pandya.²⁴

Other mathas in Madurai city were the Bhuvanekaviran matha situated to the north of the Tiruccenduvelli, which is registered a royal grant of the village Karunkulam in Vayalurnadu. This donation was made for the maintenance of the servants looking after the two flower gardens of the god and goddess founded by Nayinar Viradamuditta – Perumal. Moreover provisions were made for feeding pilgrims in the Bhuvanikaviran matha. Totally thousand pilgrims at the rate of hundred daily during the ten days of the festival in the month of Avani.²⁵ Other mathas in Madurai city were the Naralokasuryan matha, Terkil matha, the Sundara Pandya matha, the Manamperiyar

matha and the Amunda matha. In Madurai, another inscription is found in the Madanagopalaswami temple engraved on a slab is dated third year of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Srivallabha. His queen Ulagamulududaiyal endowed some land for the maintenance of a matha. Apparently, this slab was brought from some Siva temple and is now found in the compound of this Vishnu temple.²⁶

There were many mathas in Tirupparankunram also. There are references to the Kilai matha, Melai matha, Pandanambala-kattina Perumal matha, Ponnambalan kattinan matha. The information about the Ponnambalan-kattinan matha is found on the North wall of the Pasupatisvasa shrine, records the 6th year of Pandya Konerimai Kondan, it states that a gift of land at Kulasekharanattam, a hamlet of Solakulantaka Chaturvedimangalam at the instance of his machchalvi Vikrama Choladeva as madappuram, to Iravalar Pasupatideva residing at Ponnambalakattinan matha at Tirupparankunram.²⁷

A record of Maravarman Sundara pandya II²⁸ mentions a grant of ulvari by the king at the instance of Aiyar Malavarayar regarding a tax free endowment of land as Madappuram for feeding tapasvis in the matha, was constructed in the name of Bagavati Alvar to the north east of the Tirupparankunram.²⁹

There were many mathas in Alagarkovil (Tirumalirunjolai) the records of the period of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I mentions "Kulasekaran matha" constructed by Munaiyadaraiyar alias Sriraman Uyyavandan of Kappalur, and donated a Sundaratholvilagam village for feeding Brahmanas during the Tamil months of Adi, Aipasi and Margali.³⁰ Another inscription mentions, 'Thirunadudaiyan Matha' and records a royal gift of land for feeding the Eganki Sri Vaishnavites and Thirudanti Sanyasis.³¹ The Ekadandi and Tridandi Sanyasis appear to have wielded much influence in the Madurai country since many epigraphs refer to them and the provisions made for feeding them.³²

Another inscription from this temple also records about Tridandi Sanyasis and the Amaittanarayanan matha and the Vanadarayan matha.³³ The Pandya inscription found near the Ayyanar temple, records the grant of ulvari for the land given to feeding paradisis in the matha

called after Sundara Pandya at Tiruviramesvaram (ie. Ramesvaram) in accordance with the oral and the written order of Periyayayanar Kulasekaradeva.

Conclusion

In the medieval period mutts, like the temples played an important role in the promotion of learning, culture and religion. From about the tenth century onwards mutts grew in influence and popularity under the liberal patronage of kings and nobles. Many mutts attached to the temples often had control over temple affairs. The mutts received pilgrims and arranged for feeding ascetics. Many religious teachers were maintained and provision was made in them for the study of vedas, sastras and puranas. The construction of mutts and temples was generally encouraged by kings and nobles. In Pandya country on the

basin of River Vaigai especially the Pandya kings of the Second Pandyan Empire, Jatavarman Kulasekara I, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, Maravarman kulasekara I and Jatavarman Vikrama Pandya etc contributed a lot to the construction of temples and mathas. Such mathas were popularly named after the kings and donaters viz., Sundara pandyan matha, Kulasekharan matha, Tirunadudaiyan matha, etc. There are references to both the Saivite and the Vaishnavite mutts in this region and also had the records for grants of village, gifts of lands, cows offering for mathas to feeding to the common people, pilgrims, ascetics, and the disciples, students etc. So, the medieval mutts acted as important centers of learning education and religious activity and contributed the growth of sacred art and architecture as well as sacred music and dance.

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MALA JEWS SETTLEMENT

T.B. Fameer

Origin

The alliance between Israel and Kerala initiated during the times of King Solomon. Right from that time products of Kerala were renowned all over the world. Products from

Kerala were famous there. Later when Israel was destroyed, they migrated to Kerala filled with hopes. Later when it was (re-)formed in 1948, they left the shores. Among the theories of historians, they got scattered away numerous

times. During the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, they were attacked and enslaved by the Babylonians. In AD 68, Romans attacked Israel, forcing them to leave. From there, they reached Yemen and through courageous young men they reached Kerala. (SS Koder/ Kerala History)

Interview with Eliahu

Initially they settled at Kodungallur and Pulloott and later migrated to regions like Mala, Chendamangalam, Kochi, Paravur and Ernakulam. There are also factions who argue that it was the downfall of Muziris and the expansion of Kochi resulting from the great deluge of 1342, which led to their shift from Kodungallur. Whereas there also exists a possibility for them having shifted even before that due to a different reason. Even then, Muziris was their focus. These regions possessed waterways connecting them to Muziris. Mala, Paravur and Chendamangalam were regions that lay close to Muziris.

Mala Before 1955

According to the census and Gazetteers Report of 1950, Mala was recorded as a colony of Black Jews. There also existed one of the first printing presses founded by a Jesuit priest in the 15th century. The first printed Malayalam book was produced here in 1577. Mala is mentioned in Pathittuppathu, a work of the Sangham period. This proves the significance of Mala. The synagogue in Mala was rebuilt with the aid of the Dutch in the 18th century, and was renovated again in 1912. Mala was a major town in medieval period. Mala was a place that allowed the collection of spices along with black pepper and its transportation to Muziris by their waterways. Hence under the guidance of the Jews it grew into a town.

The songs of the synagogue in Mala suggest that the Joseph Rabban and Anjuvanna cheppedu mentioned in Prof M G S Narayanan's Perumals of Kerala are related to Mala.

The Copper plate also says that the Chera ruler had given 72 rights. It is now stored in the synagogue of the White Jews in Mattancherry. It is also considered that it was Joseph Rabban who built the synagogue in Mala. It is one of the oldest and the cemetery is considered to be one of the largest in India. An abundance of

woodcraft can be noticed in the synagogue at Mala. Also distinctive is its positions at the heart of the town and the proximity of other places of worship- church, mosque and temple.

The formation of Israel in 1948 and the resultant return is considered to be historical significance. For the formation of a new nation, the Jews of Mala, sold off all of their possessions and returned to Israel. They were the first in Kerala to shut down the functioning of the synagogue and cemetery and to hand it over to the government. On 12 December 1954, the last Jews who had remained, left Mala. Before returning, they made a pact with the panchayath, Till then a large fraction of the financial trade in mala occupied by locals, Son of masha and esthar born in mala and he migrated to Israel at the age of 7 claims, his father has a trusted worker belong to muslim community. It shows how people lived in mala. They also get the advantage of geographical elements, they used water way system for transportation position of town. Migrated people only had exit paper not passport in Kerala, it was the problem they faced

Mala After 1955

After 1954, a lot of them, the Jewish people, returned to Mala again. But, the expectations were so bad, inexplicable as well as so much painful to them. They can only see the poor, defective faulty situation of their synagogue and cemetery. Mala lost its wealth, and Jewish heritage. They had, the Jewish ones, all its documents with them. That's why, they already kept it with them before they went. The natives misused the graveyard and synagogue. The number of tomb's changed from 30 to 3 when they arrived. The natives used these heritage places as playgrounds, firing range of home guards.

The exciting fact is that these places contained gold in which they occupied. Because they carried their precious belongings like gold with their body after death. According to M.A Sasi Bhusan's argument, these synagogue later modified to a godown for the needs of panchayat. Moreover then they tried to change this synagogue and surroundings as community Hall, LP school purposefully.

The common crowd, at the same time, the administrative sector didn't recognized its legacy. They moved it to make as stadium. This

can be said as the prohibition of 1968 Act of Kerala ancient Movement and Archeological sites and remains.

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MEDIEVAL MONUMENTS ON PENNAR: WITH THE SPECIAL REFERENCE OF GANDIKOTA FORT

Gajjala Vasanta Lakshmi

To know about our past one of the most important sources are monuments, these are the individual constructions which were standing on the surface with different kind of forms and architectural features belongs to the different dynasties. In medieval India there are different architectural features and forms for the different dynasties, because of these differentiation we come to know about the cultural entity of the particular dynasty with this we can fill the gaps in cultural history of particular dynasty in particular region. In southern region medieval dynasties have their own architectural features which included the regional characters¹. When regional characters included in the emerging medieval dynasties they produce an original and independent style of their own. While studying these monuments we can also know about the geographical boundaries, binding material, material used for the constructions and technology used while constructing the monument. With this we also come to know about not only cultural history but also about the economic and social life of the people. In this paper I am dealing with the monuments which were in the Gandikota in kadapa district in Andhra Pradesh. The fort was constructed on the river Pennar and some of the monuments of the fort belongs to the Qutub shah dynasty².

River Pennar is one of the important river in South India. The river originates from the Nandi hills which are located in the northern part of Karnataka, and it flows through the Andhra Pradesh districts of Anantapur, kadapa and Nellore before entering into the Bay of Bengal.

In kadapa district Gandikota fort located near the Pennar River, and the river itself boundary to the fort. The fort was ruled by the various dynasties like kakatiya, Delhi sultanate, vijayanagara, Qutub shah, kingdom of Karnataka and finally the fort goes under the British. In between this dynasties there were local dynasties like Mayana chiefs, Pennasami family ruled fort as the subordinates, after they declared independence, but this was not for the long time. Present fort protected by the Archaeological Survey of India. At present in the fort there are monuments belongs to the vijayanagara period and Qutub shah period. In this two temples belongs to the vijayanagara period. In this paper I am discussing about the monuments which belongs to the period of Qutub shah dynasty.

In Gandikota fort constructions like mosque which is outside of fortified wall, Entry Gateway, Jami mosque, Granary, were situated in the fortified area belongs to the Qutub shah period. Firstly the fort was occupied by the Qutub shahs in the ruling of Muhammad Quli Qutub shah by his general Amir-UI-Mulk, but soon after he lost the fort and after this in A.D. 1649-1650 Mir Jumla the general of Abdullah Qutub shah captured the fort and strengthened it. According to the kaifiyats of gandikota Mir Jumla wants to emerge as the independent state of Karnataka with the capital of gandikota. Because of this he repaired and extended the fortification wall also the entrance. But he didn't get success in it. When Mir Jumla occupied the fort French traveler Jean Baptiste Tavernier visited the fortified area³ and described about

the place like gandikota is built on the top of the mountain, on this mountain there is a small plain about a quarter of a league wide and half league long and it was cultivated with the rice and millet, and watered by many small springs. At the level in the southern side the town was built and it was protected by the fortified wall and there is only one gate way to enter into the fortified area. This was fortified with the three fortification walls with the cut stone which are locally available. And he mentioned about the river Pennar which is flowing 200 to 300 feet down in the northern side of the residential area. After Mir Jumla, Jille Fakir Khan appointed as the governor of the fort and most of the fort was reconstructed and extended by him⁴. He added new rampart to the fort and a bastion also added. In the south new gateway was built and it is named as Fateh Darwaja and he added new bastions to the fortified wall and he also built palaces to the north side of Rayala Cheruvu and it took 5 years to him to build these monuments, another governor of the gandikota finished The mosque which is started by Mir Jumla. In this time Aurangzeb was extending his territory to the south and Mir Jumla joined his forces and Golconda was occupied by the Aurangzeb forces along with the gandikota.

Gandikota is having three fortified walls, first one is one kilometer away from the main fortified area in the earliest times entrance of the fort from the north east corner of the first fortified wall, near to this entrance one bastion constructed and from this bastion we can see the view of the Pennar valley. Second fortified wall is near to the main fortified wall. Between first and second fortified wall the distance is around one kilometer, in this one kilometer space there are monuments like mosque, tomb, graves and one water body is situated. After few yards to the second fortified wall we can see the third and main fortified wall. Which is the main entrance leads to the fortified area. To reach this entrance we have to pass through a sequence of barbican⁵ enclosures that create a sequence of bent passage ways. These lead to a Qutub shah period gateway. And this gateway⁶ is facing towards the east side which is leading to the fortified area, this gateway is attached to the main fortified wall and in this monument beside to the main gateway there is another small gate way which also allows us

to enter inside. And the main entrance is having two wooden doors with the iron coating and this entrance is protected by niches from the upper side. This is the two storied monument, it covered from outside having niches and both sides and upper side having decorations with in the wall and there is a beam and eight brackets which are supporting the upper storage of the construction. And the features of this entrance is similar to the Golconda fort entrance⁷, as we enter from this gate on our right side we can see one hanuman temple facing to the west and included in the fortified wall. Beside this temple there are steps which were leading to climb up the fortified wall, After this temple there is a double storied tower⁸ situated and we can climb this tower from inside of the fortified area, after this tower there is a huge arch opening to enter in to fortified area and having platforms both sides and these were connected to the fortified wall. From the left side platform there are steps leading to the double storied tower and beside this parapet wall was constructed along with the fortified wall and we can reach the upper storage of main entrance from this way. And fortification wall is having Bastions, Battlements, Rampart and Loopholes. After entering into the fortified area on the south side we can see one triple storied tower named pigeon tower⁹ which rises above the dilapidated houses of small settlement here. This elegant structure possibly a remain of the vanished Qutub shah palace¹⁰ and this construction is having arched openings below and fretted windows for pigeons above may be because of this it called as pigeon tower and it is square in shape which is constructed on two platforms, first platform is 2ft height from the surface and 22 width and length of 4 sides, on this there is another platform constructed 3ft height on the first one, this second platform has 15 feet length and width on this platform four pillars in four corners supporting the four arched openings in four sides and upside of these arches having decorative elements. And these four pillars supporting the two storied construction which is having niches in two layers of the tower, this pillars are in 2ft length and width, this are having 13ft distance between the each pillar.

After few yards from this pigeon tower on the south side of the fortified area we can see one construction which is a jail¹¹, which is

facing to north side, this is a Rectangular construction having height of 25 to 30ft height and width of 69ft length is 47ft and having 10 steps of 7ft leading to the opening arch to the construction, but these steps are later editions entrance maybe from the left and right side of the building but those are now in ruins, beside the steps there are two big arch openings are there visible from both outside and inside of the construction having width of 4ft and height of 9ft out upper part of the construction 4 niches are there in the upper outside wall and it has a plain roof top having five small openings which allows light inside of the construction and we can enter now a days to this construction with a big arched entrance having width of 9ft and height of 6.5ft opposite to this arch there is another arch with same measurements, we can see space between this two arches which is length of 36ft and width of 16.5ft left and right sides of this space is constructed by two arches and left side corner we can see 4 steps leading down to the ground Flore and right side also room kind of arched constructions we can notice and both side walls having arched opens to the outside. Near to this construction we can see two water bodies with the water lifting mechanism, may be this construction was built for some other purpose later converted as jail.

After walking into the village in north side of the fortified area we can see the Jami mosque¹² which was totally in the form of Outub shah architecture and entrance¹³ of this monument is facing towards the east side, the whole monument was plastered, decorated with fine finishing's. This construction is in large quad rectangle shape having entrances of east, north and south sides. After entering into construction we saw a mosque which is standing in a platform of 4ft and having 5 steps to climb the platform and platform is having the length of 135ft and width of 80ft and in this platform mosque¹⁴ is constructed. In front of this mosque in the middle of the platform there is a fountain which is having three visible pipelines on the three sides, in the bottom of the fountain on the south side, and in the middle of the fountain having pipeline to gush out the water. There is a Baoil in southeast side of the construction and it is having water lifting mechanism to the roof and beside to this there is a tank which is 12.67ft of length and

width of 6.6ft. Mosque is having two circular minarets having thickness is 11ft and these minarets having double set of galleries having cornice and parapet between them in the roof of the mosque. Space between these minarets is having 45ft space and having three large Iwan's openings to enter into the mosque and upside of this Iwan's were decorated and after this openings we can see the Kiblah of the mosque which is facing to the west side. And south side wall of the mosque is having an opening height of 6ft and width of 2ft and having 32 steps and one step width is 2ft and height is 1 feet and this included in the mosque construction and it has two niches in the southern side on the wall for the circulation of air and light. And two sides of the steps having a fine polished wall. This mosque is having a flat roof which is having width of 46ft and length of 42 ft. And there are two rain water downpipes in the back side of the roof which is having bit curve to down with the length of 4 ft. And four sides the mosque was enclosed by a wall which is having Iwan's in all sides, inside we can see this Iwan's four sides and these are connected with each other, in four corners four rooms are there and southwest corner is having a double rooms. And south eastern side it is having a Baoli. Outside of this construction in the east and south side walls also enclosed with the Iwan's, may be these were used as a rooms for the travelers. This construction may serve as Sarai for the travelers and for the merchant's because once it was one of the important market place of these region in medieval period. In front of this construction there is a big water body called kattula koneru¹⁵.

Right side of Jami mosque Granary¹⁶ was constructed and it is in the north side of the fortified area and entrance of the granary is facing towards east, but earlier the entrance was facing towards the south but it is closed. Granary is rectangle in shape with the length of 112ft width of 54, height of 42ft Entry is from the eastern side which is having 9 steps to the opening inside the Granary. But these steps were recent additions, to the granary, actual entrance of the granary is from the south side and having three openings of three stages on the wall and this side 50 steps were constructed to reach vaulted roof. First entrance is in the down stairs, second one is on 16th step and third opening is on the 30th

step. And in roof there are 18 rain water downpipes are there with the length of 1 feet. And left and right sides of the granary is having two openings which were steps added to this later, and inside the granary there are 12 pillars each side having 6 pillars. The thickness of one pillar is 16ft Left side of the wall having 7 windows and right side is having 6 windows and these is one of the fine architectural construction in Gandikota. We can found more information about this granary in the sketches¹⁷ of sir Thomas Anburey and Thomas Fraser, both are served as engineers in madras presidency. It is served as traveler's bungalow and also used as Magazine, present it is functioning as Archaeological survey of India office.

And back side the mosque there the some constructions¹⁸ which belong to the Qutub shah period which is in ruin condition now, may be it was the royal residence area why because it was constructed bit far from the other constructions which are near to the village residence. In this fortified area there are some water bodies which are giving the water not only to the residents but also to their fields. In this Rayalacheruvu^{xix} is important one, from this water body the water was supplied to the

royal residential area, traces of the terracotta pipelines we can see present day. This water body is still functioning present day this water is using by the people to grow their crops inside the fortified area. And in the fortified area there are two temples belonged to the vijayanagara period and marked for their architectural excellence, these temples are Madavaraya swami and Ranganayaka temples.

Gandikota was one the famous and strong fort in the kadapa region in the medieval times. The monuments in this fort may be used for different functions, like while seeing the jail we can say it was functioned as a summer palace, if we see the geographical features of the fort it was constructed in a dry area in summer temperature will increase and to control the temperature of human body this may functioned as summer palace, nearby this one water body is there which is having water lifting mechanism. Later it may be converted into the jail. And granary also functioned as magazine, traveler's bungalow and present it is functioning as archaeological survey office. To know more about this fort and monuments we can also refer gazetteers, traveler's records and kaifiyats.

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1. *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)* by Percy Brown, pp-66.
2. Qutub Shsh's ruled over Golconda from 1518 to 1657 A.D. the dynasty was founded by Malik Quli Qutub- ul-Mulk and ruled over by his successor's, in this period new form of the architecture flourished. The main feature of this architecture is plastering, binding material, moulding and curving's. We can see the architectural development under various kings. The notable monuments of these region were Golconda fort and Qutub shah tomb complex. We can see local Hindu architectural influence on this constructions. Gandikota fort monuments are also having same architectural features, with the fine plastering and Mouldings on the constructions.
3. *Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* Edited by William Crooke, pp-226 to 235.
4. *Forts of Andhra Pradesh (from the earliest times up to 16th C.A.D)* by N.S. Ramachendra Murty, pp-205-206.
5. A Barbican is a fortified out post or gateway such as an outer defense to a town or city.
6. See plate no-1
7. This is like Bala Hisar gate of Golconda fort but gandikota entrance is not having the decorative elements. And gandikota entrance is having fine plastering like Bala Hisar gate.
8. See plate no – 2
9. See plate no-3
10. *Rayalaseema The Royal Relam – Architecture and Art of Southern Andhra Pradesh* by Anna. L. Dallapiccola, George Michell, Anila Verghese. pp - 122 to 126 & 123 to 125.
11. See plate no- 4
12. See plate no -5
13. The Architectural features and decorative elements of this mosque are similar to the Qutub shah tombs decorative elements and also while climbing up to this masque we can see the fine polished walls which are the most attractive feature in this monumental complex. Also this mosque is having the semi secular pillars with the two storied glories and the pillar was finished with the dominical shape.
14. See plate no -6
15. Koneru means a water body in Telugu language.
16. See plate no-7
17. Now the sketches were there in the *British Digital Library*. Now these are available online only.
18. See plate no- 8
19. See plate no -9

WAR SONGS (PADAPPATTU) AS A MAJOR SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF MAPPILAS OF MALABAR

K. Hathika

The mid-seventeenth century Malabar witnessed the emergence of the writing of *Padappattu* (war songs) literature in the Arabi-Malayalam language (Arabic Script with Malayalam language). It gained wide popularity especially in the nineteenth century in the wake of a series of Mappila revolts against the British in Malabar. The war songs were mainly written in the Ernad and Valluvand taluks of Southern Malabar since these two areas were popular for anti-colonial struggles. Basically, these songs were the reflection of the socio-religious and political conditions of the Mappila community and their discontent towards the upper caste Jenmis and the colonial state.

The paper investigates the nature of the writing of *padappattu* which have been influenced the Mappilas to spread anti-colonial feeling particularly among the lower strata of the society. Also, the study closely seeks to identify the significance of these songs as a major source for the study of the history of Mappilas. More than a historical approach, the study of *padappattu* necessitates anthropological and linguistic approaches since most of the songs are not provide any direct indication on the anti-colonial feelings of the Mappilas, but it gives some insights to the Mappilas in their struggles against colonial domination, particularly during the British period. The nineteenth-century Malabar witnessed the emergence of a number of such songs. Having such a context, the popularity of these songs in Malabar among the Mappilas and its social background have to be explored.

Since the early sixteenth century onwards the *Mappilas* started their defense against colonialism in Malabar. These songs were widely circulated among the Mappilas of Malabar in order to spread and articulate their resentments towards western domination in the region. The knowledge of Mappilas about Islam in nineteenth-century Malabar was inadequate and they were far from the concepts of textual Islam. In such a background, the role of these songs played a great part by making them aware of the life and carrier of Prophet Muhammad and his Sahabah (companion) and

particularly their victories against the opponents in Arabia. The study of Vladimir Propp in his study on folk songs in Russia, observes, in a certain period, society has the ability to make such songs. He says, it is the contribution of a particular community and part of a particular culture.¹ The study of *Chaverpattukal* by M. R Raghava Warriar also contribute to the study of songs and its historical context in a particular society. Moreover, *Vadakkan pattuakal* (Northern Ballads) and *Thekkan Pattukal* (Southern Ballads) have flourished in Kerala prior to the advent of the writing of *Padappattu* in Malabar.²

The historical wars in Islam such as Badr, Uhud, Khandaq, Khaibar, Hunain, Karbala etc., were led by Prophet Muhammad and his companion (*Sahabah*) in Arabia are the main theme for the writings of *Padappattu*. For instance, the *Badr padappattu* (song on the battle of Badr) is prominent and most of the *Padappattu* were written in Malabar were based on the battle of Badr. The work of Moyinkutty Vaidyar *Badr-al-I Kubra* (Battle of Badr) is remarkable in this regard. The battle of Badr was a key battle in the early days of Islam and a turning point in the Prophet Muhammed's struggles against the opponents among the Quraish in Mecca. The battle is considered a decisive victory in the history of Islam and which attributed to divine intervention. It was the first battle against the mighty forces of Abujahal, the most important Quraish leader and a strong opponent in Islam. The Muslims were very less in number and defeated the strong defensive position of Quraish, since, it is believed that, the God sent his messengers to the earth to support the Muslim forces in the battle of Badr.³

Except for the description of historical wars of Badr, Uhd, Karbala etc., certain *padappattu* have been written to eulogize the martyr in Malabar. The songs such as *Malappuram Mathinithimala* of Moyinkutty Vaidyar, *Cherur Padappattu* of Mammadkutty Mohiyaddin, *Omanur Padappattu* and *Kunhimarakkar Shahid Pattu* are remarkable here. The song *Malappuram Mathinithi Mala*

eulogizes the martyrdom of Ali Marakkal of Valluvanad, who had fought against the forces of Paranambi, the Naduvazhi of Malappuram. After, a huge conflict has occurred between the forces of Paranambi and the Mappilas.⁴ Another song, *Cherur padappattu*, the poet describes the revolt of Cherur as, it was a great revolt which changed the social history of Malabar, since, it was the protest in the region against caste and untouchability. Cherur padappattu eulogizing the bravery of Mappilas, but this song was banned and the press was confiscated by the British government. The *Karamath* stories attributed to Mamburam Sayyid Alawi Thangal are significant in this revolt. The song of *Cherur Padappattu* describes the miracles of Sayyid Alawi and thus the Mappilas were fascinated by these wonders. The poet describes the presence of Sayyid Alawi in this revolt as a divine intervention.⁵

Folks, ballads and songs are the contributions of a particular society. As far as the history of Mappila is concerned, Padappattu are the self-reflection of Mappila's life and culture in the colonial period and particularly during the British period. In the study of *Chaverppattuakal* (song on suicide squads) of M R, Raghava Varrier is relevant here. Through these songs, he is trying to explore the political history of Perumbadappu Swaroopam, particularly the different forms of contest and disputes that prevailed in medieval Kerala.⁶ Having such a context, we have to provide a detailed study on the social background of *padappattu* songs in nineteenth-century Malabar. The peculiarity of these songs is that it was written in the script of Arabi-Malayalam language which was prevailed among the Mappilas of Malabar.

The Islamic concepts such as *jihad* (fight in the way of God) and *shahid* (martyr) are mostly discussed in the *padappattu* songs. From the Portuguese period onwards Mappilas were familiar with the concept of Jihad. It is clear from the literary works produced during that period, which intends to give inspiration to the Mappilas to wage war against the colonial powers. The first resistance literature was from the Makhdums of Ponnani during the Portuguese period as *Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadati Sulban* of Shaikh Zainuddin Senior.⁷ The work has instigated the Mappilas

to fight against the Portuguese, particularly, the later attacks of *Kunhali Marakkars*, who has been considered as the admirals of Calicut under the Zamorins is clear in his struggle with Portuguese in Malabar. Basically, *Tahrid* lays the foundation for understanding of indigenous response to the European engagements in the region. After *Tahrid*, another work was written during the Portuguese period is *Tuhfat al Mujahidin Fi Bahdi Akabr-il Burthuqaliyyin* (The gift to the Holy Warrior in respect of some deeds of the Portuguese) of Shaikh Zainuddin II, (1531-1583). He was a revered Muslim scholar, who declared war against the Europeans. The work intends to give inspiration to believers to wage war (Jihad) against cross worshipping Portuguese. During the Portuguese reign, the condition of the Muslims had become impoverished, weak and powerless.⁸ It was in the sixteenth century, his work tried to unite the Mappilas for militant action against the Portuguese, relying on the Islamic concept of Jihad. Moreover, the work of Quasi Muhammad Ibn Abdul Aziz, *Fath-ul Mubeen* gives inspiration to the Muslims to fight against the Portuguese with Zamorins of Calicut, who loves the religion of Islam and the Muslims from all his mankind. He called for a joint Hindu-Muslim struggle against the Portuguese in sixteenth-century Malabar.⁹

The call for jihad is evident throughout these songs, particularly, *Badr padappattu*, describes the benefits of *shahids* after his martyrdom and they were blessed with heaven. The term *Badreengal* (those who participated in the battle of Badr) is popular among the Mappilas of Malabar even today. It is believed that Badr is a battle which distinguishes truth and untruth. The Mappila believes, *Badreengal* will help them in all their difficulties except death, and at the time of death those who pray to God in behalf of *Badreengal* their death pain will be reduced.¹⁰ Such believes and the practice of eulogizing the bravery of *shahids* are common among the Mappilas.

In the study of *Padappattu* the works of Moyinkutty Vaidyar is significant. Viadyar was born in the middle of nineteenth century, the period witnessed consequent revolts in Malabar such as Malappuarm (1834), Panthallur (1836-1898), Mankada (1841), Cherur (1843), Pandikkad (1843), Manjeri (1849),

Angadippuram (1849), Kulathur (1851), etc. His works give inspiration to the Mappila revolts against the colonial domination in Malabar, particularly the work *Badrul-Kubra* (Battle of Badr) which gives a comprehensive history of the battle of Badr and fascinating details of the history of Islam during the period of Prophet Muhammad.¹¹

The language has used in the Badr Padappattu is mixed with Tamil and Malayalam. Through his works, Vaidyar is trying to create a particular style of writing by using multiple languages. Moreover, the other works of Vaidyar such as *Uhd Pada* and *Saleeqath Pada, Karamath Mala* etc. are important and helps to understand the undercurrents of Mappila revolts. The British government realized the importance of *Padappattu* in the *Mappila* revolts and appointed a commission to study about these songs of Moyinkutty Vaidyar. Later certain works of Vaidyar were translated into English by F. Faucet in *Indian Antiquary*.¹²

Padappattu (war songs) are the significant source for the historical writings on the Mappilas of Malabar, particularly in their anti-

colonial struggles. These songs are emerged out of the attitudes of the Mappilas towards the colonial domination. Most of the *padappattu* have emerged during the nineteenth century, since, this period has been witnessed series of Mappila revolts in Malabar. But, most of the songs were banned and destroyed by the British government. It reflects the socio-political and cultural life of the Mappilas, particularly the terms and concepts used in these songs such as *jihad* and *shahid* are relevant to realize the political situation of Malabar during that period. In most of the revolts, faith was the biggest weapon of the Mappilas and these songs have been inspired them constantly. The story of wars in Islam such as Badr, Uhud, Khandaq, Hunain etc., by Prophet Muhammad and his companion, are the main theme for the writing of these songs. Such battles were widely eulogized in these songs since to inspire the Mappilas, those were less in number compared to the British forces. Moreover, these songs provide a communitarian coherence among the Mappilas and contribute to understanding the undercurrents of extensive revolts in Malabar under colonial rule.

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"BATHUKAMMA" – TELANGANA'S FLORAL FESTIVAL

L. Indira Devi

Introduction

Bathukamma festival is an exclusive Telangana festival with active involvement of women for worshipping women power in the form of Goddess *Gouri*. It represents cultural

spirit of Telangana. "*Bathukamma*" derived from the two Telugu words – "*bathuku*" defining "life" and "*Amma*" describing "Mother". Goddess Gouri is worshipped keenly due to her importance of being considered one of the

Goddesses who is symbolic to women power. It indeed remains a celebration of the Goddess Gouri mother's glory in the symbolic form of *Bathukamma* for womanhood.

Bathukamma festival is celebrated for nine days. It begins on *Badhrapada Amvasya* and the nine day festivities will culminate on "*Saddula Bathakamma*" on *Ashwayuja Ashtami*, popularly known as *Durgashtami*. This festival is celebrated mainly by the women by worshipping goddess Gouri in the name of *Bathukamma* during *Navarathri*.

Floral festival of Telangana

This is the festival of colourful flowers. The flowers are arranged in a conical pattern which signifies the mother Goddess and is called as *Bathukamma*¹. *Bathukamma* is a beautiful flower stack, arranged with different unique seasonal flowers usually in nine or eleven concentric layers in a conical shape or mound². The concentric layers of the decorated flowers give a shape of the cone of a potter to offer unique outlook while flower decoration and spirituality intermingles for a newer type of experience. The flowers used to arrange *Bathukamma* are unique seasonal local flowers, Celosia (*Gunugu*), Senna (*Tangedu*), Marigold (*Banthi*), Chrysanthemum (*Chamanthi*), Ipomoea (*Katla*), Cucurbita (*Gummadi*) leaves and flowers, Lotus (*Tamara*), *Rudraksha*, *Alli*, *Ganneru*, *Gorinta*, which bloom in this season in various vibrant colours all across the uncultivated and barren lands³.

Arrangement of *Bathukamma*

Arrangement of *Bathukamma* is an art. Every day two *Bathukammas* are made by women, one is *Talli Bathukamma* and another is *Pilla Bathukamma*. On *Mahalaya Amavasya*, *Bathukamma* is made in medium size and after for one whole week small *Bathukammas* are made by women. But on *Saddula Bathukamma*, *Bathukamma* is made in big size. Women start preparing *Bathukamma* from the afternoon with the help of the other family members. Women folk arrange *Bathukamma* with flowers on a *sibbi*⁴ (wooden plank which is made with bamboo sticks) or on a *thambalam* (a wide brass plate which has a small edge). On the *thambalam* pumpkin leaves are placed and the edges of the leaves are trimmed to match the

circular base of the metal plate. The protruding parts of the *Tangedu puvvu*, *Gunugu puvvu* are trimmed to arrange them easily. *Gunugu puvvu* is dipped in various vibrant colours.

Then they arrange one layer of *tangedu puvvu*, then *gunugu puvvu*, *banthi*, *chamanthi*, *sitajada puvvu*, *katla*, *rudraksha* etc. taking care that the layers are gradually tapering to finally give a conical shape to *Bathukamma*⁵. While arranging the flowers, the hollow that is formed at the centre of *Bathukamma* is filled with pumpkin leaves, *tangedu* leaves or other leaves and flowers⁶.

At the very top, pumpkin flower is kept on *Bathukamma*, above which *Gouramma* (a symbolic idol of Goddess Gouri made of turmeric) is placed with *odi biyyam* and a big flower like *Tamara*, *Kaluva*, and *Gulabhi* is arranged to give attractive look to *Bathukamma*. The art of decorating *Bathukamma* is a different thing altogether. The arrangement of delicate different colour flowers shows the management skills, organising capacity of the women. It relies heavily on the impeccable precision and unrewarding patience⁷.

Saddula Bathukamma

First day of festival falls on *Mahalaya Amavasya* or *Ashwayuja Amavasya*, also known as *Pethara Amavasya* in Telangana. On that day *Bathukamma* is called as "*Engili Pula Bathukamma*"⁸ and the last day of *Bathukamma* on *Durgashtami* is called as *Saddula Bathukamma*, which is a very big auspicious day to the women of Telangana. The women folk normally get back to their parent's home from their in-laws to celebrate the floral festival *Bhathukamma*. On that day, Women make *Bathukamma* according to their skills and then place them in front of the deity of the home and pray. They prepare *naivedyams* of nine types and offer to *Bathukamma* and have food with all family members. Evening they get dressed colourfully with their best attire. Normally, women prefer *Pattu Sarees* and girls wear *Langa Voni* (Half Saree), the traditional attire of Telangana. With flowers in their hair, they wear their best jewellery. Then they take *Bathukammas* (*Pedda Bathukamma* and *Pilla Bathukamma*)⁹ to nearby temple or open place; form a circle and place their *Bathukammas* in the centre of the circle.

They all sing in chorus after a lead singer starts off and the rhythms of the folklore songs reverberate in the neighbourhood sounding the uniqueness of Telangana cultural identity¹⁰. They sing songs with clapping hands, moving up and down rhythmically around the *Bathukammas*, which build unity, love and sisterhood.

After playing *Bathukamma* on the final day, *Bathukammas* are immersed in water bodies with utmost devotion. *Bathukammas* are set to float in a tank or lake, which is a splendid view. After immersion of *Bathukammas* women sing songs related to "*Ampakalu*"¹¹ (after marriage, when woman goes to her in-laws house, Mother, relatives teach woman, how to move in-laws house and rules and restrictions of woman at her in-laws house). *Gouramma* is taken back from *Bathukamma* before immersion and every married women exchange *pasupu* for the solemnization of their marriage and distribute *naivedyam* mutually¹². Then they return to their homes with empty *tambalam* singing songs in praise of *Bathukamma*.

Bathukamma songs – Echo the lives of Telangana women

Floral beauty, divine fervour and songs encompass the ritual spirit of *Bathukamma* festival in all the nine days. *Bathukamma* songs are hugely popular and women take pride to sing the rhythmic folk songs beautifully¹³.

For the nine days, in the evening women assemble in large number at a common open place or in a temple of their locality. Women place *Bathukammas* in the centre and form a circle around *Bathukammas* and start singing folk songs by clapping their hands and revolving around the *Bathukammas*. One woman sings a line of the song and then other women chant the line and move around *Bathukammas* in small circles. Folk songs with chorus, synchronizing steps and claps in unison provide a splendid look to the viewers.

The *Bathukamma* songs are more of the stories of common woman, her dreams' obstacles, responsibilities, and restrictions, relationships of her life, which decide her position in the family and in the society¹⁴. Some songs invoke the blessings of goddesses and gods like Shiva, Parvathi, Lakshmi, Rama, Sita.

Great characters of Puranas such as Rama, Sita, Laxmana, Parvthi, Ganga, Anasuya, Chandramathi, Savitri, etc., are also depicted as common people. For example, even though Sita is the daughter of Raja Janak, she was learned those entire common household works and taught the rules and restrictions of law's house in the song '*janaku janaku dinta col*'. Some describe the origin of *Bathukamma* and some describe just the beauty of the nature. Some songs guide unmarried girls how to move in-laws house and rules and restrictions at her in-laws house.

Normally, the songs rendition end with tributes such as "*Uyyaala*", "*Kool*", "*Chandamama*", "*Gouramma*", "*Valalo*" "*O Racha Gummadi*" "*Cheliya*" etc. All these songs reflect the social, economic and political conditions of the Telangana region. After singing and playing, women exchange "*Pasupukumkuma*" (turmeric and vermilion) and *Naivedyam* *Vayinam* among them¹⁵.

Social importance of this festival:

Bathukamma festival has a social relevance; women from their respective places get a chance to interact with each other while assembling in specific spots. This celebration highlights the importance of women in the society. For women, this is a rare opportunity, because during these nine days, they mingle with known and unknown women and forget their agonies, pains and become oblivious of their travails and tribulations, the day-to-day chores¹⁶. All rituals of the festival enhance social movement without caste and creed¹⁷. Especially young girls are guided how to take care of their in-laws, their husbands, how to respect elders, love people around them with all these rituals.

Religious importance of the festival

Bathukamma festival is one of the most unique festivals of Telangana. This festival has become synonymous with the culture and soul of the Telangana region. As Bengal is known for *Durga Puja*, Maharashtra for *Ganesh Chaturthi*, like that the floral festival of *Bathukamma* flaunts the glory and culture of Telangana. It represents the cultural spirit of the state, celebrated by performing *Puja* of Goddess Gouri.

Bathukamma festival – Telangana cuisine

In all nine days each day has a name mainly signifying the type of *naivedyam* offered to *Bathukamma*. Most of the *naivedyams* are simple to prepare and all are prepared with cereals, millets, the agriculture products of Telangana. All these *naivedyams* are very nutritious food filled with Iron, Carbohydrates, Fibre, Proteins, Zinc and Potassium and increase immunity in the body¹⁸. Depending on regions and traditions different *naivedyams* are prepared for nine days such as *sattupindi*, *sajja muddalu*, *palli muddalu*, *nuvula muddalu*, *maliyala mudda*, *kobbari podi*, *saddi annam*, *pulihora*, and *sitaphal*¹⁹.

Bathukamma-Tribute to nature

This festival is the dedication to worship womanhood and nature's system through valuing the flowers. Flowers, colours and water are all intrinsic to this festival. It is a bliss time to Telangana people²⁰. During *Navarathri* Goddess Durga or Parvathi is worshipped. Parvathi means nature (*Prakruthi*). So indirectly people are worshipping the nature. *Bathukamma* festival occurs in the ending of *Varsha ruthu* (Rainy Season) and the beginning of *Sharath ruthu* (Winter Season). In between the seasonal changes there will be more bacteria and virus.

The different unique seasonal flowers used in arrangement of *Bathukamma* are Senna (*Tangedu*), Celosia (*Gunugu*), Marigold (*Banthi*), Chrysanthemum (*Chamanthi*), etc. for decoration. These native flowering plants have their own medicinal values and curative role in local ailments. Marigold acts as repellent to insects and mosquitoes. Chrysanthemum flowers will absorb benzene, ammonia gases in air and purify the environment. Turmeric is anti-bacterial and anti-viral. These medicinal properties of leaves and flowers purify water and eliminate bacteria and virus in the water²¹.

As *Bathukamma* festival comes after *Varsha Ruthu*, water ponds fill with plenty of fresh water. The flowers used in *Bathukamma* have a great quality of purifying water and such flowers when immense in abundance into the pond have the effect of cleaning the water and making the environment much better²². *Bathukamma* celebrates the inherent

relationship between earth, water and human beings²³. The festival heralds the beauty of nature, collective spirit of Telangana people, the indomitable spirit of women folks and also the scientific approach of the agrarian people towards preserving the resources of nature in celebrative way. Hence, *Bathukamma* is the icon of cultural identity of Telangana.

Stories behind the festival

There are many myths behind this festival. One of them is

– Bathukamma means “come back to life mother” and it is an asking for Goddess Sati to return. Daksha Prajapathi performed a *Yagna* and invited everyone except his daughter Sati and son-in-law Lord Shiva. Against her husband will, Sati went to the *Yagna* and was insulted by her father Daksha and sacrificed her life by setting herself a blaze. Women make an image with turmeric paste and worship it as Gauri urging her to come back to life. Sati returned as Goddess Parvathi and therefore the festival is also dedicated to Goddess Parvathi as *Gauramma*²⁴.

- Goddess Gouri killed Mahishasura in a fierce fight. After that, Goddess Gouri became unconscious due to fatigue. The people prayed with devotion to “*Bathukamma*” (to come alive), then Goddess Gouri became conscious. From onwards people are celebrating *Bathukamma* festival.

The songs of *Bathukamma* describe many stories about the festival. One of them is

Chola King Dharmangada and his wife Satyawathi lost their hundred sons in the battlefield. So they prayed to Goddess Lakshmi to be born in their house, as their child. Goddess Lakshmi heard their prayers and Satyawathi gave birth to goddess Lakshmi, she survived after many accidents. So the parents named her *Bathukamma*²⁵. Since then *Bathukamma* festival is celebrated in Telangana. Once upon a time there was a couple. They lost their six female children immediately after birth. After that they had a female child, so they named her *Bathukamma*. Then after they had another male child. *Bathukamma* has grown up and got married and left to her in-laws house. Her brother also got married. Without any reason her sister-in-

law always felt very jealous of *Bathukamma*. Once *Bathukamma* came to her mother's home to visit her brother. She along with her sister-in-law went to take bath in a tank. They left their clothes on the bank and went to bath in the tank. Due to heavy wind their clothes got mixed up and they by mistake wore one others sari. *Bathukamma* scolds her sister-in-law for wearing her sari. Getting angry her sister-in-law squeezed *Bathukamma's* neck and murdered her. Then she buried *Bathukamma's* body and went back to home.

On that night *Bathukamma* appeared in her husband's dream and pleaded him to take her back to their home. He started off the next morning to *Bathukamma's* hometown and reached the tank where she went for bath. There he saw a tangedu tree blossoming with flowers, which he had never seen in that place

before and surprised, went to pluck some of the flowers. Then that tree told him how her sister-in-law killed and buried her here. She pleaded him to stalk the flowers and make *Bathukamma*, on the top of *Bathukamma*, install *Gouramma*, pray her and play on the bank of tank and set it to float in tank every year. Her husband fulfilled her wish through married women²⁶. In this way, destroyed by envy of her sister-in-law, *Bathukamma* became *perantalu*. From onwards, women worshipped her as goddess.

Conclusion

Thus there are many legends and stories about this festival, but there is no historical evidence found about this festival. This festival is exclusively celebrated in Telangana and other Telugu speaking people are unaware of this festival. The reasons behind that are not known.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SERVICES IN KURNOOL DISTRICT OF RAYALASEEMA REGION

M. Indira Santhi

Social services are a range of public services provided by government, private, and non-profit organizations. These public services aim to create more effective organizations, build

stronger communities, and promote equality and opportunity. Social services include the benefits and facilities such as education, food subsidies, health care, job training and

subsidized housing, adoption, community management, policy research, and lobbying.¹ **Social service** refers to activities to improve the quality of life of the disadvantaged section of the society. It aims at elevating the living condition of the poor, disabled, elderly, children, women, and depressed section of the society. **Service to mankind is service to God.** There are many people, who believe that "service to man is service to god". They do not let a single day pass without doing some act of charity, however small it may be. The sense of social service comes out of kindness of the heart and depends largely upon character. Many wealthy people live selfless lives. They spend anything for the good of their neighbours.

The history of Christianity in India is as old as the history of Christianity itself. India being the land of Religions, Christianity being an alien religion, a religion born in middle Europe, travelled to this oriental land and established its influence on the religious, social and cultural thinking of the people of India. Within the First Century after the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Christianity spread itself into the greater part of the civilized world. The very concept of colonialism started with the voyage of Vasco Da Gama in 1498. However there are ample and undisputed evidences that there were Christians in India on the West Coast of India, namely Kerala and in parts of Tamilnadu more particularly Mylapore-Madras during the first century.²

The role of Christian missionaries in religious conversion and socio-cultural change as well as the development of educational, health and self-improvement schemes in modern India has been acknowledged by many historical studies. Recent studies on the growth of Christianity in modern India focused on the interconnection between conversion movements, social reform and social change. Christian missionaries were considering being the great institutions builders, since they pioneered works relating to social reform, language/literature/philosophy, socio-economic development of weaker sections. Hence, Christianity has been described as the "religion of the poor". In fact, education social uplift had become synonymous with Christianity in India. During the latter half of the 19th century, the impact of Christian proselytization and

evangelization was left throughout the length and breadth of the country. Thus, Christian have become an integral part of the diverse population of India. It was also during this period that considerable movements of mass conversion took place in south India, including Telugu country. The Christian missionaries have been perceived as the protagonists and patrons of the poor. The image of the missionaries as persons committed to justices and equality and prepared to espouse/champion the cause of the depressed as well as to act as advocates of the underprivileged had certainly caught the imagination of the downtrodden masses and facilitated mass conversion of lower castes into Christianity. Especially, in the Telugu districts of erstwhile Madras Presidency (south India), German and other Protestant missionaries were instrumental in organizing various programmers of socio-economic advancement for the benefit of lower and communities.³

As per the Charter Act of 1813, the Christian Missionaries of European continents were permitted to preach their religious gospel to the people of Indian society. While Christianity missionaries were preaching their religious gospel to Indians, they provided education, health and economic benefits and socio-cultural upliftment. In this process, Missionaries constructed schools, Hospitals, dispensaries, Teacher training centers, houses for orphans, hostels for women and children with free boarding and lodging facilities, which the Dalits communities could not enjoy in Hindu religion.

It explains the growth and development of Christianity in Andhra Pradesh which is inhabited by the Telugu Speaking people of India, Since this is an historico-social study it is felt necessary to trace in brief the political history of the Telugus till the formation of Andhra Pradesh State. The Telugus lived in Deccan of the Indian peninsula lying to the South of the Narmada River.⁴ The Deccan is usually understood to designate the South excluding Tamilnadu and Kerala.⁵

The Andhras or the Telugus lived at the mouth of the river Godavari and perhaps further to the North. The Andhras developed one of the greatest kingdoms in the Deccan which

extended from the Western the Eastern Ghats, with its capital at Srikakulam and later at Amaravathi, ruling from 220 B.C. to 226 A.D.⁶ From the 10th century upto the commencement of the 14th century there were three Hindu Kingdoms between the Tapti and the river Krishna, (a) the Yadavas of Devagiri (1000-1311), (b) the Ganapatis of Kakatiyas of Warangal (950-1322) and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudram (1050-1331).⁷

India after her independence divided the country into linguistic states in 1956 in pursuance of States Reorganisation Act, 1956. The present State of Andhra Pradesh was formed out of the old Madras Presidency under British Administration and the Nizam's Dominion. At one time the whole area of the present State belonged to the Nizam. By stages the British acquired the seven coastal districts - Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur and Nellore and the four interior districts - Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor - called the Rayalaseema region. As a culmination of a long struggle of the Telugu speaking people to have a separate administrative unit of their own, Andhra State was created on September 14, 1953 with the Eleven Telugu Speaking Districts of Madras State. Later in November 1, 1956 the Nine Telugu Districts of the Nizam's Dominion were merged into Andhra State which was then known as the State of Andhra Pradesh.⁸

Telugus towards Christianity

At the beginning of the 16th century the missionaries who came in contact with the Telugus, found them rather inimical to Christianity, although by nature they are very kind and sympathetic, due to the instigation of the Brahmin gurus. The Hindus argued that as it is not good to change one's wife, so it is not proper to change one's religion.⁹ Missionaries could not travel in the mountain area with safety as there were a lot of highway robbers. In other words, Telugus were not very much prepared for the Word of God in the 16th century.⁹ Although there were some Portuguese and American Christians settled down in Golconda for trade, they were far from being exemplary in Christian life.

"It is, but too true, till that now, our Fathers have hardly tried to enter into intercourse with

the people of the interior. Thus the way to the conversion of India is shut among the people of the interior. All our reputed missionaries are content to employ themselves in the colleges of Cochin and in the four residences we have along the coast, and shut their eyes to the innumerable multitude of souls living in those wide-spread lands of India. Only a few try to penetrate into them."¹⁰

Advent of Christianity in Andhra

As stated in it was in A.D. 52 that St. Thomas introduced Christianity in Kerala in South India. However, Christianity was limited to the South West Coast of India, i.e., within the boundaries of Kerala State only until the arrival of the Portuguese in India in 1498 and later by East India Company from England in Seventeenth Century. The dynamic spirit of missionary activity began in different parts of India including Andhra and other parts of the State during these periods.

Although the first contacts of the Telugus with Christianity were established at the beginning of the 16th century, the seeds of salvation have not taken deep root among them during the first three centuries in the Nizam's Dominion. The reason could be political, the attitude of the Telugus towards Christianity and the lack of missionaries to spread the Faith.

A large number of Kamma Christians in Guntur, Nellore and Chingulpet Districts claimed themselves to be the descendants of the first Kamma Christians and also of the commonly found Christian name Annamma, who was the first convert from Kammass and from her a large number of Kammass embraced Christianity in the later part of 18th Century.¹¹ Though the Roman Catholic Missionaries could convert many people into Christianity drawn from upper castes in Andhra, but till the end of Seventeenth Century they could not convert anyone from among the depressed classes i.e., Malas and Madigas into Christianity.

Most of the Roman Catholic Missionaries were Doctors. This medical knowledge helped them much in their missionary work. Once it so happened that one Zamindar who was the nearest relative of Nawab of Kurnool brought his daughter for treatment to Roman Catholic Bishops. That daughter after listening to the

teachings of the missionary went back to her home and sent her servant to bring that missionary to Kurnool. Meanwhile that daughter died without taking baptism from the missionary. Later her parents got baptised. That servant also later took the name as Paul and took baptism. When this servant refused to worship the Zamindars' Gods he was sent out from his job. Later, he became a catechist and started preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ and reached Cuddapah. There he changed one Brahmin by name Thimmaiah and baptised him. Later he also treated the ill health of the daughter of Nawab of Cuddapah and as a gratitude the 'Siddavatam' Zamindary was donated to one of the Christian missionaries.¹²

There is also a story on Abdul Hassan, the youngest Nawab of Golkonda. In 1676 he visited Bundar. There the Dutch traders invited him to Sunday Church service and after the Church service, as mark of respect all the Dutch traders who attended the church arranged sing and dance programme. Some historians also say that Christianity entered Andhra region through Karnataka Mission during 1700 A.D. In 1701 A.D. Missionary Father by name Mr. Matwing succeeded in converting one 'Velama' family at Punganur in Chittoor District, Rayalaseema Region. Gradually Punganur became the Centre for the spreading of Christianity. From there with the help of rich families like Velama Kapus spread the religion to Venkatagiri (Nellore District) and Perakuru villages.¹³

Ranga Reddy, a rich man of 'Mudigubba' village in Anantapur District suffered with chronic disease. He was healed by the prayers of one Missionary from Krishnapuram by name Mr. Reegak. with this influence the reddies of Mudigubba and Almur villages converted into Christianity.

During the period between 1743-1776 Christianity declined in other regions except Guntur district. In 1743 the armies of Nizam destroyed the Churches of Kambala Dinne in the District of Cuddapah. Churches in Krishnapuram and Mudigubba were destroyed by the Palegars of the Region. The same treatment was meted out to Venkatagiri Churches also. Some Christian families of Nellore migrated to Guntur District. Christianity

was able to stand in this region due to the influence of French authority. The missionaries could secure 17.4 acres of land as 'Inam' in Mutlur village. After the Establishment of English authority in 1788 A.D. the work of these missionaries declined slowly in Guntur district. There were also the American Christians lived in Bundar and they built one Church in 1782 at Bundar. The Anglo-Indians, who were born to European Male and Indian Female couples also used to gather as small groups in areas like Kurnool and Cuddapah whenever they camped at these places.¹⁴

Firm footing, Religious practice, Local dialect, Understanding, Sharing and Overcoming the issues of the local people with a non-pareil service attitude were of utmost importance to the Christian missionaries in Kurnool. They were by far the most successful in finding solutions for the superstitions and the social evils hitherto corrupting the day to day lives of the inhabitants of the social sector leading to anarchy.

The Christian Missionaries who came to India, established their residential areas in the initial stages. They decided to introduce their religious practices in their teaching. Giving prime importance to forming an understanding with the local literature (TELUGU), they decided to come out with a policy on customs and religion. Christianity could not reach the forward castes easily. Missionaries faced many problems in their effort to change the problem. Villagers were given more priority than towns in establishing the Christian Churches. Christian religion was able to attract the rural and the poor to some extent. Added to this, natural calamities like drought, infectious diseases, and ill health made the Missionaries busy in rescuing operations, with their commitment of character. They provided educational and medical facilities, and set rehabilitation centers and thus tried to draw the attention of the local people with their service attitude.¹⁵

Sixty years prior to the year 1810 the Christian Church faced difficult situations due to frequent wars and the normal conditions in the country were disturbed. Consequently the Christian Missionary work received setback in Andhra Region. In 1751 the French after gaining Kurnool area persecuted many non-

Christians. This activity of French created hatred in the minds of people towards Christianity. Some Christians started deserting their dwelling places. In other local wars some Christians who could not bear the persecutions that came from non-Christians left to Nellore and Guntur districts via Anantapur and Cuddapah areas. Among them some could settle at 'Aler' and constructed one Church. When these people also received problems from local people they left 'Aler' leaving one Dalit family who belonged to 'Maha Caste' so as to enable them to look after the Church. But this Church was collapsed due to heavy storm struck the area in 1864.¹⁶

During this period 'Renta Chintala' was a village in Cuddapah district and few families of Reddy converted Christians were living. Though their ancestors were Christians but as there was no continued evangelic work in those areas after some years they left Christianity. The Christians of 'Proddutur' in Cuddapah District during this period deviated from Christian religious principles and started marrying Hindus.

Nandyal area of Kurnool District also figured much in the early Christian Church history in Andhra Pradesh. During the year 1810, few ladies from Nandyal travelled to Proddutur in Cuddapah district. When they were witnessing one Church worship organised by Catholics, they were much impressed by the order of service and started enquiring about Christ and Christianity. Later they embraced Christianity and went back to their homes and converted many of the Hindus along with their family members. But these families though strongly attached themselves to Christianity did not make any efforts to propagate the religion. By the year 1847 the Christian population in Cuddapah District was 700, in Kurnool 400 and in Guntur 700.¹⁷

During the year 1830's one person by name 'Aakula Nancharu' who belonged to a depressed class from Andhra area was a village youth and he was a cotton merchant. He had a great desire to know about God. He travelled many places in search of truth and finally he reached famous Temple at 'Ahobilam' which is situated near Allagadda of Kurnool district in Rayalaseema region. When he entered the

temple, the Brahmins identified him as a Dalit and when they prevented him from entering the temple he protested them. Thus, there was some quarrel and law and order problem. Immediately the police kept him in a jail. One Christian missionary visited his jail and preached him about Christ. After his release he started thinking about what the Missionary preached to him. Later he went to Cuddapah and met the missionaries and requested them to send the teacher to his village. As a result of his efforts, a teacher was sent to his village and he started preaching the gospel of Christ in that village and converted thirty families into Christianity. Thus, this was the way how missionary work for the first time commenced in Telugu area. In the year 1839 the British occupied Kurnool and the Nawab of Kurnool 'Rasool Khan' was put in Tiruchirapalli Jail on the pretext that this Nawab was webbing a conspiracy against the British. When he was in the Jail he was given some biblical literature. He read the literature and later converted to Christianity.¹⁸

In 1823-32, George Watkins served as District Judge in Chittoor, one of the districts in Rayalaseema Region of Andhra Pradesh. He preached Gospel in this area and converted ten Hindus into Christianity. When he was transferred to Cuddapah, he took all his converts along with him and kept them at Cuddapah and built one Church for them at Cuddapah and also for the London Mission Christians who were already staying at Cuddapah. Another Lawyer by name Mr. Eliot constructed one Anglican Church at Cuddapah spending his own money. Another Lawyer by name Crazier built Churches in Nellore and Vizianagaram. Mr. Walker another Lawyer built Baptist Church in Nellore.¹⁹

Though considerable efforts were made by the Asian Missionaries for the upliftment of lower caste people, they were criticised. In giving education and medical facilities these missionaries have done remarkable service through their continuous efforts in converting the people in Andhra where there was not even a single Christian.

In Rayalaseema region the pioneering missionaries during 1860s were Rev. D.S. John Hands and William Howell stationed at

Cuddapah. In the year 1868, Rev. R.D John Stone stationed at Nandyal and used to visit Tadipatri, who was assisted by a local clergy by name Rev. William Moses. Since the year 1872 the Bellary Missionary Rev. Eduru Lavis was visiting the places like Adoni, Alur, Anantapur, Dharmavaram and Penugonda. From 1868 onwards he made Adoni, Gooty and Bukkapatnam as his outstations. In 1880 Anantapur was made the mission station in place of Bukkapatnam and Mr. Enoch Andrew, a National Christian was appointed as the Mission worker at Anantapur. For some time Rev. B. Lucas was the Missionary at Penugonda but later he moved to Anantapur. Rev. Lucas was succeeded by Rev. W. Hinkley at Anantapur. Mrs. Hinkley, Miss M.L. Christ Lib and Mrs. Stephenson worked tirelessly among women, assisted by a national Bible women by name Bhagyamma and two other Bible women.

They travelled from village to village teaching women sanitation, cleanliness, sewing and godliness and they established schools for girls in Anantapur, Bukkapatnam and Dharmavaram. In the year 1881, the Missionary Rev. W.W. Stephenson had to leave Nandyal for reasons of health and moved to Gooty, making it his centre of activity. By then the National Christian Rev. Mathew Seth was preaching Gospel of Jesus Christ in Tadipatri. He was followed by Rev. Williams Moses, as already mentioned, and made many converts to Christianity from the Mala Harijans and Sudras. Churches were established in and around Gooty and Tadipatri. The workers from Cuddapah also were helping the work in Tadipatri. Many were embracing the Christian faith not only because of the propagation of the Gospel but also due to the influence of those who had become Christian converts.

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KALAMUKHAS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE KALACHURIES OF KARNATAKA

Iranna Pattar

Indians have various gods and goddesses of the Hindus and Thirthankaras of Jains and Budhas of Buddhist. The divinities of different religions were popularized by the religious teachers etc. With the help of religious texts by the patronage of rulers, officer's traders etc. rise from the early days. In the Hindus saivism is one of them and was a dominant religion. This religion was also greatly developed by its

teachers and followers. These teachers are largely belonged to Lakulisha –Pasupatha Kalamukha and Maheswaras. Among them the role of Kalamukhas during the Kalachuris of Karnataka is quite interesting. Because during the period many innovations took place one side from the kalamukhas and other side the rise of vachana literature of the shivasharanas. Therefore an attempt is made here to focus the

developments of saivism or transformation of Saiva activities from Kalamukhas of the Kalachuris. With the help of contemporary inscriptions.

The political development of the Kalachuris of Karnataka is as follows. The earliest member of this family as known from the epigraphs was Uchita. He is placed in the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. Many other important kings of this dynasty were Raja I, Asaga I, Kiriyaasaga (Asaga-II). The Asaga-II had two sons namely Raja and Bijja I. This is dated in 1057 A.D. After that, Kannama, Ammugi, Sankama, Jogama. Permadi of the Kalachuris had ruled as their subordinates. Permadi's son Bijjala II began to assume the sovereign titles like Bhujabalamalla, and Tribhuvanamalla. Further, he commenced counting the regnal years by his own name. Gradually Bijjala II gains a high had with the help of good number of officials and feudatories. Who served as subordinate to the Chalukyas. He succeeded in gaining hold over a large part of the Chalukyan Empire. Bijjal had six sons, viz, Vajradeva,

Rayamurari Sovideva, Mallikarjuna, Sankama, Ahavamalla and Singhana and two daughters of whom Siriyadevi had been given in marriage to Chavunda of the Sinda family, the feudatory of Chalukyas. The second daughter had married Barmarasa of Bandalike who was a relative of Kasyapa Nayaka. Who had introduced Vamasakti pandita a great Kalamukha saint of Balligave to Bijjala-II. Later become he his rajaguru. The independent rule of the Kalachuris was ended in about 1182 CE. During the period as feudatories and independent rulers they made significant contributions with the help of his new polices in the country. It is mentioned in the epigraphs issued by the officers, feudatories and the rulers. It is therefore reviewed the role of the Kalachuris

Inscriptions

There are about 22 epigraphs of the period are refer to Kalamukha sect and its preceptors etc. Following Table showing the Kalamukha centers during the Kalachuris of the Karnataka

Village	Taluk	District	King	Date	Temples	Name of Preceptors	References
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Bijjala	1156 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.104
Muttagi	Bagewadi	Bijapur	Bijjala	1158 CE	Shivalinga	Kasmirideva- Kalabhairava- Yogiswaradeva- Dharieswaradeva- Yogiswara-Lakulisha	SII XX 97
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Bijjala	1159 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.123
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Bijjala	1160 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.139
Lakshmesvar	Shirahatti	Gadag	Bijjala	1161 A.D.	Ramaideva	Devarasi pandita- Amritarasi Pandita	SII XX, 137
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Bijjala	1162 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.102
Ballidalike	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Bijjala	1163 CE	Kedareswar	Devashakti bratindra	E.C.VII, Sk.242
Hale Nignegila	Hirekerur	Haveri	Bijjala	1165 CE	Kedareswara	Vamashakti	KI vol. No.13
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Bijjala	1164 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.108
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Sovideva	1168 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.92
Balligave	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Sovideva	1171 CE	Kedareswar	Vamashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.150
Bandalike	Shikaripura	Shimoga	Sovideva	1174 CE	Mulastanada Someswara	Kalyanashakti	E.C.VII, Sk.236
Ratthalli	Hirekerura	Haveri	Sovideva	1174 CE	Kandabeswar a	Vamadeva- Vadirudra_Kriyasakti- Amritarasi	K.I.VI.37
Itagi	Yalaburgi	Koppal	Sankama	1177 CE	Trikuteswara- Mahadeswara	Kriyasakti Someswara Vidyabarana Someswara	EI Vol.XVIII pg.59

Lakshmesvar	Shirahatti	Gadag	Sankama	1179 CE	Lakshmaneswar	Trilochana pandita	SII XX 167
Kukkanur	Yalaburga	Koppala	Sankamadeva	1178 CE	Navalinga Someswar	Kaleswara	KUIV-
Ron	Ron	Gadag		1179 CE	Chameswara & Malleswara-Nagareswara	Kaleswara yati	EI XIX P.226
Haralahalli	Ranibennur	Haveri	Ahavamalla	1181 CE	Vikrameswara-Guttswara	Vamadeva Vadirudra_Kriyasakti-Amritarasi-Srikantadeva-Kriyasakti-II-Sarveswara-Kalyanasakti	SII XVIII 296
Dharwad	Dharwad	Dharwad	Ahavamalla	1188 CE	Somanatha	Vamadeva Vadirudra_Kriyasakti-Amritarasi-Srikantadeva-Kriyasakti-II-Sarveswara-Kalyanasakti	KI Vol. VI 39

The above table shows the distribution pattern of Kalamukha centers are studied here. The Kedareswara matha in Balligave was started in the middle of 11th century CE and it became a famous Kalamukha center in the last part of the twelfth century CE. It was established by a Kalamukha teacher, Kedarasakti, therefore it was named after him as Kedareswara Matha. As this Matha is situated near the tank sluice therefore it was also called as Kodyamatha.

Among these Vamasakti II shown in the genealogical account was described as one of a great acharya of Kodimatha. He was a senior disciple of Gautama and mentioned as Rajaguru of the king Bijjala II, Kasyapa Dandanayaka and Rayamurari Sovideva appears in six inscriptions between 1150 to 1171 CE. The details of the inscriptions are given below.

The Kodya Matha was an education centre in 11th to 12th century CE. Various subjects were taught there. Among them are 4 Vedas, 6 Vedangas, 6 Systems of Philosophy, the philosophy of the Buddhists; the Siddhanta of Lakula and the YogaShastra of Patanjali; 18 Puranas, Dharamashastras, Kavyas, Natakas, and other subjects were important in 1162 CE (EC VII SK-102). Bijjala –II made a gift of food for learning to the ascetics; another gift was made for repairing temple. In 6th year of his reign a grant was made by washing the feet of Gautamacharya, who was the disciple of Vamasakti-Panditadeva. The grant of a village Kirugeri was situated in the hundred *badu* province

The study further informs that about ten Kalamukha saints appeared as stanacharyas in the temples of various places during the reign of Bijjala-II. Those Kalamukha saints were Vamashakti at Balligave in 1156, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1162, 1164 CE and in 1165 at Balambida in 1165 CE at Halenidanegali. Tejorasi in 1160, CE, at Ganganarasi. Amrutarasi at Balligave in 1161 CE. Devasakti in 1163 in Baligave, Nagarasi in 1162 CE at Annigere, Rudrasakti in 1165 CE Malavalli and Muttagi, Kalyanashakti in 1159 CE and Kriyasakti in 1159 at Bharangi, Someswara Pandita at Kadlewada in 1163 CE and Balligave, Kedarasakti in 1164 at Balligave Saddhojata in 1161 at Managoli, Devarasi and Lakshmeswara.

The inscriptions inform that Balligave was acted as a famous Kalamukha centre during the period of Bijjala II. The Kalamukha saint Vamashakti pandita identified as Vamasakti Pandita II was quite well known both in the kingdom and at Balligave. He was also served as stanacharya even in two other places like Balambida and Halenidanegali. Interestingly there were other Kalamukha saints like Kedarashakti and Someswara pandita as stanacharya lived at Balligave. Three Vamasakti panditas appears in the geological list at Balligave. Vamasakti pandit I appears as the fourth stanacharya Vamasakti pandit II appears as the sixth stanacharya and Vamasakti pandit III appears as the last stanacharya.

Vamasakti pandita II who was a great learned scholar a stanacharya of Kedareswara temple or Kodimatha or Kedaramatha at Balligave appears as stanacharya first in 1156 CE and rajaguru of Chalukya king Jagadekamalla II. He was the eight stanacharya of that matha. Such a great personality Vamasakti pandita was first introduced to Bijjala II, by Kasyapa dandanayaka. Knowing the importance of Vamasakti pandita, Bijjala made grants to Kedareswara temple at Balligave. Kasyapa Dandanayaka appears as an officer in Banavasi region. After lapse of five years the Banavasi nadu was administered by another officer called Padmarasa under Bijjala II. It is interested to know that great saint Vamasakti pandita II a rajaguru of Bijjala was arrested in 1160 CE. During the rule of Bijjala II. By that time local officer called Babeyanayaka administrating Tonnvattiya meruga fought with the enemy and died. Babeyanayaka appears to have fought for protecting Vamasakti pandita.

When we look the political and cultural condition of the contemporary period, Bijjala had snatched the power from the Chalukya ruler Taila III. By that time Bijjala raised to the high position in 1155 CE. When he becomes powerful he appears to have changed some of the regional officers as well as predominant religious teachers. For example the regional officer Kasyapa dandanayaka of Banavasi nadu appears to be changed by Padmarasa within a span of four years. By then Kasyapa dandanayaka appears as a great personality both in his administration and in the life history of Basaweswara, Vamasakti was made as rajaguru in 1156 CE and was arrested at the lapses of three or four years. What made him to arrest Vamasakti pandita is not known. His role was known at Balligave up to 1156 to 1160 CE afterwards he appears at Balanbidu in 1162, 1163 and 1165 CE. It appears he might be in jail after the arrest from 1160 to 1162 CE. Later his place was changed to Bramarasi in 1162-65 CE. The study is definitely helping to understand the changing the powers of the regional officers and stanacharyas of the temples and appointing new administrators like Karnas to important towns and cities during the period. This policy was probably helped to Bijjala II consolidate and strengthened the administration in the kingdom.

Another Kalamukha centre by then was Lakshmeswara. Devarasi Pandita, the acharya of god Ramaideva and a disciple of Amritarasi Pandita said to have purchased some land from Rattagavunda of Beluvanagrama and granted the same for the worship of Muttinakeyya *Indreswara* in Lakshmeshwara. This priest was referred as *Kalamukhasamayasikhmani* During the period Huligeri-300 was administered by Vasuva-nayaka and four other karnas is mentioned in the Lakshmeshwara record.

Muttagi inscription mentions Sridhara dandanatha who was administrating Tardavadi 1000, during the region of Kalachurya king Bijjaladeva. He granted the village Nagahuru in Herbalu 12 for the service of the god Sivalinga at Muttuge. The grantee was made by taking the permission from the king Bijjala. The inscription further states that the earlier gift made by the Chalukya king *Pratap Chakravarti* Jagadekamalladeva was re-granted by Bijjala. Another inscription at the same place dated 1147 CE, refers to the lineage of the Kalamukha ascetics in the temple. HE is described as Kashmiradeva- Kalabhairavadeva- Yogiswaradeva – Dareswaradeva- Yogiswaradeva Lakulishabrat.

Later Bijjala II was succeeded by his son Rayamurari Sovideva. It was Kalamukha mention in five inscriptions of Rayamurari Sovideva. They are disclosing some more names of the Kalamukhas. First inscription of Balligave in Shikaripur taluk of Shivamogga district refers to administrative skill as well as his contributions of Kesimayyadandanayaka. During the visit of Kedareswara temple he made the donations to the Kodiyamatha and its sthanacharya Vamasakti II. The scholarship of Vamasakti II is described in the following verse.

*"Sabde Panini panditonayachaye
sribhushanacharya*

*Kmnatyadau Bharamunischa Bharata kavyesu
bandhuswayam/*

*Siddante lakulishwarh vapadeskandomahi
mandale soyam*

Rajagururyarthakatah Sri Vamasaktiryatih//

Another inscription of Rayamurari Sovideva of Balligave mentions that Vamasaktideva II was his rajaguru.⁷ The third inscription located at Bandalike Shikaripura

taluk, Shivamoga district of 1174 A.D. It mentions Kalyanasakti as a sthanadhipati of Mulasthanana temple. The gift was made to Kalyanasakti pandita of the temple appears in the Kalamukha lineage. The fourth inscription of Rattihalli, Hirekerur taluk, Haveri district refers to the gift of gadyana from every village of Nurumbada which contains hundred villages. The gift of two oil mills, a flower-garden a garden of hundred trees and a matter of land was made to god Kadambeswara of Rattapalli. Another gift was made to the same diests for worship and offerings and for repairing the temple. The gift was said to be handed over to a pontiff Kalyanasakti Pandita, of the Kalamukha School, whose spiritual genealogy is given as follows- Vamadeva – Vadirudra – Kriyasakti –I – Amritarasi - Shrikanthadeva Kriyasakti II - Sarvveswara--Kalyanasakti-Murujavideva - Lakulisa. The inscription eulogizes Rattapalli and its chiefs.

The fifth inscription of Kurugodu, Bellary district dated 1176 A.D. belongs to Kalchurya king Rayamurari-Sovideva who is described as Kuntaladesa Chakravarti. His feudatory Mahamandaleswara Rachamalla of the Sinda family, is said to have made a grant of land for the worship of the god Kalideva, which was built by Kalliseti one of the Mummuridandas of Kurugodu. The Mahamandaleswara Ajjarasa of Ballare is said to have made a gift of land for an aravattige, and a satra for pilgrims and the worship of the god. It also refers a Sthanacharya Amrutarasimunidra who is described as *Sakalagunodbhavakalamukhatilakam*.

Later Rayamurari Sovideva was succeeded by Sankama. About six inscriptions of Sankama refer to the Kalamukha ascetics. The first inscription of Bamkapur in Shiggavi Taluk, Haveri district is damaged. The extant of the record informs that Sri Vimalasakti was a *stanadhipati* of Nagareswara temple was given a gift of the village Gavandavalli located Panamgal five hundred as Sthal-vriti. He belongs to Kalamakha lineage. The gift was made by the king for the worship and the feeding of ascetic's for education and other charitable purposes in the above said temple.

The second and third inscriptions located at Itagi in Yalaburga taluk, Koppala district.

Refers to Kalamukha lineage as follows--- Kriyasakti Pandita---Somadeva Pandita--- Vidyadhara Pandita-----Someswara Pandita. It further states that Vaddavyavahari Nagidevayya made the a grant of 35 matters of land to Mahadeva temple at Itagi.

The fourth inscription located at Lakshmeswara in Shirahatti taluk, Gadag district dated 1179 A.D. records the gifts for various propose, and the details are lost. The gift was also made for the repair of the temple Svayambu Lakshmaneswara of Huligeri and was entrusted to Trilochana-Pnadita who belonged to Kittigave Gurukula. It was one of the branches of the Kalmukha sect.

Fifth inscription located at Kukkanuru in Yalaburga taluk, Koppala district, refers to Kaleswara a sthanacharya of Jyesthadevi. He was said to be holding the responsibilities of Navalinga Someswara and Navamatha. Besides that he had accepted the sthanacharya seat of the mathas of Mulasthanana Singeswara of Yarambaragi, Racheswara, Chaudeswara, Vikrameswara. This Kaleswara yeti was a guru of Mahamandaleswara Permadi and his Mandaleswara Chavund. He belonged to the Kalamukha lineage of Nagareswara of Sundi. The lineage was under the control of Someswara- whose disciple was Yogeswara. His disciple was an ascetic Kaleswara. The nature of the ascetic was peaceful and accepter of Shaiva Siddhanta who was well known in many Siddhantas. He was named as Siddhanti Kaleswara. He was said be an expert in Mantra and tantra. This ascetic was a worshipper of goddess Kalika Jyestha. It further states that this grant was given for the daily and special worship of Jyasthadevi and god Navalingadhiswara Someswara and offering food for the ascetics and for the repair of the temple by washing the feet of Siddhanti Kaleswaradevacharya

Sixth inscription located at Ron in Gadag district dated 1179 A.D. refers the gift of land to the god Chameswara and Malleswara at Ron, by Mahamandaleswara Vikramaditya of the Sind family who was administrating Kisukadu Seventy. The gift was made at the request of Bachaih Sahani. The gift was entrusted to Gurubhaktadeva of the Kalamukha sect. The Gurubhaktadeva lineage is as follows-

Vakkanadeva-Rudrasaktideva-Jnanasaktideva-Gurubhaktadeva. The name Gurubhaktadeva mentions Gury + bakta Guru means teacher, bhakti means student / disciple and deva is a word of god used in general way. It may be noted that Gurubhakta word is coming across invariably in Veerasaiva literature. This inscription also mentions the importance of Dana (grant) as

“daninva Palanainvapidananeswarayonupalaham”

DanatsvargamavapnotipalanadAchutainPadam

There is only one inscription of Ahavamalla found at Haralahalli. It is now in Kannada Research Institute Museum, K.U. Dharwad. It refers to two dates one of 1181 and other of 1188 CE. It begins with an invocation to god Somanatha and a eulogy of Kalyanasakti, the preceptor. The record states that Joyideva had a shrine constructed within the temple of Svayambu Somanatha in the village Vikramapura which was established by

him on the bank of the river Tungabhadra. The temple of Vikrameswara Gutteswara, probably the same as the shrine he got constructed, this chief made a gift of the villages Gottangudi and Kalevali situated in Honnavarti-12. The gift was made over to the Kalamukha School, whose spiritual genealogy is as follows Vamadeva – Vadirudra - Kriyasakti-I Amritarasi Sarvveswara - Kalyanasakti. The record is damaged and lost details.

The above study informs various Kalamukhas acharyas and their branches. They all belonged to saivas and as the *Stanacharyas* of shiva temples. Most of saints were well versed in yoga, japa, tapa and penance etc. Kalamukhas saints had their disciples and had different branch's like *Shakti perishe, Murukoneya santati, Kitegave santati, etc.* Thus details of the Kalamukha during the Kalachuris of Karnataka were hardly known in the contemporary *literary* account.

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DEVELOPMENT OF PORTRAIT SCULPTURE IN TAMIL COUNTRY

Dr. A. Mahalingam

Tamil Nadu has a rich tradition of art of sculpture represented in the temple architecture from the Sangam age to pre – colonial temple art. During the Sangam period art and architecture flourished well but not survived today because of the temples constructed by using impermanent materials. The Pallavas initiated the tradition of constructing temples by using stones such as rock cut cave temples, monolithic rathas and structural mode of temples. The Pallava rulers made innumerable sculptures in their edifices. All that sculptures contain the images of gods and goddesses, narrative panels and relief sculptures. The same method also followed by the Pandyas as well as

Cholas, the former concentrated on three division of temple evolution the later focused on the structural temples. Rare pieces of portrait sculpture are represented in temples of the Pallavas, Pandya and Cholas. It is difficult to differentiate the portrait sculpture from the images of gods and goddesses of this period. The portraiture of kings and queens are delineated in their temples with elaborate drapery and large crown. They wore the costumes of the divinity.

From the second half of the 14th century the Vijayanagara Empire encompassed territories from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of

Bengal, across the Deccan plateau and Southern India. These regions had once seen the rule of renowned dynasties of the Chalukyas, Cholas and Hoysalas, with different artistic traditions, each of which found its way into what was eventually to become "Vijayanagara Art"¹. The Nayak art of the Tamil country is an imitation and extension of the Vijayanagara art. The Nayak sculptures can be divided into two kinds' viz. statues and relief works. The Nayak period sculpture can be divided into the following categories: As said earlier the Nayak art is an imitation, continuation and extension of the Vijayanagara art, in the following aspects:

1. Iconography 2. Secular figures 3. Narrative panels 4. Portrait sculpture 5. Animals and Birds 6. Decorative motifs.

Main discussion in the paper is to interpret development of portrait sculpture and the dress and costumes pattern appeared on the portrait images. It also makes point about their relation with the monuments.

The final stage of South Indian sculpture during the Vijayanagara and Nayak period in the Tamil Country reveals both the continuation of long-established artistic patterns and the invention of new types. An argument is made by different scholars on the style of the Vijayanagara sculpture. It is expressed by A. L. Dallapiccola in her work, on "Sculpture at Vijayanagara"² Commenting on the difference in workmanship between the carvings in granite and other in schist, Percy Brown postulated the existence of two separate schools.³ Subsequently two famous scholars, R.N.Saletore and H.Goetz were familiar with the site, tried to resolve the problem of style.

R.N.Saletore in his 'Vijayanagara art' is one of the few scholars who tackled the complicated problem of the sources of the Vijayanagara sculptures.⁴ He begins with the criticism of Goetz's, "The indigenous sculpture of Vijayanagara developed from the style of the funeral stelas (*Virakkal* and *Satikka*) and snake stones of Western Chalukyan times. This representation is naïve, in flat stripes, without fore-shortening or perspective but immensely vital. Under Krishnadevaraya it became an integral part of official art".

Probably the most original contribution of the seventeenth century sculpture was the development of formal portraiture into a major art form. Donor images were carved on the temple columns and piers so as to face into the central spaces and aisles of the mandapas and corridors.⁵ The sculptural art of the Vijayanagara period exists in several temples and mandapas all over South India. The sixteenth and seventeenth century of the Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee of the Tamil Zone have followed their Vijayanagara tradition. The Nayaks of Madurai and Thanjavur were the prominent rulers in the Tamil zone. During their period, temples were transformed into vast complexes, with multiple sanctuaries, sub shrines, mandapas, corridors, courtyards, tanks and *gopuras*. These architectural components are with full of sculptural depictions. Most of these sculptures are in low relief. At times they appear in lines and give the impression of sketches by chisel. Some of the sculptures on the pillars of the Mandapas are in high relief, though they were chiseled on large scale, they show a high sense of proportion. The Pudu Mandapam at Madurai is one of the best examples of high relief.

The Pudu Mandapam that stands outside the Meenakshi-Sundaresvara temple complex at Madurai has fully modelled sculptures on the central piers. The ten Nayaks are depicted here and the identifying labels reveal that the figures of the rulers are arranged in chronological order in two rows, the first Vishvanatha, positioned opposite to the last, Tirumalai Nayak, sponsor of the whole project.⁶ In this way, the portraits function as a source for the history of the dynasty. Each king is shown facing into the middle of the hall from the front of the pillar, accompanied by diminutive wives together with children. The rulers themselves are of ample proportion with swelling stomachs and buttocks, their heads are raised up, the eyes wide open in worship. Tirumalai wears a cloth headgear filled with bunched hair falling to one side, in the manner typical of the mid seventeenth century. His predecessors wear pyramidal crowns with bulbous tops or simple turbans perhaps in accordance with earlier fashion.⁷

The attire of the kings uniformly appeared with earrings, necklaces, bracelets and waistbands. The queens wear pleated and jeweled saris fanning out between their legs. Other portrait sculptures are represented in Alagarkoil, Nellaiappar temple at Tirunelveli, Tirupparankundram, etc. The portrait sculptural tradition is represented during the Satavahana times.⁸ This tradition of portraiture continued during the Pallava and Chola times also. This became very popular during the Vijayanagara and Nayak period. These portraits reveal the extreme care taken by the sculptor to bring out the mood and personality of the subject in question.⁹

The portraits of Tirumalai Nayak and his Queens appeared in the temples at Alagarkoil, Tirupparankudaram and Srivilliputtur as evidence of the building activities of the ruler. The carving of Tirumalai Nayak's Queen is represented in a detached mandapa at Alagarkoil. It is unusually delicate carving. The jewels and costumes are clearly expressed. The head dress of the Queen is also adorned. The similar images of Virappa Nayak and his two Queens are also portrayed in Garuda mandapa at Srirangam. The cubical headgear is reflected typical character of Nayak court.¹⁰ The bronze image of Krishnadevaraya and his two Queens are exhibited in the Tirumala temple at Tirupati belonged to 16th century. The tradition of depicting portraits in the columns of the temple mandapas was one of the significant features of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The kings of this period appeared to have dressed in a simple manner. Many of them as may be seen from their statues in the Pudu Mandapam and in other monuments of this period did not wear any dress over the upper portion of their bodies. A tight full-sleeved jacket of thin material was sometimes worn as may be seen on the statues of Kasturi Rangappa and Tirumalai Nayak. A dagger of the Vijayanagara type appears on the right side of the waist of Viswanatha Nayak. It appears in the left side of the waists of the other Nayak sculptures.¹¹ It actually represents the hierarchy maintained during those days.

The general mode of royal wear seems to have been a dhoti or *veti*¹², *angavastra*¹³ and *urumal*¹⁴ or turban as referred to in the

Tiruvilayadal Puranam and Senpagaraman Pallu. According to Paes, the kings dressed in white clothes all covered and embroidered with golden roses.¹⁵ Tiruvilayadal Puranam describes this as *porsarikai*¹⁶ or gold fringe. The kings lower garment is sometimes like four-fold shaped cloth hanging from his waist and this is referred to in the literature, as *visiri madippu*.¹⁷ Sometimes it is called *koisam*¹⁸ or horizontal foldings, and it is tucked behind like a loincloth.

The Poligars of Tamilnadu or landlords wore their upper garment called *Anki*¹⁹ or long jacket, which is attested by the Kantasamy Katal a contemporary literary piece. Their unsown lower garment was *vetti* or dhoti. The term dhoti was a synonym for any kind of lower garment.²⁰ Often ends of the lower garment were passed between the legs and tucked behind. The behind portion of the lower garment is called *pattaittaru*²¹ or broad pleat of a man's cloth tucked in behind. This mode of wearing lower garment is known as *sakachcha*²². This style is still popular among the common men of India.²³ In the case of royalty nobility, sages and divine figures, their garment was extended down to the ankles. In the case of other common people like mahouts and soldiers or queen it is mentioned in Tiruvilayadal Puranam as *pitamparam*.²⁴

The soldiers' lower garment is described in the literature as *nisar*²⁵ or long drawers or trousers. A small strip of cloth covers only the private portions and the cloth taken between the two legs and tucked inside a string is tied round waist. This type of lower garment is referred to as *kaupinam*²⁶ in the Tiruvilayadal Puranam. It may be noted here that the practice of wearing a crude form of *langoti* is in vogue to this day in some parts of Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala.²⁷ This seems only to cover the body by labourers. It is referred to in the Telugu literature, Manu Charitra, as *kase*.²⁸ Most of the figures in the sculptures in the Nellaiyapper temple at Tirunelveli and Srirangam temple are the best examples of this mode of dress in the image of portrait sculpture. There is a kind of waistband referred to in the literature as *araippattikai*.²⁹ The elite people and divine figures seem to have used the waistband called *utara-bandham*.³⁰

The portrait sculptures in South India gradually developed from the rock-cut cave temple to structural temple attained its zenith during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the early temples the portrait sculptures are very meager and sporadic appearance. During the Vijayanagar Nayak

period, the temple architectural components accommodate large quantity of portrait sculpture, which leads to understand their adoration, involvement, patronage and contribution to the development of temple institutions and religious endowments.

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INSCRIPTIONS AND TEMPLES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA PERIOD IN – HAVERI DISTRICT

Mahantesh M Akki

Modern Haveri district which is now situated in the middle of Karnataka was a part of undivided Dharwad district in previous days. Due to the continuous efforts for the formation of new Haveri district. Haveri was declared as an independent district on 1997 August 15. Today modern Haveri district consisted of 7 taluks namely Haveri, Renebennur, Hirekerur, Byadgi, Savanur, Hanagal & Shiggon. This district is extended in geographical area of 4,851 sq. k.mts. This is the 22nd biggest district of Karnataka. From administrative point of view Haveri district consisted of 19 circles, 699 residential villages and 7 non-residential villages. Davanageri, Bellary, Gadag, Dharwad, North canara and Shivamogga districts forms the border areas of Haveri district.

Through the word “Haveri” has got an antiquity of more than 1000 years yet it is very difficult to say about the origin of the word Haveri. But in various inscriptions this town is referred as Haveri, Pavari, Hahari, Nalapuri, Hawari, etc. The historical antiquity of this place can be traced back to the period of 3500 B.C. to 1000B.C.i.e the period of Old Stone Age. After that in historical period this place was ruled by many dynasties like Mouryans, Satavahans, Kadambas, Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas of Malakhed, Chalukyas of Kalyana, Hoysalas, Rulers of Vijayanagar, Kadambas of Hanagal, Guttas of Guttala. All these dynasties have contributed a lot for the development of this place from political, economic, literary, religious & cultural point of

view. In this connection plenty of inscriptions available in this district throw much light on the history of this place. On the basis of the information's provided by these inscriptions an attempt is made to study on the Inscriptions and temples of the Rashtrakuta period prevallant in this district is done here.

In Haveri District there are around 109 inscriptions of Rashtrakuta. There are around 16 inscriptions in Haveri District which have not mentioned the name of king. The details about inscription is as follows.

	Name of the King	Nos of Inscription
1	First Krishna	4
2	Dhruv	3
3	Third Govinda	13
4	First Amoghvarsha	3
5	Second Krishna	22
6	Jattunga	3
7	Third Indra	10
8	Second Amoghvarsha	1
9	Fourth Govinda	2
10	Third Amoghvarsha	1
11	Third Krishna	20
12	Khottinige	2
13	Second Karka	1

The temples of Rashtrakuta are found in Ramalinga temple of Badamalli village of Byadgi taluk, Kallappa temple of Nadiharalhalli of Ranebennur taluk, Kalleshwere temple of Hiremaganur, Ishwer temple of Motahalli of Shiggaon taluk, Muradevara temple of Gundur of Savanur taluk, Kalmeshwar temple of Mannangi, Basaveshwar temple of Savur, Kalmeshwar temple of Halasur, Rameshwar temple of Kyasanur of Hanagal taluk, Parwathi temple Gudigudi, Sarveshwer temple of Naregal, Kalmeshwar temple of Basapur, Kallappa temple of Malligar, Ishwar temple of Suraleshwar, Subbamma temple of Kanavalli, Jaganatha temple of Kittur, Kalmeshwar temple of Digadur Ramalinga, Parameshwar and Virebadra temples of Sangur, Kalmeshwar temple of Aralekatti of Hirekerur taluk, Ishwar-Basavanna temple of Khandebagur Kalmeshwar temple of Nulageri,

Sannabasaveshwara and Ishwar temple of Medur, and Ishwar temple of Shirangambi etc.,

The architecture of these temples is in according to the Rashtrakuta. Among all these temples some of them are completely destroyed and other temples are completely renovated.

For Example: Shiragumbiya Eshwar Temple, Kanavalli's Subbamma Temple, Hiremagnur Kalmeshwar Temple, Mota Halliya Eshwar Temple and Digadurina Kalmeshwar Temple. Among the temples only some temples have, Veeragallugalu and some residuals are belongs to Rashtrakoota Inscriptions. For Example : Hiremagnur's Kalmeshwar Temple, Mota Halliya Eshwar Temple, Aralikatti Kalmeshwar Temple, Khandebagur Eshwar-Basavanna Temple and Medur Basavanna Temple.

There are only countable descriptions of inscriptions in temples of Haveri District. Namely Masanagi inscription of Byadgi taluk in which when Banavasi- 12000 was ruled by Akalvarsha and Basavuru – 140 by Nelliga in the name of Nagavanda. At that time Masalige abbiyar Tippagamunda constructed a temple and expired holding 7 days vrat.

In the inscriptions it is described that the builder of this temple Chennaiyya received dana and Nadagavunda Nellyamma has given 12 matters land and 1000 gardens to this temple. The inscription of Rashtrakuta's Second Krishna near Ghalapuji Kallagasi reveals that he has given dana to this temple.

The inscription of Anaji Village belongs to the period of Second Krishna in Hirekerur taluka. In the inscription there is reference about the construction of a temple by Iyapa Gavuda by receiving a donation of 12 Mattar land.

The inscription of Dharavarsha Dhruv is also found in the same village. In the inscription of Dharavarsha Dhruv there is description of about donation of the tax by selling ghee of Kavichhi Mariyabba Devi. The donation is described as follows " Kavicchhiya Mariyebbege Sunka Mankottan".

The Third Govind the ruler of Banavasi- 12000 Rajadityarasa donated Mallaveya Basidi. The reference about donation is mentioned in the inscription of Medur. The donation was

received by the disciple of Moniguru Shri Acharya (His name was not clearly mentioned in the inscription). There is a reference about donation of 6 Mattar Land by wife of Erayasamma to Apolobbe Beldavarige in the inscription of Third Govind.

The inscription found in the village of Javalli of Ranebennur Taluka describes about the installation of idol (name of the god is not disclosed), is partially destroyed temple. There is also a description about donation of agriculture land and horticulture land to this temple. The inscription found in the Betekari belongs to the period of Amoghvarsha and temple of Trikundpuraveshwar is completely destroyed.

The inscription found in Ranebennur taluka belongs to First Amoghvarsha, "Nagalara Pollabbe Madida Basidi" like this it is mentioned in the inscription. The basadi was constructed by Nagalara Pollabbe. To construct the basadi there is a reference about receipt of donation like agriculture Land, Horticulture Land and Residential House by head of the Nagalara Basadi Singhvooraganada Naganandi in the presence of the Gavuda of the village namely Prabhuvær, Karagamunda, Pourigamunda,

Unchar Janja, Tallara PulliGamunda, Kanchi's Nagula Chinkapanaaniyanna. The inscription of Hiremagnur of Ranebennur taluka belongs to the period of Third Indra. The ruler Aiachhayanna Kuduwendaganda- 70, Ittige - 30 and with the blessings of Kerevoor and Taanagundur Mahajana constructed the lake, temple and donated some amount. The name of Gavuda is not disclosed in the inscription.

The inscription of Havanagi of Hangal Taluka belongs to the period of Third Indra. There is a reference about donation of land for Shri Kalidevar Nandadeepa by Sunkavargade Kamarasa. The inscription of Hattimattur of Haveri District discloses the fact that the donation to construct Bhogeshwar god's lamp is given by Tellige Setti and Ivattukkilnavar.

The above study reveals that the inscription's belonging to the different kings discloses the fact about the temples of Rashtrakoota in Haveri District. The study of Haveri District reveals that there are only few temples built by Rashtrakoota and these temples are in the state of extinction. It is the responsibility of each one of us to protect and maintain these ancient monuments.

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CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM AS A TOOL FOR SOCIO – ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA – A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANDHRA PRADESH

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Introduction

Indian Heritage tourism is a branch of tourism that involves visiting historical or industrial sites and which is oriented towards the cultural heritage of the location where tourism is occurring. It refers to cultural aspects which are of interest to the visitor and can be marked as such, including older buildings, battle fields, archeological sites, historical temples the customs and traditions of people, their heritage, history and way of life. Because heritage is a good motivator for tourism, cultural heritage tourism in India often involves "travelling to

have both tangible and intangible experience at the destinations and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present." An area that develops its potential for cultural heritage tourism creates new opportunities for tourists to gain an understanding of an unfamiliar place, people or time. As the tourist arrives in an area, new opportunities for preservation are introduced. Well-interpreted sites teach tourist their importance, and by extension, the importance of preserving other such sites elsewhere.

Economically, Cultural heritage tourism can be a source of revenue that is capable of creating jobs, providing new business opportunities and strengthening local economies, increase property values and opportunities for diversified economies. Socially, Cultural heritage tourism can establish and reinforce identity; it can also help preserve the cultural heritage of our country. With culture as an instrument, it can facilitate harmony and understanding among people, by supporting culture and by helping renew tourism (Richards, 1996). Heritage Tourism can also promote community pride, which grows as people work together to develop a thriving tourist industry. The main argument is that Cultural Heritage Tourism in India can be used as a resource not only for social cohesion but as a tool for special interest tourism and local community social economic development. If well implemented and managed, Cultural heritage tourism should impact positively on local economies and improve socio economic conditions in general by creating employment to local people.¹

There is an opinion that Cultural Heritage Tourism in India does not contribute optimally to appeal tourists and to improve socio economic conditions of local communities. This perception is primarily based on two factors: the first which is by lack of awareness among the local communities about tourism and its importance in sustainable growth in India makes specific reference to the values of respect of culture and heritage, especially in the context of developing and growing domestic tourism. The second factor which is informed by the Government of India annual report (2016) on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in India makes specific reference to previously neglected areas of tourism development in struggle-related monuments and attractions. This factor is in response to the general under representation of Cultural and heritage tourism products within the tourism market due to the traditional practice for the tourism industry in India to focus largely on nature-based-attractions – i.e. natural environment, wildlife and wilderness, and have paid little attention on cultural products and heritage resources.²

Some interesting facts of Andhra Pradesh

"I invite you to sunrise Andhra Pradesh, the treasure-trove of opportunities. My

government is fully committed to making Andhra Pradesh as one of the top three states in India by 2020. Our ideas are big and our vision is global. Join us in growth and prosperity,"³

Nara Chandrababu Naidu Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh is the State of Opportunities. The State now targets to be among the top 3 states in India by 2022 and a developed state by 2029. With the second longest coastline of 974 kilometers in the country, a rich historical and cultural heritage, ancient and spiritual temples, serene valleys and hills; the new state of Andhra Pradesh with 13 districts holds vast tourist potential, hitherto. Andhra Pradesh is strategically located on the south-eastern coast of India and is a natural gateway to East & South-East Asia. The state has a population of 4.93 crore (Census-2011), accounting for 4% of country's population. The State provides an amalgamation of factors conducive to high growth and accelerated development, such as strong infrastructure, highly talented technical manpower, enterprising population and dynamic leadership. These offer immense opportunities for ushering in growth, development and resurgence of the State-the 'Sunrise State'.⁴

Heritage Tourism

Tourism where heritage is the core product that is offered, heritage is the main motivating factor. Historic building, Monuments, traditional events and folklore practice. Tours taken up to the above is termed as Heritage Tourism. Forts, Palaces and other Historical buildings and performing Art forms like dances, crafts, music are the Tourism products for Heritage Tourism.

Cultural Tourism

It is not accidentally that Andhra Pradesh is the core of civilization and the cradle of religions, a cradle for cultural tourism. The cultural tourism grew in the state at outset of the pilgrims 'trips to the holy places like Tirupati. The scripts of travelers and the earlier pilgrims are a comprehensive evidence and a thorough reference depicting all sorts of activities, namely, spiritual, intellectual, material, social and the traditions and customs in Andhra Pradesh in

the past centuries. That implied that the motives of many pilgrims were cultural. Andhra Pradesh is still, up till now, the central focus of attraction for pilgrims and visitors. That proves what it contains of religious places and archaeological sites were the destination of an intellectual who was eager to know history. Nowadays, the religious tourism has become a mixed tourism because it ensures visiting both religious place and cultural features. Several tour operators, which organize pilgrim trips to the holy places, incorporate in their programs, various cultural activities. Various types of pilgrims come to Andhra Pradesh because the religious places, for these religions, are available throughout the country. So, there should be appropriate programs for these cultural, religious and social diversity and provide services suitable for all the ages or the nature of each group; The religious tourism in Andhra Pradesh has a collective quality and takes place in all seasons there are famous Buddhist circuits in Andhra Pradesh Tourism to visit as many Buddhist sites as possible. There are museums at places like Nagarjuna Knonda, Guntur, and Amravati that display various Buddhist antiquities and relics gathered during the course of excavations at the various sites. Andhra Pradesh seems to be a repository of enlightenment as far as Gautama the Buddha is concerned.

Bara Shaheed Dargah (Rottele Panduga)

Sri Potti Sriramulu Nellore district is located in Coastal Andhra region is one of the 13 districts of Andhra Pradesh. The population of the district according to the Census 2011 was 2,966,082 of which 29.07% were urban Nellore city is its administrative headquarters. The district is bordered by the Bay of Bengal to the east Kadapa district to the west, Prakasam district to the north, Chittoor district and Thiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu to the south.

Rotiyaan ki eid or Rottela Panduga is an annual three-day urs (festival) held at Bara Shaheed Dargah in Nellore in Andhra Pradesh, India. Annual event is observed in the month of Muharram as urs of 12 martyrs whose mortal remains are buried in the compound. Women who visit the shrine, exchange their rotis (flat breads) in Nellore Tank. It is one of the venerated places of worship in Nellore district that pulls in guests from the nation over and

abroad including some celebrities who visit the urs celebration. It is one of the best culture.⁵

According to the legend, the Nawab of Arcot had summoned a regiment from Turkey to fight against British in the year 1751, a year which marked the siege of Arcot during a series of Carnatic wars. Twelve soldiers in the regiment were highly religious and performed Namaz five times a day and observed all the rules of their faith. Though the regiment won, the 12 warriors were beheaded by the rival forces in the battle at a place called Gandavaram, 15 km from Nellore. The headless bodies were brought back on the horses they were riding to the present Dargah area in Nellore and the place became popular as Bara Shaheed Dargah because they were laid to rest at the place and a Dargah was built thereafter. Word spread about the power of the warriors to grant the desires of the devout after the wife of then Arcot Nawab was cured of a serious illness when she offered prayers at the tombs of the 12 warriors. As a token of reverence, the queen, along with the Nawab, distributed rotis among the warriors and later to the locals and devotees through the Dargah on the 12th day of the Muharram month has become a tradition since then.⁶

Based on the desire of the devotees, the rotis are named as Sowbhagya (good fortune) roti, Vidya (education) roti, Udyoga (employment) roti, Vivaha (marriage) roti, Santana (children) roti, Dhana (money) roti, and even Visa roti. The roti vendors make a fast buck by catering to specific requirements. The exchange of rotis takes place at the Nellore tank, also known as 'Swarnala Cheruvu', located close to the dargah. According to tourism department people of all faiths from Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and other states, and some even from abroad, through the Dargah and the numbers are increasing every year, 10 to 12 lakh people come to every year.⁷

Economic Development

The tourism industry has emerged as one of the largest and fastest growing economic sectors in India. The Scheme of Rural Tourism was started by the Ministry in 2002-03 with the objective of showcasing rural life art, culture and heritage at rural locations and in villages, which have core competence in art and craft,

handloom, and textiles as also an asset base in the natural environment. It aimed to benefit the local community economically and socially. Under this scheme, the development of physical

infrastructure at the identified rural site is supplemented by the capacity building of the local population to develop the identified site as a rural tourism product.⁸

District –wise Tourism Arrivals, 2017

Sl.No.	District	Tourism – Tourist Arrivals – 2017 (in No's)		
		Domestic	Foreigners	Total
1	Srikakulam	21312390	1262	21313652
2	Vizianagaram	5508106	3341	5511447
3	Visakhapatnam	20540065	104458	20644523
4	East Godavari	12811252	3910	12815162
5	West Godavari	9740410	568	9740978
6	Krishna	17655865	11311	17667176
7	Guntur	12172840	1607	12174447
8	Prakasam	3705667	6228	3711895
9	S.P.S.R.Nellore	3687353	2424	3689777
10	Y.S.R	4966462	85	4966547
11	Kurnool	7037110	463	7037573
12	Ananthpuramu	1406075	109176	1515251
13	Chittoor	44890303	341764	44916832
ANDHRA PRADESH		153163354	341764	153505118

Source: Director of Tourism, Vijayawada, A.P.

Conclusion

As long as there is Cultural Heritage Tourism in destinations there will be tourists, and lots of them. But as the number of ways for people to spend their free time increase daily, competition to cultural heritage sites, potentially threatening their economic well-being. Cultural Heritage attractions are no different from other tourist destinations in that they must plan carefully for all aspects of their operation, leaving as little as possible to chance. No one can predict the future, but equally anyone can take measures to reduce uncertainty. The Indian heritage is being managed in conscience that it is richness of the people and the states. The people should be well educated in the frame of heritage consciousness. It is important to reevaluate cultural heritage in India to benefit the

locals in subject area. Education on heritage conscience and integrating the locals into the heritage management plan is essential for the continuation of it. It is time to view heritage as whose belonging, for whom and how to manage it, not only viewing it as remains from the past or revenue resources. Making heritage as resources is not only commercializing and promoting it to the wide worked but also to support its survival as part of the people's identity. I propose that all the states in India are having different cultural practices and having rich resources in heritage so if they can understand the richness of these resources and organize the cultural and heritage fairs and festivals than surely India would soon become the most sought of tourism destination in the world.

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INSCRIPTIVE STUDY OF NON-LIVESTOCK DONATIONS FOR PERPETUAL LAMPS IN THE TEMPLES IN VIRUDHUNAGAR DISTRICT

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In the medieval period temples in the Tamil country served as centers of socio-religious and cultural activities. The familiar Tamil dictum *koil illa uril kudi irukka vendam* (do not dwell in a village where there is no temple) shows people's realization of the importance of temples. The belief that donations to temples bring much blessing to the donors make both monarchs and ordinary citizens donate to temples. The donations were made in various ways. Temples were constructed and provisions were made to sustain the activities of the temples like performing *pujas*, lighting of lamps and offering food. People from all walks of life offered donations of lamps and materials for sustaining them. Inscriptions term these lamps as perpetual lamps (*tiru nanda vilakku*). The donors donated various kinds of donations in the form of livestock, gold coins, land and oil presser for the maintenance of these lamps. Twenty inscriptions of Virudhunagar District are pertaining to non-livestock donations. This paper deals with the non-livestock donations give to the perpetual lamps.

In the medieval period temples in the Tamil country served as centers of socio-religious and cultural activities. The familiar Tamil dictum *koil illa uril kudi irukka vendam* (do not dwell in a village where there is no temple) shows people's realization of the importance of temples. In the words of V. Subba Reddy, "Temples, in ancient and medieval period in South India, played a pivotal role in the life of the community. Besides promoting metaphysical inquiry into the mysterious realm of God, they served as centres of learning, imparting knowledge and also training in fine arts such as dance and music. The finest marvels of architecture, which Goethe described as frozen music, are found in the temple. They were also the hub of commercial and business activities. The architecture and the stone

inscriptions, found in the temple precincts, help the historian discover the forgotten past and depict the picture of life of our ancestors, social, economic and cultural"¹ The belief that donations to temples bring much blessing to the donors make both monarchs and ordinary citizens donate to temples. The donations were made in various ways. Temples were constructed and provisions were made to sustain the activities of the temples like performing *pujas*, lighting of lamps and offering food. People from all walks of life offered donations of lamps and materials for sustaining them.

Lighting of Perpetual Lamps in Temples

The *bhakti* movement stimulated the construction of temples. To dispel the darkness in the covered sanctum and other parts of temples, oil lamps were used as there were no other facilities for illumination available in those days. Inscriptions term these lamps as perpetual lamps. The inscriptions of the First Pandyas call them *tirunonthavilakku*² and the Second Pandya inscriptions name them as *tirunanda vilakku*³ and *tiruvilakku*⁴. The inscriptions in Virudhunagar District mention the donations of perpetual lamps made during the periods of the Early Pandyas (eighth and ninth centuries A.D), the Medieval Pandyas (tenth and eleventh centuries A.D), the Cholas (eleventh century A.D.) and the Later Pandyas (twelfth and thirteen centuries A.D.)

The lamps were carved on pillars or on single stones. Metal lamps were also used. An inscription of Maranjadayana, a ruler of the First Pandyan Empire, at Tiruchuliyal mentions a brass lamp (*taravilakku*)⁵. In the later period *pavaivilakku* (a lady holding a lamp in her hand) were made in stone and metals. The lamps were kept burning day and night (*iravumpahalumeriya*)⁶. There were also twilight lamps called *sandiyadeepam*⁷. The lamps were

kept burning in front of the deity. A Tiruchuliyal inscription⁸ refers to the lighting of a lamp in front of Pillaiyar shrine. Along with the lamps, oil and ghee, which were needed to keep them burning, were donated. The donors donated in the forms of livestock, gold coins, land and oil presses. Forty-one inscriptions in Virudhunagar District mention the donations given for perpetual lamps. Among them twenty-two inscriptions describe the donations of livestock-sheep, cow and buffalo. Twenty inscriptions pertain to non-livestock donations. This paper deals with the non-livestock donations given for perpetual lamps.

Reasons for the Donation of Perpetual Lamps

After the *bhakti* movement, the temple became an established institution with *agam* pattern of worship. For sustaining it, different types of donations were made. Generally donations were made for obtaining religious merits and blessings from the deity. For the welfare of the family members donations were given⁹. From the Chola period onwards as a punishment for the offence of committing death without prior motive, the guilty persons were ordered to maintain the perpetual lamps in temples.¹⁰ The offender should meet the expenses for burning the lamps.

The following table shows the non-livestock donations in a nutshell.

S. No.	Donations	Number of donations in various periods		
		Early Pandyas	Cholas	Later Pandyas
1	Lamp	-	1	1
2	Land	-	-	7
3	Land with a well	-	-	2
4	Ghee	1	-	-
5	Oil	-	-	1
6	<i>Chekk</i> (oil press)	1	-	4
7	Gold coin	1	-	3
8	Land tax	-	-	1

(A few inscriptions record more than one item as donation)

Donation of Lamps

Besides lamps carved on pillars, door frames of the sanctum and floors, there were

Donors of Perpetual Lamps

The donations for perpetual lamps were given by ministers,¹¹ temple priests,¹² village assemblies (*urar*, *karanavar*),¹³ brahmins¹⁴ and other members of the society.¹⁵ Persons from distant places also donated for perpetual lamps. The Sengunrapuram inscriptions¹⁶ refers to the donations of Keralan Narayanan alias Manabaranan of Vamanapuram in Malaimandalam (Kerala). The Tirutantal inscription¹⁷ states that during the reign of Kulasekara (1070–1120 A.D), the Medieval Pandya, Villi Tirumadamudaiyan, a native of Tiruvalundur in Cholamanadalam,¹⁸ bought land and donated it for a perpetual lamp.

Kinds of Non-Livestock Donations

As noticed earlier, perpetual lamps were donated by members of different communities. Donations such as lands and gold coins were generally donated to provide oil or ghee for the lamps. To extract oils from sesame seeds or coconuts a few donors donated oil presses (*chekku*) to temples. A stipulated amount of ghee or oil required for keeping lamps burning throughout day and night was donated.

brass lamps as well which were donated from the Early Pandya period onwards. At times two or three lamps were donated. The Sengunrapuram inscription¹⁹ refers to a

donation of two lamps. The Aruppukottai inscription²⁰ mentions a donation of three lamps. Two varieties of lamps are mentioned in inscriptions, perpetual lamps (*nondavilakku*) and twilight lamp (*sandiyadeepam*). Perpetual lamps were kept burning day and night. A Tiruchuliyal inscription specifically mentions it as *iravumpahlumeriya* (burning day and night). Inscriptions in Chalapuram,²² Palavanatham, Tiruchuliyal²³ and Sengunrapuram²⁴ in Virudhunagar District refer to the donations made for twilight lamps.

Donation of Land

In the agrarian economy of the medieval period land was a valuable asset. The affluent in the society donated a sustainable measure of land to temples for keeping perpetual lamps burning. One hundred and seven inscriptions in Virudhunagar District refer to land donations given to temples. Among them nine inscriptions mention land grants made exclusively for perpetual lamps. The land donation given for perpetual lamps was called *tiruvilakkupuram*²⁵. An inscription of a Pandya ruler of the later period (name lost in the inscription) at Palavanatham refers to a tax-free land donated for one perpetual lamp and one twilight lamp along with an oil presser. The extent of the lands donated along with details of measuring rods such as *KunrakkalPandikko*²⁶, *Ettuko*²⁷ and *Thenko*²⁸ are given in the inscriptions. The land donation was assigned to temple authorities by through a process called *nirvarthukoduthu*²⁹ (pouring of water) to renounce their claim over the land.

Two inscriptions at Tiruthangal³⁰ mention the donation of a land with a well. Virudhunagar District, where there is no perennial river, had to rely upon the monsoons for water. Hence wells were dug for irrigation. The donors were keen on donating the water resources along with land for the maintenance of perpetual lamps.

Donation of Land Taxes

A Tirutangal inscription³¹ states that Kurukulatharaiyan, a minister of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, bought lands from the *sabha* of Vanavanmahadevi Chaturvedimangalam and donated the lands and certain taxes on the lands to Ninra Narayana Perumal Temple in Tirutangal for its perpetual lamp to be kept

burning. The taxes assigned were *kariyavaratchi* (cess paid for the superintendence of transactions), *vettipattam* (tax for paying wages for the labourers engaged in public works in the village), *panchupilli* (tax on cotton) and *sandivigrahaperu* (tax for paying the documentary writer)³². The members of the *sabha* gave an assurance for collecting and paying the taxes to the temple.

Donation of Fuel for Lamps

A single inscription of the Early Pandyas at Tiruchuliyal mentions³³ a donation of one *ulakkuney* (ghee) measured in *nnarasnal* (name of the volumetric measurement in the period of the Early Pandyas) for a lamp. One *ulakku* ghee was the standard amount of fuel needed for keeping one perpetual lamp burning. An Aruppukottai inscription³⁴ of the period of Maravarman Sundara Pandya states that the *urar* agreed to supply a day's produce of oil by an oil – presser (*chekku*) to the Meenakshi – Chokkanathar Temple for the perpetual lamps to be kept burning. Though the oil is not specified, one can presume that the oil might be sesame oil³⁵.

Oil pressers (*chekku*) were also donated for extracting oil for the use of lamps in temples. A Palavanatham inscription³⁶ gives a detailed account of the number of lamps, *irayilli* (tax-free) land and *chekku* donated to the Poonganattu Kanchi Kailathanathar Temple. The Karicheri³⁷, Muthulapuram³⁸ and Enjar³⁹ inscriptions refer to the donation of *chekku* alone.

Donations of Gold Coins

During the reign of Maranjadaiyan, a Pandyan ruler of the First Pandyan Empire, *palankasu* (a gold coin in circulation during the Early Pandya period) was deposited for the supply of ghee to keep a brass lamp burning in the Arikesari Isvarathalavan Temple in Thiruchuliyal⁴⁰. A Chalapuram inscription⁴¹ mentions a deposit of eight and a half *achchu* (a gold coin used during the Later Pandya period) in the temple to keep a twilight lamp burning. Generally gold coins were deposited in the temple treasury and the interest accrued from it (*poliyuttagakondu*) was used for the stipulated purpose for which the grant was made.

Safeguards of Donations

Most of the donations were made during the Later Pandya period in which temples had a well-established administrative system with checks and balances. Inscriptions show that generally donations were entrusted to the temple officials. Two Cholanpuram⁴² inscriptions state that gold coins were entrusted with temple officers known as *pandarigal* for lamps to be kept burning. The same inscriptions also state the *sabha's* confirmation of carrying out the purpose of the donation. The Sengunrapuram and Tirutungal inscriptions also refer to the *sabha's* assurance to carry out the purpose of donations. It shows that temple officers under the supervision of the local assembly made use of donations for the purpose intended by donors. A Rajapalayam inscription⁴³ gives interesting information. The temple priests received the donation and promised to upkeep it (*pidipadu panni koduthu*). If they did not fulfill the duty of utilizing the donation properly, i.e. if they did not light the perpetual lamp for which the donation was made, they would keep two perpetual lamps burning as a punishment and pay a fine of one *panam* (*irandunanda vilakku merithuthan damorupanamum kudupo magavum*). The concluding part of the inscription blesses those devotees who verify the proper use of the donations for the intended purpose devotedly as expressed in the words *avarkalsaranangalirandumentalaimelana* [their (devotees') feet on my head].

Significance of the Donations

Donating for perpetual lamps was affordable to ordinary men. A piece of land or a few gold coins or a *chekku* could be presented for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp or twilight lamp. A Tiruchuliyal inscription states that during Rajaraja Chola's period a carpenter namely Iruppaikudi Tachchan Sattan donated a lamp to the temple in Tiruchuliyal. Inscriptional details show that donations were made for lamps throughout Virudhunagar District. Cynthia Talbot comments, "...our epigraphic evidences indicate that temple endowments were a significant method of assimilation and accommodation of the originally marginal community of people"⁴³.

At a glance of the donations given for perpetual lamps it can be seen that live stock were mainly donated during the Early Pandya period, whereas most of the donations of the Later Pandya period were non-livestock. Generally donations of gold were used by temple authorities to provide loans to *sabhas* or villagers for interest. Indirectly it helped the development of the local economy. Land donations to temples made the temples landowners and thereby made them play a crucial role in shaping the village economy that was based on agriculture. The checks and balances of the administrative system of temples are noteworthy. The local assemblies had a check on the temple treasury regarding the utilization of donations and punishment meted out to defaulters. A study of non-livestock grants for perpetual lamps throws light on the socio-religious life of the people and temple administration.

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SUFISM IN KARNATAKA: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KARWAR TALUK

L.P. Maruthi

In the beginning of the 7th century A.D. the Islam entered Karnataka along with the Arab traders. After Islam settled in Karnataka, Sufism entered Karnataka. Hazrat Sayed Sha Hisamud-din-Teighbarana was the first Sufi saint who came to Karnataka in 1301 A.D.. He got shelter in Bahmani kingdom of Gulbargah (Kalaburagi). He started the propagation of Sufism in Karnataka and many Muslim rulers accepted and embraced the Sufism by its influence. Later many sufi saints were came to Karnataka and they succeeded to get the shelter in Muslim States of Karnataka. And then saints were scattered among several districts of modern Karnataka, and Uttara Kannada district is one among them.

Emergence of Sufism in Karwar Taluk

We can trace the emergence of Sufism in Karwartaluk with the beginning of 17th century A.D. by coming of Shah Karaniuddin or Shamsuddin. Shah Qadariya who was the first Sufi saint came to Karwar taluk. He was the descendant of Hazrat Gause Azam Abdul Qadir Zilani of Bhagdad the founder Qadmiya order of Sufism. As result of persistent discourse of Shah Karamuddin Qadariya order became a major offshoot of Sufism in Karwartaluk. All sufi saints were played vital role in spreading the Sufism among the people of Karwartaluk with having-the main principles like equality and selfless eservice to mankind. All prominent sufi saints from this ialuk were belonged to Qadariya cult one of the major cult of Sufism.

Darghas of Sufi saints in Karwartaluk

Among the 49 villages from this taluk 8 villages have darghas of Sufi saints; those are Sadashivgadh, Hosalli, Mudgeri, Suukeri, Shejwad, Makeri, Kadwad and Angadi. Majority of darghas are situated on the both banks of the river Kali. It clearly shows that sufi saints had resided near the river to facilitate their routine deeds in their last days. These darghas are not only the centres for Muslims other religion pilgrims also visit darghas and pray for the grace of Peers.

The village Sadashivgadh alone has 6 darghas among the 14 darghas, the total number of darghas of the taluk. Those six darghas as follow Shah Karamuddin Dargha, Bawa Ali or Bawa Fakruddin Qadariya Dargha, Noor-Peer of Kanasgiri Dargha, Panch Bibi Dargha, Dargha of Hazrat Abbas Peerwaliand Hazrat Dawood Peerwaliand Yusuf Shah Dargha. This village is not only the religious centre for Muslims also for the other religions. Majority of Muslim population and majority of Darghas are here. This village is famous Muslim centre in this taluk. Among these six Darghas Shah Karamuddin Dargha is very famous, which built on the right bank of the river Kali. The confluence of" the river Kali and the Arabian Sea can be seen here. This is caused for developed the Dargha as tourist spot. Shah Karamuddin became very prominent because of in 1605 along with 140 peers he hardly strived to popularise the Qadariya cult in this taluk.

Urus celebration will be organized yearly once in each dargha. Some dargha's urus would be held for 3 or 4 days and some urus are only for one day. On the occasion of urus, sandal ceremony, lamps lighting and also reciting ceremony of Khuran incantations are taken place. The second dargha was built on the grave of Bawa Fakruddin Qadariya popularly known as Bawa Ali, who was beloved pupil of Shah. Karamuddin. Bawa Ali had tremendous knowledge in medicine (Yunani) plants and its use, which helped him to cure many diseases of the people. That is why people had very strong faith in this peer. Remained four darghas of Sadashivgadha are not important such an extent.

Mardan Gayebdargha is located at the entrance of a small village named Hosalli. Here also the urus will be held once in a year on 15th Rajab (7th month of the Islamic year). Mudgeri is one of the historical place of Karwartaluk. Here relics of fort can be seen constructed by Tippu Sultan of Mysore. At this fort the dargha of Shameer Peer has built. No urns celebration will be held in this dargha. Nizaam Peer Majalidargha is located at Angadi village. It was built in the land of a Hindu, whose opinion about dargha is that due to the existence of dargha here we feel safe. The area of this dargha is completely covered by thick forest. The urus celebration will be held here in every year. The dargha of Dawood Malik Shah is situated in Sunkeri village. Dawood Makil Shah and his brother Hab Ali Shah were succeeded their work of curing the people from the sever plague in 1896 in which the British Government also worked. These two brothers worked parallel to the government in the work of providing medicine to the people of Karwartaluk with the help of their Yunani (medicine) knowledge. Another one dargha is at Sunkeri named Hazrat Ibrahim Shah and Hazrat Mahboob Shah-walidargha. This dargha is situated near Muslim graveyard (Qabarsthan). That is there is no allow to women to go to dargha. Dharyakhanadargha in Shejwad is another important dargha of this taluk. Peer Hazrat Dharyakhana was famous for his kindness. He was ordered to his disciples and followers not to construct tomb on his grave, but the people have done the work of

constructing the tomb. In this dargha women are strictly not allowed to enter even the girl child who attained the age of seven. The dargha of Kanji Peer is situated at Makeri. Original name of Kanji Peer was Ataullah Shah Qadariya who was popularly called as 'Kanji Peer' or 'Ganji Peer'. He led his complete life as an ascetic strictly. Only once or twice in a week he could come out from his Quankah to have food which was offered by the people. Dargha of Hazrat Bawa Badang is situated in Kadwad village. At the time of famine in Kadwad this peer prayed the god for rain and from the divine grace the village got the rain. That is why he was considered as 'Jalali Peer'.

Impact of Sufism in Karwar Taluk:

By the principles of Monotheism, Universal brotherhood, Social Equality and justice and other the sufi saints were highly impacted on the society on that time and today also their impact is remained in the heart of the people from Karwartaluk. Today also, people following the selfless service to mankind, which was taught by the saints. Sufi saints paid the much attention to the education to bring out the people from the social darkness. And they preached their principles in indigenous language, thus they reached the common man easily. Sufism put its influence on art and architecture also in this region. The major impact of Sufism in karwartaluk is brotherhood and equality.

Conclusion

This paper clearly revealed the information about Sufism, its impact, prominent sufi saints and their darghas built in this study area. In this paper we find out that, which is the major branch of Sufism prevalent in Karwartaluk and what its impact on the society. Qadariya branch of Sufism is major branch and the prominent saints of this branch are Shah Karamuddin, Bawa Fakruddin Qadariya, Mardan Gayeb. The prominence of Sufism in Karwartaluk is clear through the darghas built at main centres of the taluk. The celebration of urus in commemoration of saints will be held once in a year in all most all darghas with the harmony of all religions. This is the major impact given by sufi saints on people from this taluk in the name of equality and social justice.

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PATRONAGE OF BUDDHISM IN TAMIL NADU (6TH – 12TH CENTURY C.E.)

K. Mavali Rajan & Palas Kumar Saha

The main objective of this paper is to examine the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the royal dynasties, merchants, traders, artisans and householders from the 6th to 12th century C.E. in Tamil Nadu. From the available data it is observed that most of patronage comes from royal dynasties. In ancient Indian history patronage was a formal religious arrangement, which clearly linked to the ideological needs of a political organisation and its socio-economic base. It would thus be interesting to study the attitude of inhabitants of a particular region regarding patronage towards the religious recipients. The study of patronage of Buddhism in India especially in Tamil Nadu undoubtedly of great important in the spread of Buddhist culture and tradition.

Patronage can be defined as support, encouragement, privilege or financial aid that an organisation or individual bestows to another. It is a multi-dimensional, sometimes loosely codified network of exchanges involving not only the production of art and literature, but also its performance, transmission, reinterpretation and preservation. The giving and receiving donations may take place between individuals, groups or institutions. The groups are often specialized communities of craftsmen, royal officials or members of royal families. According to Suchandra Ghosh, patronage is an asymmetrical relationship between one party, the patron and another one, the client. It is quite natural that the patron will be a person who possesses honour as well as economic superiority and this allows patronage. In her research paper "Nature of Royal Patronage in

South Eastern Bengal" she used the term 'royal patronage' which includes not only patronage from the king but also persons who are associated with the royal court like ministers or with the royal households like the prince and queen. But it will be noted that the merchant class, common people and some householders are not from royal but they also contributed for the development of Buddhism.¹

Mainly literary and archaeological sources give us valuable information regarding the royal patronage in the establishment and growth of religious institutions. We get various terms like *Dana*, *Dakshina*, Gift, etc. to patronage in inscription. The king Asoka mentioned in his inscription that religious patronage is a great important for every person. Attest to the fact Romila Thaper's monographs on *Dana* inform us that the patronage as forms of exchange, is a more comprehensive treatment of the subject. She marshals considerable evidence to demonstrate that patronage in ancient times was an important socio- economic function.² According to I.C. Cunnison³ the institution of patronage or *Dana* was a form of exchange and redistribution of wealth and services. Another scholar J. Gonda from sociological field discussed the various terms used in the sense of gift giving in the *Rig-Veda*; he seeks to assess the role of gift making in building and sustaining social relationship. Motive for gift making during the Rig-Vedic period receive adequate treatment.⁴

When we look at the numerous Buddhist structures such as *stupa*, *vihara*, *chaitya*, etc. built during the study period, we are impressed

by the scale and plan of some of these as this kind of architecture was in the formative stage. What we need to realize is that these were patronised by rulers who were keen both to legitimize their position and to earn the religious merit (*punniyam*) that is said to accrue from gift-giving. The early Buddhist period in India abounds in instance in which gift or patron were made of single railing pillars, cross-bars and paving slabs for *stupas*; similarly individual cells in monastery and sculptures in many Buddhist shrines were considered sufficient in themselves to bring religious merit to the donor.⁵ We find monks, nuns, men and women making donations at many Buddhist sites in the east coast of India. The act of giving donations that we witness at these sites shows the faith that was reposed in the *sangha* unlike in earlier times when gifts were given to monks in the form of food, clothing, medicine, etc., for their maintenance.

In Indian history we cannot find any religious establishment without royal patronage or the patronage of others. The royal patronage was an important factor in the rise of Buddhism. A galaxy kings like Ajatsatru, Asoka, Milinda, Kaniska, Harsha, etc. adopted and supported the religion. They provided material resources, protection and help to Buddhist *sangha* and monks, built *stupa* and *vihara* and encouraged missionary work. On the other hand it will be noted that the patronage of king and the religious enthusiasm of the common people could not have produced the great structures without the enormous wealth that suddenly became available in the region following the commercial expansion.

Apart from the royal king, householders or mainly the women were also played an important role in patronage of Buddhism in India. Women figure we find in *Pali* literature both as giving daily alms of cooked food to *bhikkhus* as well as making rich donations of precious jewellery and other articles to the Buddhist *sangha*.⁶

The spread of Buddhism in Tamil country is known mainly from the epigraphic records found in its ancient caves and stone beds. The Tamil Brahmi scripts in a number of caves have been found in Tamil Nadu, mainly in Madurai, Tirunelveli and Chengalpattu districts. It is clear

from history that the Brahmi script was popularised by Emperor Asoka through his *dhamma vijaya*; such script are found in almost all places in India.⁷ According to G.J. Samuel, Buddhism entered Tamil Nadu in 300 B.C.E. through the missionaries sent by Asoka from the north and by the Ceylonese king Tissa from the south. The Ceylon chronicle *Mahavamsa* says that the third Buddhist council was held at Pataliputra with the patronage of Asoka with Tissa Moggaliputta presiding, after which many monks were sent to various places. Along with other monks, Asoka sent his own son Mahendra, and they preached the teachings of Gautama Buddha to King Devanampiya Tissa. The king and the people were profoundly impressed by the new gospel and accepted Buddhism.⁸

The Buddhism can never attain the major religious force in Tamil regions comparing with Jainism. In contrast, Jainism exerted its authority and received a considerable follower. It achieved much popularity among merchant communities, farmers and peasant's families. It seemed to have been single frustration for the Bhakti exponents in the 7th to 9th century C.E. as royal patronage gave its much focus on Jainism rather than Buddhism. Consequently, it led to serious conflicts at the royal courts of Kanchipuram and Madurai. Owing to the social change as referred to earlier, the merchants and the rulers started extending their patronage to Buddhism and constructed Buddhist monasteries. As a result, Buddhism became increasingly popular and entrenched in the Tamil soil from about the 5th century C.E.

In early periods trade activities was started in the Ganga valley. It developed into bigger orbits in pre-Mauryan times. Then these trade activities were gradually reached its level under the Mauryas as they looked for the precious article like gems and gold. Few Asokan inscriptions found at places like *Maski* (minor Rock Edict found in Raichur district of Karnataka) and *Yerragudi* (Rock Edict found in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh) would point to regulate along the routes of trade and commerce.⁹ The Mauryan period also observed the progress of the looping trade along the east and west coasts.¹⁰ Tamil country presents an account of contrast in relation to Buddhism because in this region Buddhism emerged out

as less important phenomenon. But other northern religious sects or ideologies such as Brahmanism, Jainism and Ajivikism formed revelatory contribution to the institutions of the society experiencing transfiguration.

It is believed that the Sangam age in the early Tamilagam was brought to an end around 4th century C.E. by the Kalabhras, who continued their rule in Tamil country till the end of the 6th century C.E. After the downfall of the Kalabhras, the Pallavas occupied the Tondaimandalam region about the middle of the 6th century C.E.¹¹ Even though the Kalabhras were considered as "the evil rulers", but the Tamil literature got a boost during the Kalabhra reign and this period was marked by great literary activity. These Kalabhras are said to have been the supporters of Buddhism as well as Jainism. According to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "this dark period marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism and probably Jainism, was characterized also by great literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works grouped under the head the eighteen minor works (*pathinen keelkanakku* works) were written during this period and also the *Silappatikaram*, *Manimekalai* and other works.¹²

There were many Kalabhra kings ruled in Tamil country. But the only Kalabhra king who is known with a specific name is Accuta Vikranta. The memory of Accuta Vikranta lingered on for long among the Tamil Buddhists. In *Yapparungalam*, a Tamil work of 11th century C.E., written by the poet Amita Sagara, "prays to the Buddha to grant Accuta with the long arms like the clouds in charity and with the fighting spear so that he might wield his spectre of authority over the whole world".¹³ From the testimony of Buddhadatta, who was contemporary of Accuta Vikranta, and the praise showered upon the Kalabhra king by the poet in *Yapparungalam*, it is evident that Accuta Vikranta was a Buddhist and a liberal patron of Buddhism.¹⁴

During the Kalabhra reign, it is very significant which lasted nearly 300 years, Buddhism was at its best in and around Kanchi, ancient Tondaimandalam. There were a number of Buddhist saints and scholars, such as Nagaguttanar (author of the Kundalakesi), Buddhadatta (the Pali commentator), Dinnaga

(the great logician), Dhammapala (the author of Pali commentator) and Bodhidharma (the great *dhyana* teacher) between the 4th to 6th centuries C.E. The association of Buddhaghosha, the greatest Pali scholar and commentator, who was contemporary of Buddhadatta, further confirms the ascendancy of Buddhism during the Kalabhra interregnum in the Tamil land.¹⁵

From the Pallava period onwards (post-Kalabhra period), religious and cultural elements were gradually piercing into the Tamil regions. There is no direct evidence to the Mauryan dominance or control over Tamil land found in the historical sources. But it is often demanded that Tondainadu areas was under Asokan rule and Kanchipuram became major Buddhist centres with *stupas* and *viharas*. Hiuen-Tsang, the most celebrated Chinese traveller, who visited Kanchipuram in the 7th century C.E. referred the *stupas* at Kanchipuram which he attributes to Asoka, as well as *stupas* in the Chola country and Malakuta (the Pandiya country).¹⁶ Among the Pallava rulers of Kanchipuram, Rajasimha is credited with the construction of a Buddhist *vihara* in Nagapattinam (which was the prominent port city of the Chola period), for the benefit of the Chinese pilgrims and merchants. He is beloved to have sent embassies to China.¹⁷ Vajrabodhi, a Buddhist teacher from the Pandiya country, was invited to Kanchi by Rajasimha on account of the miraculous power of the teacher to bring rains to the drought ridden city. During his journey Vajrabodhi visited several Buddhist centres in India and travelled to Sri Lanka and China. From the evidences it is apparent that several Buddhist teachers are associated with Kanchipuram during the 6th-8th centuries C.E.

In Tamil country there were many patrons, who patronised for the development of Buddhism. According to Iravadha Mahadevan¹⁸ the patrons of Buddhism include members of the Chera and Pandiya ruling families, princes, royal functionaries, *Vel* chiefs, merchants, craftsmen such as goldsmith, blacksmith, weaver, lapidary, other individuals and even people of a certain locality. The Buddhist idea of *dana* (gift) is perhaps first emphasised only in the later epic *Manimekalai*,¹⁹ at a time when Buddhism was sought to be propagated as an ideological force in bringing together the laity and the monastic orders in a closer and well-

knit organisation. This would more likely be in the post-Sangam period, i.e. the period of Kalabhra domination in the core regions, where the *Muventar*, Chera, Chola and Pandiya had ruled.

The post-Sangam literatures *Silappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* speak of patronage of Jainism and Buddhism. The non-sectarian attitude of the author of the two epics has been emphasised²⁰ and the Chera royal connections of Ilango Adikal, author of *Silappatikaram*, would also point to royal patronage to both the creeds. The scene of both the epics is located in the major urban centres of the early historic period viz., Pukar, Madurai, Vanci and Kanchipuram, apart from Uraiyur. The Buddhist structures mentioned in the *Manimekalai*, may well have been built by the Chola subordinates mentioned in the Sangam works and the early Pallavas before the Simhavishnu line of rulers. The proximity of Sangam literature reveals the spread of Buddhism in Tamil Nadu by the Buddhist monks from the Andhra regions. It is to be noted that Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism were introduced by the monks of Tamil Nadu to Sri Lanka.

The prosperity which Buddhism saw in northern India under the patronage of the Gupta dynasty naturally attracted the monks from Tamil country to north Indian regions. At Kanchipuram Ilankilli, the brother of Killivalavan, the early Chola king of Pukar, is said to have built a *stupa*, a *vihara* and a *chaitya* and provided all amenities to Manimekalai, who kept the Buddha foot prints at the *chaitya*. She learnt Buddhist teaching from Aravana Adikal, who is associated with both Pukar and Kanchipuram. The *stupa* is ascribed by Hiuen-Tsang to Asoka,²¹ along with other Buddhist structures. Under Manimekalai's influence the Chola king is said to have converted a prison house into a *Tavappalli* or *vihara*.²² In both Pukar and Kanchipuram Manimekalai is associated with charitable works like providing food, medicine, etc. to the needy and to have miraculously procured food at Kanchi during a famine with the help of her divine bowl (*amutacurapi*).²³ Thus the entire cult symbols such as *stupa*, *chaitya*, Bodhi tree and foot prints of the Buddha are invariably associated with those centres, where Buddhism exercised a

dominant influence. The links between the laity and the *sangha* are constantly emphasised by the rich merchants either patronising or building *chaityas* and *stupas* or entering the orders, while *upasakas* (householders) are described as great supporters who venerated the monks.²⁴

The activities of Manimekalai, the Buddhist nun, in the major Buddhist centres are often linked to a crisis whether caused by famine or destruction due to curse. Reference is made to Pukar being washed away by sea at the end of Killivalavan's reign, as a result of a curse due to his failure to celebrate the Indra festival and Pukar becoming desolate due to evacuation.²⁵ Manimekalai visited the city to provide people with famine relief with the divine *amutacurapi*. The holy mendicants are said to have abandoned the city and settled down in the *vihara* at Vanci.²⁶ These would point to a crisis perhaps both for Buddhism and trade. The crisis may be placed at the end of the early historic period, when the Roman trade declined and the Tamil polities also declined. The Buddhist influences we find in Tamil country particularly at Kanchi, where Ilankilli's attempts to provide for Manimekalai's accommodation could represent continued attempts to patronise Buddhism.

It is interesting to note that in Kanchipuram, all the four major Indian religious schools like Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism have had their own periods of ascendancy and royal patronage in the city. Among them Jainism, Saivism and Vishnavism have continued as living faiths down to this day. From this point of view it may rightly be held that Kanchipuram enjoys a unique status among ancient Indian cities.

The Chinese traveller Fa-hien visited India during 339-414 C.E. refers to the influence of Buddhism in Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts. But he never makes any particular reference to Kanchipuram as such we cannot rule out the possibilities of the prevalence of Buddhism then at Kanchi whose surrounding formed a dominion under the Pallavas who were just establishing their power there and patronage of Buddhism in this region.²⁷

The Pallava king's associations with the Satavahanas who were great patron of Buddhism in Andhra, definitely would have

been the foremost cause of their promotion of Buddhism in Kanchipuram and in other places of Tamil Nadu. Some of the early Pallava rulers like Asokavarman, Buddhavarman and Buddhayankura were Buddhists as indicated by their names and the others followed only the *Vedicdharma* though they patronized Buddhism. Interestingly, Simhavishnu, an early Pallava ruler, invokes Lord Buddha in his Amaravati inscription recording the setting up of a Buddha statue while returning from a northern expedition and making a pilgrimage to Dhanyakada. It is also important to note that 7th century Sanskrit burlesque *Mattavilasa Prahasana* ascribed to Mahendravarman-I, ridicules the Buddhist monks at Kanchi, pointing to a general decline in the character of the *sangha* and its orders by the 7th century C.E. This work points to the existence of a *Rajavihara* at Kanchipuram.²⁸

There are few Buddhist centre in the coastal regions of Tamil Nadu. Among them Kaveripattinam (also known as Pukar, Kaveripumpattinam) was an important Buddhist centre, often patronised by the rulers and others. Around the 5th century C.E. the Tamil country was visited by great Buddhist monks such as Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dharmapala. They were engaged in religious activities in the Tamil country. Especially Buddhadatta stayed in Kaveripattinam at the time when Kalabhra king Accuta Vikranta ruled over the place. *Silappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* the Kaveripumpattinam was an important Buddhist centre and have been written at the heyday of this site. Both the epics refer to a Buddhist monastery, which was built by Mahendra, son of Asoka, when he visited Kaveripattinam on his way to Ceylon as a Buddhist missionary.²⁹

Nagapattinam, was another Buddhist centre, excavated by the archaeological department of Tamil Nadu and more than three hundred Buddha status were unearthed. The importance of Nagapattinam as a chief Buddhist centre is confirmed by the observation of the Chinese traveller I-tsing. During the reign of the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman II, a Buddhist *vihara* was constructed at Nagapattinam in 720 C.E. for the use of Chinese mariners who called over there for purposes of trade. This monastery was known as the Chinese monastery and was seen by Marco Polo in 1292 C.E.³⁰ During the

time of the Chola dynasty Buddhism was flourished at Nagapattinam. As a result of maritime activity between south India and Malaya Peninsula in the days of the Cholas, a colony of Malay Buddhists, particularly from Srivijaya who appear to have given a new lease of life to the dealing Buddhism of south India by erecting Buddhist temples at Nagapattinam with the aid of subsidies granted by their kings, the Sailendras.³¹

The *Pali* work, Rajavahini, refers to a Chola king, who while engaged in constructing a Siva temple at Kaveripattinam, met some Buddhist *bhikkus* who proved to him the superiority of Buddha Dharma (*Dhamma*) and in return got from him the Siva temple which they converted into a shrine of the Buddha.³² The Chola ruler built two temples at Nagapattinam in the beginning of the 11th century C.E. These temples were called Rajaraja-perum-palli and Rajendra-Cola-perum-palli or Cola-perum-palli and the smaller Leiden grant (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol.XXIII) dated in the twentieth year of the reign of Kulottunga I (1090 C.E) records gift to both of them.³³ The former was named after Rajaraja I, and the later after Rajendre I, during whose reigns they were respectively built. The former was evidently the chapel of a *vihara*, known as the *Chudamanivarman- vihara*, which including its chapel was built during the reign of Rajaraja I by Sri Maravijayottunga – varman, son of Chudamani-varman of the Sailendra dynasty, king of Kataha (Kadaram) and Srivisaya or Srivijaya and dedicated to the memory of his father. This *vihara* just built for the sake of the tradesman caused the revival of Buddhism in Tamil Nadu and it was a centre for the propagation of Vajrayana form of Buddhism.³⁴

The Chola patronages to the Buddha *vihara* at Nagapattinam have also been recorded in their copper-plate grants.³⁵ In some of the coastal towns and ports, Buddhism survived and even provided an important instrument of legitimising trade ventures under royal patronage till the end of the Chola period i.e. 13th century C.E. though Buddha *vihara* at Nagapattinam flourished till about the 17th century C.E. According to K.V. Raman, Nagapattinam was the first port on the mainland touched by vessels from the east bound for South India as mentioned from I-

tsing's account and this must have been one of the reasons for the construction of the *vihara* at Nagapattinam.³⁶

It is factual that without the patronage of rulers and other affluent communities of the time a religion cannot flourish in the country. Consequently the active patronage from different royal houses was a major factor to the growth of Buddhist *sangha*, its missionary activities and successful spread of Buddhism. Available evidence suggests that Buddhism survived in hinterland as well as in the coastal regions of Tamil Nadu even beyond 3rd century C.E. and perhaps continued to wield some influence till the 12th century C.E. However, it would be hard to find more evidence of patronage from Pallava, Chola or Pandiya royal families either in the form of structures or

inscriptions. It may be assumed that the transitional phase of 3rd to 6th centuries C.E. was one of the Jain and Buddhist ascendancy probably under the patronage of the Kalabhra rulers.

If we compare the patronage upon various religions in Tamil region, it would be clear to us that Buddhism was less patronage than Hinduism and Jainism. The Buddhism could not flourish in a broad way from the view point of quantity and quality. Hiuen-Tsang's picture of the Tamil land and its state of Buddhism was not a happy one. Though some Buddhist monasteries were functioning and a number of monks were carrying on their normal duties, the religion of the Buddha had undoubtedly received a set-back.

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"REPRESENTATION OF NARRATION FROM THREE MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF ANDHRA PRADESH STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD"

V. Meena Kumari

Andhra Pradesh State Museum is the oldest Museum in Hyderabad. It has many Miniature Paintings. Different schools like Moghal, Pahari, Rajasthani and Deccan Miniatures are found in this museum. Deccani Miniatures of Golkonda, Hyderabad, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, etc., are also found. Sub-school Miniatures of Wanaparthy, Gadwal and Shorapur are also found in this museum. Like Mural Paintings, the Miniature Paintings are records of artistic expression, artists thought process and reflection of literary interests, emotional springs and social life of the period to which they belong. In short, the social art and cultural history cannot be written in completeness unless all the large collections of paintings in the museums and private collections are made.

These three paintings belong to Shorapur Samsthanam School. These three paintings were purchased from a Dealer at cost of Rs.33/- each dated 13.10.1947. The museum Numbers are P. 276, P. 274 and P. 275.

Deccani Painting was not only a subject of several influences but it also, through the different phases of its evolution, manifested itself in varying forms and styles. The Hyderabad school of painting is one of its several manifestations, but it is worthy of note here that the Hyderabad School also had developed several local variants. The political structure of the Hyderabad Dominions, both under the Qutbshahis as well as the Asaf Jahis, was not monolithic. Though the ultimate fountain of royal power in the state was the ruler of the day, it was exercised through various feudal principalities, who in themselves enjoyed varying degrees of local autonomy. These local centres of feudal power also promoted local culture. Some of them were known to be great patrons of painting which resulted in the development of local schools of painting. Since, the mid of the nineteenth century, the influence of Hindu tradition was seen on Hyderabad School. It was not only confined to the royal court of the Asaf Jahis but it percolated to those feudal principalities

ruled by the Hindu chieftains under the Nizam. Especially the Hindu ruled Samsthanams (Principalities) of Shorapur, Wanaparthy and Gadwal in the Hyderabad Dominions commissioned or engaged painters at their court. What follows is a narration of the political and cultural background of each of the above mentioned Samsthanams.

The Origin of Hindu Samsthanams of the Hyderabad State may be traced back to the Kakatiyas of Warangal. Some of the local chieftains of the Reddy and Velama Communities of the Kakatiya period established their political authority over the surrounding territories following the fall of the Kakatiya kingdom. These feudal chieftains were known as Paligars and their territories as Palayams.¹ The Paligars survived the Vijayanagar Empire and some even took part in the military expeditions of the Empire. Their existence was no less conspicuous in the later sultanates of Golconda and Bijapur wherein they were titled Makasadors or Foudars with semi-tributary and semi-military status. When Deccan had passed under the supremacy of the Moghal Empire a number of the local nobilities were very much in vogue. The Moghal Emperor Aurangzeb, however, reduced them to tax paying zamindars.²

However, when the Asaf Jahis gained control over the Deccan from the Moghals the tenure system of zamindari was converted into a hereditary system by Asaf Jahil (to obtain local support for his authority).³ The Samsthanams covered by the Hyderabad Dominions were the following: Amarchinta, Anegondi, Gadwal, Gopalpet, Gurugunta, Palavancha, Jataprole, Shorapur and Wanaparthy.

Although undeniably the influence of the Deccani and later Hyderabad schools was widely cast over the miniatures of the Samsthanams, yet each of the Samsthana Schools did differ from the others and endeavoured to maintain a uniqueness of its own. Moreover, the South Indian elements are more easily discernible, apart from the

Hyderabad tradition, in almost all these paintings. For instance, "Shorapur artists painted in an idiom which was basically South Indian in its best".⁴ On the other hand, Wanaparthy School bears a mixture of South Indian Hindu, Deccani Muslim as well as the Kurnool elements.⁵

Shorapur Samsthanam

Shorapur is in the south-west corner of the Hyderabad State. It is situated in the delta of the Krishna and Bheemah river and very much for the same reason, the soil of the country is naturally very fertile and rich. Shorapur is an ancient seat of the Beydur State. During the reign of the Beydur Rajas, it had a population of nearly half-a-million. The Beydurs (Fearless) are an aboriginal race numerous in Mysore and the southern Mahratta country. The Shorapur family originally came from Ratnagiri in the Mysore territory. The first of the clan was named Gawa Naik. Beydurs were originally freebooters, but in course of time acquired considerable authority in the country. They seldom committed murder and were not pretty thieves. The chiefs were Naiks.

Shorapur, in ancient days, was a great seat of the most learned Sanskrit astrologers and astronomers whose "descendants are still living and enjoying the benefits of Inam lands. It was also noted for the art of Indian Music".⁶ The traditional knowledge of the customs and laws of the tribe is preserved by their bards and elders. They are highly honourable and never break an oath. They are a finely built athletic race, fond of hunting and open air pursuits. In ancient days, their bands took service under the kings of Bijapur and Golconda and assisted the Maharattas in the contest with Aurangzeb.⁷

The genealogy of the Rajas of Shorapur is traced back to once Gawa Naik as the founder of this illustrious line. The Rajas of Shorapur belong to Kshatriya caste. Although the Rajas of Shorapur considered themselves Kshatriyas, yet in reality they were only Beydurs. It is apparent that these Rajas must have been the descendants of a class of Shudras who first came from Kanchi to Nairdurg and Jaladurg and after plundering these villages came as far as Kakkera.⁸

Since the ancient capital of the Shorapur Rajas was Kakkeri only. Kallappa Naik was the first who became famous among the Rajas of Shorapur.

Chronology of Shorapur Rulers

1. 1523 Kallappa Naik.
2. 1523-1538 Chikk Hanma Naik.
3. 1622 Jamp Naik.
4. 1622-1656 Gaddad Pam Naik.
5. 1656-1674 Gaddad Pid Naik.
6. 1674-1695 Pam Naik.
7. 1695-1726 Pitambar Bahari Pid Naik.
8. 1726-1741 Pam Naik.
9. 1741-1746 **Pid** Naik Pitambar Bahari.
10. 1746-1752 Mundgal Venkatappa Naik.
11. 1752-1774 Pam Naik.
12. 1774-1801 Venkatappa Naik.
13. 1801-1802 Kantamma.
14. 1802-1816 Pid Naik.
15. 1816-1828 Bankatappa Naik.
16. 1829-1843 Kishtappa Naik.
17. 1843-1858 Venkatappa Naik.

Source: ⁹

Like in the Samsthanams of Wanaparthy and Gadwal, patronage of Painting in Shorapur too began around 1750 A.D. The Samsthanams of Shorapur was also an illuminating centre of cultural activity. Under its royal patronage, scholars representing distinct fields like astrology, astronomy and Sanskrit were active. So also the painters. The uniqueness of Shorapur painters is their great passion for mythological themes. Of course, portraiture too received considerable attention, but by and large religious element dominates the theme. The ancestral roots of Shorapur's ruling dynasty could be traced to Ratnagiri in Mysore State. The cultural tradition of South India's legendary cultural centre Tanjore strongly influenced the artistic life of many a kingdoms in that part of the country and Ratnagiri was no exception. The Nayak painting of Tanjore deeply influenced Hindu Paintings throughout South India and also at Ratnagiri. It is possible that the Bedurs along

with them also carried the Tanjore tradition to Shorapur since the basic elements of the Shorapur School are very much South Indian. It was also possible, as Jagdish Mittal presumes, that some artists from Tanjore or Mysore came and settled at Shorapur. It is therefore not surprising to find "the iconography of the Gods, the emphasis on detail and gorgeous elaboration, love for relief gold work and Tanjore type headgears of Gods, sufficiently link the work of this centre to Tanjore or Mysore".¹⁰

Shorapur School has generally used bright colours. Yellow, Green and Red colours are the familiar choices. Some of the Godly figures are often gorgeously painted. Gold colour is also largely applied. Shaivism is the main religious influence on this school. There is no doubt Krishna too is a favoured subject in several of the works. In almost all the Shorapur paintings the gods are seen with their respective consorts - Shiva with Parvati, Sri Krishna with Radha, Manmatha with Rati, etc. Keen attention is paid to divide the space in corresponding proportion between the central subjects and their companions. The iconography of Gods is minutely detailed. The male figures and their consorts wear Tanjore - type headgears. Men wear dhoti bordered with madder - red colour. Women wear Mahratha type nineyard saree. Men and women are highly jewelled in traditional fashion. The surface of the ornaments and the borders of the costumes are embossed. The red and green gems are embedded in them. The male and female figures of subordinate category are winged in certain of the mythological paintings.

There is not much of architectural value in the Shorapur works. But the influence of Moghal art on the treatment of architecture is apparent. The floors are gorgeously designed in detail and the central subjects, the godly figures are seated on thickly designed pedestals. The doors are of golden colour. Great interest is shown in flowers and environmental decorations. Foreground is filled with Lotus flowers in the lakes, well-laid gardens separated by fountains in the centre. The background is painted with Palm and Mango trees. Birds and Squirrels are present in large number typically represent the Deccani

characteristics. Portraits of rajas and saints are also characterized by careful detail.

In terms of strict quality, the Shorapur Miniatures do not merit very high. A few, ofcourse, are of exceptional value. Art at Shorapur almost reached on abrupt end when its Raja Venkatappa Naik was defeated by British and arrested following his rebellion during the Sepoy Mutiny. Shorapur artists migrated then to Hyderabad and continued to paint for local patrons like Maharaja Raja Chandulaal, etc.¹¹

The themes depicted in this painting are the Rasaleela, Gopala Krishna Kaliyamardana, the Pralambasura Vadha, Vastrapaharana, Sri Krishna with Gopikas or Sri Krishna with Gopalas here and there and also Sri Krishna with Gopikas sailing boat. The painting has great depth and a long wide road conveys this. Sri Krishna Rasaleela is the central theme. Sri Krishna is standing in the centre with nine Gopikas at each side. In front of this theme, few small bushes and a house are seen. There is a well. The pulley of the well is clearly seen. Three pots are located near the steps of the well. One lady is using the pulley of the well.

The scenes are separated with small bushes and small architecture. In front of Pralambasura Vadha, the road is seen in light brown colour. At the back of this plain ground, the long 'S' shaped river is seen. On the front bank of the river, there are fifteen trees here and there. The theme Gopi Vastrapaharana is depicted at the bank of the river, Kaliyamardana theme is depicted at the right side of the painting, small vihara mandiras are noticed to the left back side of the river. There are two big boats and six small boats in the river. The wind screens of big boats are in white colour. At the back of the vihara mandira, a row of trees are seen like a compound wall. At the back of the building, three people like Sri Krishna, and Balarama, etc., are riding horses. Sri Krishna is standing with two Gopis at the back of the river, at four places. The figures are small. At the left side bank of the river, Sri Krishna is sitting with other boys. At the back bank of the river, the ground is depicted in green colour. Two storied three buildings in small size are

found at the back bank of the river. Behind these buildings, two armies are marching on either side. In the middle of these armies, three men are found with Phirangs. The green ground behind is merging with light blue sky on top without any clouds.

The theme of Maharasavarnanam as given in Srimad Bhagavatam, Dasamas-kandham in the thirty three adhyayam, the first is as follows: After listening the words of Sri Krishna, Gopis left their lovesick. They started Rasakreeda with him. When their waistlets, gunguroos, bangles were sounding in the Rasamandala, Sri Krishna was shining like an emerald. Sri Krishna danced among them, while holding their hands. He stood between two ladies. Though they were sweating, they laughed and sang songs, Devatas showered flowers over them. Sri Krishna played with them like mirror image. Then they entered the water and were playing like male and female elephants. Sri Krishna thus explained Bhaktiyoga to the world.

In this painting, Sri Krishna is dancing with gopis in front of the fountain. Sri Krishna is also seen with Gopies in Vihara Mandiras. The symmetry is seen in the arrangement of ladies, garden, plants and vihara mandiras, etc. In front of the fountain Sri Krishna is

dancing with Gopikas. They are dancing in the form of a circle. Nine Krishnas alternately seen with nine Gopis, and in the middle with a Gopi (May be Radha). Some ladies are playing musical instruments to the four sides of Rasakreeda.

The systematic arrangement of Mandiras, fountains, garden, trees and plants is beautiful. Sri Krishna is in amorous posture with Gopi and few Gopis are playing Holi. This theme is depicted on path. Ladies are watching this game from different places from their buildings. A big fountain is seen behind in a big pond. The systematic arrangement of buildings, big pond, the flower pots with plants, trees, the lawns on either side of Pond, and the blue colour sky without clouds is very interesting. Symmetry is maintained throughout the painting. These three paintings P. 276, P. 274 and P. 275 were purchased from a Dealer at a cost of Rs.33/- each dated 13.10.1947, though few patches are seen here and there, these paintings are well preserved. It is interesting to note, that the costumes, dresses, borders, jewellery, etc., resemble each other. The style of architecture is also similar. Hence, we can understand that these three paintings were done by the same artist.

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"DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHATAB – MAKER OF MODERN ODISHA AND INDIA"

N.N Mishra

Introduction

Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Popularly called "UTKAJ. KESARI, FORMER GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY PROVINCE," occupies a place for himself in the history of Orissa (now Odisha) for his contributory work for independence and progress of the nation with his multidimensional

approach. He is popularly known as 'Utkal Keshari'. He was a great freedom fighter, socialist, writer, philosopher, historian and an able administrator. An attempt is made to sketch the biography of such a multifarious personality with few lines here. He was a freedom fighter, prolific writer, socialist and a leader of the

masses. Popularly known as "Utkal Keshari", Harekrushna Mahatab was a contemporary of Orissa's towering leaders Gopabandhu Das and Nabkrushna Chowdhary. He was a political genius and his diplomatic tactics made him to be ahead of many people in politics and excelled with supremacy over five decades.

Involvement in freedom struggle

Harekrushna Mahatab was born on 21st November 1899 at Agarpada village in Bhardrak District of Orissa. His parents were Keshucharan and Tohapha Devi. He completed his school education Bhadrak High school and later shifted to Ravensha College, Cuttack to study J.Sc and graduation. He left his studies in 1921 to join the Freedom movement. His enthusiastic participation made him to be staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He participated in various agitations such as salt satyagraha, Untouchability movement and was arrested many times. He served as Balasore District Congress President and became the State Congress president for two times from 1930- 1931 and in 1937. In 1938, he was made member of Congress working Committee by Subhash Chandra Bose. He used to accompany Gandhiji during his visits to Orissa. He was arrested in the Ahmed Nagar Fort in 1942 during Quit India Movement along with the leading representatives of contemporary India like Sardar Patel, Moulana Azad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose, Acharya Kripalini, Acharya Narendra Dev, Gobinda Ballav Panth, Asaf Ali and Dr. Pattabhisitaramaya. They were imprisoned for about three and half years and were released in May, 1945. This helped him to improve his literary skills and leadership qualities.

As a politician

Harekrushna Mahatab was the First Chief Minister of Orissa when a separate state was carved out during British regime. He served as Chief Minister of Orissa from 23rd April 1946 to 12th May 1950 after winning a massive victory for Congress in the State assembly polls. Thus he went into the record books to serve as the Chief Minister before and after the independence of India. He joined the Nehru cabinet in 1950 as Union Minister for Commerce and Trade. Though he won the 1952 General elections from Cuttack, this time

he was not given any Ministerial berth by Nehru. Rather he was made Secretary General of the Congress Parliamentary party. In 1955, he shifted his venue to Bombay to become the Governor of Bombay province from which he has resigned in 1956 to stabilize the political turmoil in Orissa. Political analysts say that this act was a great blunder in his political life, otherwise he could have rose to the level of highest constitutional authority like Dr. Jai Prakash Narayan. Again in 1956, he became the Chief Minister of Orissa and continued in the office till 1961. He served as Member of Parliament during 1961-67 and parted ways with Congress in 1967 to form a new party by name People's Congress. Again, he created a record of becoming first Non-Congress Chief Minister and head of Coalition Government in Orissa during 1967-71. In 1971, he rejoined the Congress and became leader of the Opposition in the Vidhan Sabha. His differences with Indira Gandhi made him to bid farewell to Congress once again in 1973 and his political career almost came to an end. He was sent to jail in 1975 during the National Emergency. He influenced the political arena in several capacities and his disciples Biju Patnaik, Neelamani Routray, Janaki Vallabh Patnaik and Nandini Shatpathy have become Chief Ministers in later years. His close proximity with Jawaharlal Nehru helped him to exchange fair and frank views on community development, Hindu Code, Land Reforms and other administrative areas.

Literary works

His contribution to the Oriya literature includes translation of Balmiki Ramayan in Oriya and the prose version of Bhagavadgita in the Oriya language. His literary works in English and Oriya that includes history, novels, stories and poems gave a new dimension to the literature. His acquaintance with Mahatma Gandhi during Bardoli satyagraha at Bardoli made him to bring out a periodical 'Rachana' about Gandhian thoughts and philosophy. Along with other National leaders he was imprisoned during 1942-45 for the active involvement in Freedom struggle and he spent his jail life by writing four novels, poetry and other works about the history of Orissa. Sadhanara Path was an autobiography written by him which gives a pen picture of the

illustrated freedom movement in India. He used to conduct an annual function on literature with the name 'Prajatantra' and honoured distinguished writers for their contribution. He was given Kendrya Sahitya Academy award in 1983 for his book 'Gaon Majlis'. Though he was occupying various political posts and busy with hectic activity, he never ignored his beloved profession 'Journalism' and always used to write columns on historical research. He launched a weekly magazine by name "Prajatantra" in 1923. This is the leading daily newspapers in Odisha, his son Dr.Barturhari Mahatab being its Editor-in- chief. Another magazine "Jhankar" on Oriya literature and a children's magazine "Minabajar" were started by him. Honorary Doctorate degrees were awarded by the Andhra University, Utkal University and Saugar University duly recognizing his services in the field of literature, journalism and public life.

His contribution to the State of Odisha

He pioneered the amalgamation of the princely states of Orissa with Indian Union. Nilgiri province was the first one to get united under the state in all over India. Frankly, he had shown the path to Vallabhai Patel, the Iron Man of India as to how to integrate the princely states in Indian Union. The capital of Orissa was shifted from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar at his instance. Another boon for Orissa was his plan for power generation at Duduma waterfall. He was instrumental for the establishment of Utkal University at Bhubaneswar, High court of Orissa, Rourkela steel plant and Cuttack wireless station. He was a fervent advocate of

women empowerment and education. His determination and dedication for uplifting the poor and backward classes made people of Orissa to see him as their supreme leader.

Conclusion

The lead role played by him in uniting the princely states into bigger ones shall be written in golden words in the annals of Indian history forever. Dr.Mahatab was a multifaceted personality and a versatile genius who was considered as the Maker of the Greater Orissa. He breathed his last on 2nd January 1987 and the long march of people from Bhubaneswar to his birth place near Bhadrak during his last journey for the funeral rites was a splendid testimony for the love and affection of the Utkal people showered on him. The statue of this great leader was installed in the Central Hall of the Parliament in 1989. His vibrant nature and fearless attitude for the cause of Orissa made the people to call him as 'Utkal Keshari' (the lion of Odisha). Dr. Mahatab rightly deserves BHARAT RATNA 2019 from Govt. of India for his rich work both for Odisha & India. I call upon all the Historians and young research scholar present in this August 30th session South Indian History Congress to seriously think about this and make appeal to the central Govt. through the Chief Minister of Odisha and all members of Parliament for justice to Dr. Mahatab in this 100th centenary year (1919 to 2019) of Osmania University History Department.

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THE PROMINENCE OF SUFI CULTURE AND COMBAT MOTIVATION IN WARFARE DURING MEDIEVAL INDIA.

S.Mujahid Khan

The Islamic tradition rests on two cardinal principles, the unity of God, and the equality, shared humanity and brotherhood of humankind. In Islamic view, the status of a person is determined not by caste, class or race but by piety, moral virtues and selfless service

to humankind. The Prophet is reported to have said: "All of humankind is (like) the family of God and the dearest among them is the sight of God is the one who is the most kind and helpful to God's family."

The Sufi saints greatly emphasized compassion and kindness and service to humanity and regarded them as the surest means of earning divine grace. *Khawaja Moinuddin Chisti (1236 AD)* is reported to have said that the highest and most sublime form of devotion to God is to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfill the needs of the poor and the helpless, and to feed the hungry.¹ He said that a person is blessed with divine favour possesses affection and kindness like that of a sun, generosity like that of the river, and humility like that of the earth.²

The significance and revolutionary consequences of the emphasis placed by the Sufis on compassion and sincere service to humanity can be better appreciated in the social and cultural context of their times. In the Medieval period, India society was groaning under the oppressive weight of the caste system. Which involved massive inequalities and the subordination of the so called lower castes were marginalized.

The advent of Sufism in India is said to be in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One of the early Sufis of eminence, who settled in India, was *Al-Hujwari* who died in 1089, popularly known as *Data Ganj Baksh* (Distributor of Unlimited Treasure). In the beginning, the main Centres of the Sufis were Multan and Punjab. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Sufis had spread to Kashmir, Bihar, Bengal and the Deccan. It may be mentioned that Sufism had already taken on a definite form before coming to India. Its fundamental and moral principles, teachings and orders, system of fasting, prayers and practice of living in hospices or *Khanqahs*. By and large the Sufis set up their hospices or *Khanqahs* in the midst of the settlements of the poor and downtrodden, led a simple life, spoke to people in their own languages and shared their joys and sorrows of the common people. The Sufis came to India via Afghanistan on their own free will. Their emphasis upon a pure life, devotional love and service to humanity made them popular and earned them a place of honour in Indian society.

AbulFazl while writing in the *Ain-i-Akbari* speaks of fourteen *Silsilahs* of the Sufis. These *Silsilahs* were divided into two types: *Ba-shara*

and *Be-shara*. *Ba-shara* were those orders that followed the Islamic Law (*Sharia*) and its directives such as *Namaz*, and *Roza*. Chief amongst these were the *Chishti*, *Suhrawardi*, *Firdawsi*, *Qadiri* and *Naqshbandi Silsilahs*. The *Be-shara Silsilahs* were not bound by the *Sharia*. The *Qalandars* belonged to this group.

In the thirteenth century, Delhi emerged as one of the major centers (*markaz*) of the *Chishtia's*. This was possible largely due to the activities of the illustrious Chishti saint *Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki*, who left his birthplace in Transoxiana and arrived Delhi in the early 1220s. He was warmly welcomed by Sultan *Ilutmish*. It is useful to note that following the Mongol devastations of Central and West Asia, Delhi emerged as an inviting place before many eminent scholars, religious divines and fugitive princes. After coming to Delhi, Kaki met the challenge both of the *Ulema's* and the *Suhrawardis*. The former wanted to oust him from Delhi and condemned Kaki as a heretic on the ground that the mystic was fond of *Sama*. This criticism had no impact upon Sultan *Ilutmish* who wanted to use *Sufi* influence to counter the *Ulema*. Once Kaki was about to leave Delhi for Ajmer, which is also an important center of the *Chishtia's*. But a huge crowd accompanied him outside the city for miles and he had to settle in Delhi.

The magnitude of popularity the Chishti saints enjoyed in South Asia is amazing. However, the *Suhrawardi Silsilah*, because of their orthodox approach, could not enjoy such popularity among the Delhiites. Why some of the Sultans of Delhi, such as *Ilutmish*, favoured charismatic Sufis like Kaki, should be studied in its broader historical perspective. The *Turko-Afghan* Sultans were trying to build up their empires in the Indian subcontinent where Muslim population was overwhelmed by the non-Muslim population. Particularly during the embryonic stage of empire building, strict observance of the *Sharia (canon law of Islam)* would have antagonized the majority population. Establishment of the *sharia* rule in tune with the advice provided by the *Ulema*, was not possible in the Indian environment. Many sultans who excelled in statecraft realized that an empire derives its strength from heterogeneity. Now many Sufi saints epitomized India's composite culture in the sense that they

had Hindu, Sikh and Muslim followers. Many *Chishtia* and *Qadiri* Sufis believed in the policy of *Sulh-i-Kul* or *peace with all*. Later on, Mughal Emperor Akbar could emerge as a great empire builder largely because of his capacity to translate this concept into practice. So offering patronage to some Sufis implied strengthening of the symbols of multiculturalism. Thus many Sultans were able to win the confidence and loyalty of the subject population who represented diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

The two most prominent Sufi orders in South Asia during the Sultanate period were the *Chishtia* and the *Suhrawardi*. The *Chishtia*'s flourished in Delhi and in the surrounding area, including Rajasthan, parts of Punjab and modern UP. Bengal, Bihar, Malwa, Gujarat and later on the Deccan also experienced the waves of *Sufi* movement. The *Suhrawardis* were influential mainly in Punjab and Sindh. Territories were divided between different *Pirs* (leading *Sufis* of different orders in such a way that Sufis of various orders could maintain a cordial relationship amongst themselves. Indeed! the modern religious sects have much to learn from these predecessors. *Hazrath Khawaja Muinuddin Chishtia*, the doyen of the *Chishtia* movement in South Asia moved to Ajmer around 1206 A.D. when Turkish hegemony was firmly established there and a sizeable Muslim population of Turkish ghazis and prisoners of war, who had to embrace Islam under duress, came into being. The saint selected Ajmer as his Centre because like *Chishtia* (in Central Asia), it was a small town and away from the epicenter of political activity, *Basra* in Iraq became the Centre of Sufi activities. It must be noted that the Sufi saints were not setting up a new religion, but were preparing a more liberal movement within the framework of Islam. They owed their allegiance to the *Quran* as much as the *Ulema* did.

By the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526), the dominant power in north India, was breaking up. Several autonomous states emerged to challenge the political supremacy of the Delhi Sultanate in the Ganga-Jamuna doab (the fertile tract of land between the rivers Ganga and Jamuna in north India). Deccan (the region between the rivers Godavari and Krishna) and

south India had become independent of the Delhi Sultanate's control earlier during the mid-fourteenth century.

The invasion of India by the Turkish warlord Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur in 1526 resulted in the replacement of the Lodi dynasty ruling the Delhi Sultanate with the Mogul Empire. The Moguls (Mughals; the nineteenth century British officials and historians called them Moghuls) referred to themselves as Chagatai Turks or *Timurids* even though their family links with the Chagatai branch of the *Chingizids* were weak. The Moguls claimed that from their father's side they descended from Amir Timur and from their mother's side from the Chagatai Mongol branch. The newly born Mogul Empire was overthrown in 1540 by the Afghan warlord from east India named Sher Shah Suri. Babur's son Humayun staged a comeback in 1555. The "real" founder of the Mogul Empire was indeed Akbar (Badashah, i.e. emperor, from 1556 to 1605). Akbar put an end to the political chaos in north India by subduing the Afghans and the Rajputs. Further, he reorganized the administration. It is not surprising that the eclectic Mughal Emperor Akbar was a great admirer of *Jalal-ud-din Rumi*. By the time of Akbar's death in 1605, the Mogul Empire had established a stable administrative machinery in north and central India and was in the process of moving slowly into Deccan. Until the fourteenth century, the dominant mode of military recruitment in India was the *Mamluk* system. The *Mamluks* were slave soldiers of the Muslim world. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, due to Akbari reorganization, a sort of quasi-mercenary-cum-quasiprofessional military employment known as the *Mansabdari* system became dominant.

The beginning of the seventeenth century witnessed the gradual expansion of Mogul power into Deccan under Akbar's son and grandson, named Jahangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1628-1658) respectively. They continued to operate within the administrative fabric established by their illustrious predecessor. By the mid-seventeenth century, two contradictory processes were unfolding in the subcontinent. While the Mogul Empire under the dynamic leadership of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was poised for

expansion, simultaneously the administrative institutions established by Akbar were slowly becoming dysfunctional. This was partly because the Mogul economy was in the grip of what is known as the "agrarian crisis" and partly due to the new forms of warfare introduced by the Marathas and the Persians.

On the other hand, there was a sharp cleavage in Muslim society between the ruling establishment, which was of Turkish, Persian, Central Asian or Afghan descent, and the indigenous Muslims. The attitude of the ruling elite and nobility towards the local Muslims was a mixture of contempt and condescension.³ Greed, asserts *Sukraniti*, motivated the mercenaries to join battle.⁴ The *Nitiprakasika* highlights the importance of regular pay in motivating the soldiers.⁵ Nevertheless, men do not fight for pecuniary rewards alone. Mentality is an important constituent of pre-combat and in-combat ethos. And at times military service defined the identity of various communities. Despite the rise and fall of polities due to fluctuations in politics and the changing nature of technologies, the culture of the various communities' changes very slowly. So the Hindu texts generated during pre-Mogul era offer a window into the mentality of the Hindu warrior ethos. The cultural ethos of the Rajputs (the landowning aristocracy also known as *Thakurs*), who resisted the Turks and became an important segment of the Mogul army from Akbar onwards, needs to be evaluated.

The term "Rajput" is derived from the word *Raja-Putra* meaning sons of the king. Military service, especially mounted service, was very popular among the Rajputs.⁶ The Rajputs' military ethic was guided by *Kshatriya-dharma*, which had some parallel with chivalry of the medieval west European knights.⁷ Loyalty and bravery were the two core values of *Kshatriya-Dharma*. The ideology of combat centered on duty to one's master and the display of individual prowess in the battlefield.⁸ The Rajput concept of *Namak Halali* (loyalty to the salt-giver) means that they should remain loyal to the person whose salt they have eaten, in other words, to their employer.⁹ The Rajput heroic ballads emphasized that *Seva*(duty and loyalty) to the lord was more important than duty and loyalty towards one's family.¹⁰ The bravery of the *Rajputs* revolved around the concept of

Paurusha (manliness), which means sacrificing one's life in the battlefield. The *Prithviraj Vijaya-Mahakavya* tells us that for the *Chauhans* (a Rajput clan) fighting was a way of life. The *Rajputs* considered themselves as Kshatriyas, and soldiering was regarded as their caste duty. They believed that tactical retreat in the battlefield was inglorious, and they considered that sacrificing their lives on the battlefield, rather than becoming prisoners-of-war, was the highest possible achievement.¹¹ The medieval Hindu text *Sukraniti* emphasizes that it is a sin for a Kshatriya to die peacefully at home. Rather, the Kshatriya earns a noble death by dying in the battlefield while slaying enemies. Those Kshatriyas who die in the battlefield achieve *Virgati* (they become heroes and ascend to heaven). Such a reward is acquired by the rishis (sages) only after long ascetic practices.¹² The *Arthashastra* also notes that soldiering is the caste duty of the Kshatriyas.¹³ When the Islamic threat was absent, the various Rajput clans fought among themselves for glory.¹⁴ The contingents of the Rajput *Mansabdars* maintained *Charans* (bards) whose duty was to encourage the soldiers by playing martial music and reciting Rajput heroic ballads.¹⁵

The Mogul military system also utilized caste and clan feelings to build up primary group solidarity and camaraderie. The *Mansabdars'* contingents were not mono-ethnic units. The contingents of Rajput *Mansabdars* did not comprise solely Rajput troopers but also included Muslim sowars.¹⁶ Generally, the Rajput *Mansabdars* had one-sixth of their contingents from the non-Rajput groups. However, Rajput troopers preferred to serve under Rajput chiefs. Several generations served simultaneously in a contingent of a *Mansabdar*. For instance, fathers, sons, uncles, nephews, cousins, and brothers all served simultaneously in the contingent of a particular *Mansabdar*.¹⁷ The clan members were led on the battlefield by the clan leaders.¹⁸ The different Rajput clans who joined the Mogul service were the Rathors, Sisodias, Kachawahas, Haras, Bhatias, and others.¹⁹

Similarly asserts that the process of the rise of the Marathas in medieval west India was somewhat similar to the emergence of *Rajputs* in north India. Through service in the army and subsequently acquiring rights over the land, and

then consolidating such rights and following certain rituals and customs, many became hereditary warrior elites.²⁰ Basically, the warrior ethos of the *Rajputs* and the Marathas emphasized winning glory and money and acquiring power. Social mobility was achieved by fighting on horseback. They had a disdain for those who practiced agriculture.²¹ Those families in west India who followed the profession of soldiering and acquired land were known as Marathas, in contrast to the lowly *Kunbis* (ordinary cultivators and artisans). The Marathas served as mercenaries in the Muslim sultanates of pre-Mogul India. Gradually, the Maratha families established themselves in particular regions and became semi autonomous. Thus, they could not be categorized as service elites.²² The ethos of mercenary soldiering existed in pre-Mogul India. The Hindu mercenaries are known as *BhrataBalas* (literally "hired soldiers") in Sanskrit literature. Several of them belonged to families whose hereditary trade was soldiering.²³ The *Panchantantra* says that the mercenaries should pursue the profession of soldiering without thinking about the reasons behind warfare.²⁴ In the villages, *Akharas* (gymnasiums) existed in which the mercenaries engaged in wrestling to keep themselves physically fit.²⁵ Many of them were worshippers of the Hindu War Gods *Kartik* and *Vishnu*.²⁶

The armed ascetics, especially those who were worshippers of Lord Shiva (the Hindu god of destruction), known as *Saivaites*, played an important role in the military labour market of Hindustan. As a result, the continued tradition of armed ascetics functioning as mercenaries went back to ancient times. Saiva asceticism did not preach world denial. The yogis (those who engage in yoga, i.e., in ascetic practices to gain spiritual power) did not aim to become saints in the conventional sense of the term. They were not noted for an intense love of God. Rather, they aspired to become a second Shiva on earth. One of the bonds that held the armed ascetic warrior bands together was the concept of *chela*, a faithful disciple. Most of the *Chelas* were originally slave boys who were sold by their poor parents to the yogis in the *Ashrama*'s (Hindu religious institutions).²⁷ The armed Hindu devotees of the god Vishnu were known as *Bairagis*. They were led by *Mahants* (heads of the religious order). The armed ascetics

consumed bhang, opium, and other intoxicants before joining battle in order to increase their enthusiasm for fighting.²⁸

Finally, if we focus to the motivation of the Muslim soldiery, then the *Turanis* soldiers of the Mogul army were devotees of the Sufi saints.²⁹ The idea of Sufis being peace-loving saints engaged in building bridges between the two antagonistic communities, Hindus and Muslims, is now rightly discredited³⁰ which asserts that even the Afghan soldiers of Sher Shah believed that the *Sufi Pirs* could make the difference between victory and defeat on the battlefield.³¹ Many of the Mogul troopers had Naqshbandi affiliations. The Sufi saints traveled to and fro between Transoxiana and Deccan. While some Sheikhs functioned as traveling *Pirs* catering to the spiritual needs of the soldiers, other Sheikhs established *Khanqhas* at the capitals of the *Subas*.³²

Some of the dervishes were also expert bow-makers.³³ The soldiers and their officers believed that the *Pirs*' spiritual power would protect them against enemy arrows and shots. In return for spiritual support, many soldiers and their officers donated money for the construction of mosques.³⁴ AbulFazl notes that, when the Muslim troops loyal to the Mogul sovereign died while fighting rebellious Muslims, then the former achieved martyrdom.³⁵ How far this assertion represented the actual combat ethos of the loyal Mogul soldiery remains an open question. In recent times, Rosalind O'Hanlon has asserted that Mogul manliness was shaped by a modified version of the Persian concept of *Javanmardi*, which meant displaying courage and bravery in imperial service. For the mounted musketeers, the skill of shooting from horseback constituted the concept of being a "true" mirza.³⁶ With the passage of time, we see a subtle change in the cultural motivations of both the Muslim and Rajput soldiery.

For example, Shiekh Shams-ud-din became a soldier in the army of Ala-ud-din-khilji, and most of the time he was in prayers and meditation and complete obscurity. The king Ala-ud-din-Khilji had many unsuccessful attempts to conquer the fort of Chittor and he sought the help of holy men in this enterprise. One of them informed that a pious and holy

men is in your army, if he wills and pray then surely you may achieve victory. How to identify this holy man was a big question? the man replied "In the Warfield during night in the tents if the wind blows, the lamps of all the people will be extinguished but only the lamp of this pious man will continue to burn. Thus, he can be identified.

This is how *Hazrath Shams-ud-din* was recognized and ordered to pray for victory of the Ala-ud-din-Khilji, and later the king was able to conquer the fort of Chittoor with his blessings. Whereas the former understood the end was near. because as per his Guide and *PirHazrath Shams-ud-din's* master orders the day when miracles were exhibited by me there is the end of his spiritual master's life from this eternal world. Similarly, his Spiritual Master and *Pir-o-MurshidShiekhHazrath Ala-ud-din Saberi Kaleri* died in 1112 A.D. whose Corpse were guarded by animals in the forest till then and later it was buried as per orders by his Disciple and *KhalifaHazrath Shams-ud-din* alone.

The transformation of the cultural ethos was related to the changes in the power politics of the real world. Notwithstanding the many syncretic and inclusion dimensions of medieval Islamic culture, asserts RajatDatta, for the Islamic conquerors and their ideologues, Hindustan was a land of *Kufir* for infidels.³⁷ During the thirteenth century, the discourse among at least a powerful section of the Muslim intellectuals was that jihad on part of the righteous sultan was necessary. The jihad was directed towards despoiling the riches of the temples, killing the Brahmans, and theoretically giving the Hindus the option of death or Islam.³⁸ And those ghazis (religious soldiers) who fell while conducting jihad became *Shahids* (martyrs). When Babur fought the Rajputs at Khanwa, by giving the call of jihad, the former tried to rouse the combat spirit of his Muslim soldiery. However, when the multi-ethnic Mogul army comprising Muslim and Hindu (Rajput and Maratha) soldiers fought the Shia Muslim sultanates of Deccan (Bijapur and Golkunda), the policy was not to give the cry of jihad but to rouse the Muslim soldiery by utilizing the power of the Sufi Sheikhs. Similarly, when the Rajputs fought the Muslims then the former relied on the concept of *Dharmayuddha*, but when the Rajputs fought in the Mogul army

they strengthened their combat ethos by harking back to their caste pride as soldiers. In such circumstances, the *Mogul Badashah* was equated with Ram, the Kshatriya hero of the epic Ramayana who waged *Dharmayuddha*.³⁹

Due to the vast demographic resources of South Asia (if one wants, then one can use the term "military labour market"), military conscription was neither necessary nor practiced in Mogul times. Though the size of the Mogul army in the first half of the sixteenth century was quite big, if we take into account the vast population of the subcontinent, then the military participation ratio was quite small. Again, military service in South Asia during the Mogul and British eras, unlike in western Europe, remained an honorable profession. Small farmers, marginal peasants, and share-croppers earned more by joining the army, and low castes acquired Kshatriya status. In certain cases, many small farmers became *Zamindars* after a successful military career, and ambitious *Zamindars* became rajas after participating in a successful campaign. So service in the army was a channel for upward mobility.

The Mogul army was not a rigid structure frozen in time, but a multi-dimensional organization that evolved with age. However, certain fundamental characteristics of the Mogul army can be elaborated. The Mogul army was not a state commission force but a coalition of forces raised and maintained by the different *Mansabdars* (*Persian* and *Turani* adventurers, *Hindu* chieftains, etc.) operating under the overall control of the emperor. The Mogul army was not a national or Indian (if such a term could be used at all) army. The army did not recruit just from the territories under its control. The Mogul army was a multi-ethnic and multi-faith entity which drew a considerable number of personnel from outside its territory. From the religious perspective, the Mogul army comprised Muslims, Hindus, and some Christians. As regards the Muslims, the Mogul nobility consisted of both Shias from Persia and Sunnis from *Turan* (Central Asia). Both Hindus (*Rajputs* from Rajasthan and north India under Akbar and the Marathas from west India from Shah Jahan's reign onwards) and Muslims (mostly Afghans who settled in the subcontinent, i.e., Bihar during the Delhi Sultanate) from India were recruited in the army.

Rather than the region's level of monetization, it was politics and the cultural ethos that dominated payment of the soldiery (especially the higher ranks). Military service was regarded as a means of becoming a landholder or to expand one's patrimony. Hence, payment in kind, i.e., land (except in the case of Sher Shah, an aberration in medieval India), remained dominant in the period under review.

However, foreign and indigenous mercenaries and especially footmen were paid in cash for most of the time. Even in the heyday of the *Mansabdari* system, the professional mercenary form of military employment continued. The Mogul army from Babur to Aurangzeb was dependent on the foreign professional mercenaries for manufacturing and manning gunpowder weapons during both battles and sieges. The dependence was on the Ottomans and Persians, and under Aurangzeb the Moguls relied on west European Christians. The latter development was due to a global shift in the eighteenth century, when western Europe became most advanced in the production and deployment of cannons, howitzers, and mortars. In the eighteenth century, the *Mansabdari* system was replaced by the regimental system, the latter being characterized by regular cash

payment, written regulations, and strict discipline.

Conclusion

In theory, war is simply a means to an end, a rational, if very brutal, activity intended to serve the interests of one group of people by killing, wounding, or otherwise incapacitating those who oppose it. In reality, nothing could be further from the truth. War, and combat in particular, is one of the most exciting, most stimulating activity that we humans can engage in, capable of putting all others in the shade; quite often, that excitement and that stimulation translate themselves into pure joy. This fact alone is, or should be, enough to lift it out of the realm of mere utility, and, even more so, many of his "realist" followers would have it, and into that of culture. Indeed, it could be argued, that if war is not enjoyable then very likely something is very wrong with the purpose for which it is waged. While the ostensible function of the culture of war is to make men willing, even eager, to look death in the face, it can only do so if it is understood not as a means to an end but as an end in itself. The important issues and paradigms of the study of Sufism and Culture occupy a vast canvas and only some of these have been articulated.

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THE PRACTICE OF CONSECRATION AND SACRIFICES IN VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Munireddy

Introduction

In ancient and medieval era at the time of constructing tanks, ponds and swimming pools there was a tradition to sacrifice the life a pregnant women, children and animals these tradition was accepted by the society in those days. During the period 1336 to 1565 AD, also we can come across such tradition of human sacrifice.

Religion is so harmoniously and intricately webbed into the life of the Hindus that no activity of them can easily be separated from their injunctions. The life of a Hindu is closely associated with his religion, its tenants, ideal and sanctions. Accordingly enterprises even with regard to the mundane ones like the construction of irrigation work and other related ones could not be disassociated from the sanctions of religion or dharma. So, elaborate, sometimes simple, religious ceremonies and procedures came to be prescribed in ancient scriptures which were invariably observed in all the activities including the construction of tanks, well, amicus, canals etc. But often there were variation in details of performances, but of local nature.

'Earliest accounts of the procedure of dedication to a well or tank, in literature is found in Sankhyayana's Grihyasutra.... During the whole ceremony, Varuna is invoked in several verses from the rigveda. At the same time other gods are also propitiated. Agni-purna [ch.64] states that varuna is closely associated with the water [tank, pond, well]... it prescribed the immersion of the image of varuna in the well or the pool, or tank since it consecrates the water-

monument Performing All that, it was believed, would bring more religious merit than by the performing of the **aswamedha** sacrifice since water was of vital necessity to life, growth and fertility¹.

Though not so elaborately but definitely some kind of religious ceremonies were performed invariably during the Vijayanagara period, in all instances that pertained to the construction of irrigation works, as testified by the tradition and practice continuously followed even now, in this region. Yet all those activities did not find mention in the contemporary epigraphically records. At the same time auspicious moments, as prescribed in the scriptures, were selected at the time of commencement of the undertaking or consecration of such works after completion. Even for the conducting of the rituals also, auspicious timings were observed. Those practices too must have been followed necessarily and on all such occasions as testified again by the continued tradition²

Such beliefs had the endorsements even in ancient scriptures of the land. 'In Regveda there is a legend of a human sacrifice to Varuna Yajurveda refers to human sacrifices being offered in order to strengthen such vulnerable points as fortifications, city-gates and dams ..., For this, the victims had to be buried in the foundation of the new construction'³.

In the year 1369 A.D. when Bukkaraya I was the ruling monarch the famous tank of Porumamilla [Ananthasagara], in cuddapa district was constructed by the prince, Bhaskara Bhavadura, Udayagiri-governor. The relevant

inscription mentions the auspicious time of its construction as Saka year. Most likely, the auspicious time recorded must be referring to the completion and consecration or commissioning the tank to the use of the villagers. It may be recalled here that the tradition with the Hindus is to perform ritual practices at every stage which included, in the case of the irrigation works, the ones at the time of the commencement of the first digging, laying the first stone for building the embankment-wall, fixing the first stone of the sluice, on seeing the first inflow of water, on completing the whole scheme and so on. Since the above inscribed record furnishes so many other details including the land-grants etc⁴ Another inscription of the year 1394 from Tumkur district, gives some details on the same point. It was issued during the reign of the king Harihara II of Vijayanagara⁵.

The Hindus entertained certain beliefs and practised sacrificing animals in the course of religious ceremonies. That was to pacify the evil spirits. That was particularly so in the case of the irrigation works with which the evil spirits were believed to be associated and dwelling in them. Such animal sacrifices were resorted to with the conviction that the bad effects caused by the evil spirits would be warded off or mitigated on being appeased with the sacrifices etc. Whenever a tank or pond was not able to retain water or could not get filled up to the marked capacity, it was believed that it was the work of some evil spirit associated with the irrigation work. Under such circumstances, the people resorted to make sacrifices of animals and at times even of human beings including young children⁶.

Those beliefs were upheld in the subsequent vernacular literature as well as in folk literature and they are numerous. As detailed in one of the Kannada folk songs, that one Mallanagouda of Kallanakeri village constructed a tank. But the bund could not withstand the force and the thrust of the water as a result of which it got breached. Even repeated attempts to rectify the breaches were not successful and it got breached every time.

Thereupon an astrologer was consulted who recommended human sacrifice to overcome the problem. But no person was

prepared for the sacrifice. At last, taking into consideration the general welfare that was involved in it, one young lady named **Bhagirathi**, the youngest daughter-in-law of the village headman, volunteered to sacrifice her life and she was sacrificed too. And thereafter, as was the practice, a small shrine in memory of that lady might have been built at a suitable place on the tank-bund or nearby and installed within a sculptural representation of that lady, commemorating the sacrifice of life made by that young lady for the welfare of the villagers etc⁷

There were instances of animal sacrifices too, for similar purposes, particularly of sheep, lambs, cocks or he-buffaloes. Till recently such sacrifices were of common practice when the tanks became full and there was overflowing above the surplus weir. In such cases, it was considered as one of the thanks-giving and adoration, to the spirit of the tank or the god/goddess. One such instance is as reported by an Englishman. According to that one chikka Odeya, minister of the king Bukkaraya of Vijayanagara built a tank in the year 1364 A.D. and the life of a girl had to be sacrificed at the time of erecting the embankment of that tank⁸.

Within the citadel part of the Vijayanagara ruins, there is a big tank, now known as 'Public Bath'. 'In the bed of that tank, at one place, a chamber beneath it in which were some bones and a well preserved skull were found ... it apparently belonged to a man of short stature.. it might be the skull of a person who was sacrificed in connection with the building of the tank... the remains of a solitary individual...' as reported by Alexander Rea in 1904-05⁹.

The tank now known as 'Rayara kere' seen on the outskirts of Hospet, which place was once part of the metropolitan city of Vijayanagara, has already been referred to above. Paes the Portuguese chronicler who visited the Vijayanagara city between 1520 and 1522 A.D. has gone on record with interesting details regarding the construction of that big tank. The relevant recording states.... the tank burst two or three times and the king asked the **brahmanas** to consult their idols as to the reason why it burst so often and the **Brahmanas** said that the idol was displeased and desired that they could make a sacrifice, and should

give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at gate of the pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done...'

The tradition in respect of the tank of Penagalur, Cuddappa district, relates about the human sacrifices. According to that, the tank breached at several places, a year after its construction. The breaches were reported to have been closed successfully only after sacrificing seven daughters of its architect. An inscription of the year 1637 A.D. while listing the obligations of the shepherds to be carried out at the time of village festivals, mentions about the practice of sacrificing goats at the sluices of the village tank and so on.

In connection with the construction of a tank at Rayalacheruvu, built by the king krishnadevaraya, a folk story is current in that region. When the tank was first built by the king Krishnadevaraya, a folk story is current in that region. When the tank was first built, it leaked persistently and no remedy was effective. It was revealed in a dream to the king himself, that only a buried alive in the bund of the tank would be effective and stop the leaking. One of his daughters coming to know of that, offered herself voluntarily to be sacrificed for the welfare of the villagers. So, the daughter of the king was buried alive in the tank-bund, at the spot where it was leaking and so on¹⁰.

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12. The News Minutes [TNM] Tuesday, March 06, 2018.

Apart from the above said aspects in Karnataka state Kolar district's village by name Masti in that village the daughter-in-law of that village head [king] she sacrificed herself by jumping into the tank for the sake of wellbeing of her village people. And also in a tank near Take! [Kolar district] village in the process of construction of the tank another two women sacrificed their lives for the sake of tank construction. The story was mentioned by Dr. K.Y. Narayanaswamy in his historical works¹¹. Those beliefs and practices were popular till recently. In another appalling incident of suspected 'human sacrifice', the body of a girl baby without head, presumed to be that of a one- year, was found floating in the NTR water reservoir near Kalvakuntla in Penumuru mandai of Chittoor district in A.PIZ.

Conclusion

As already stated, variant versions of such sacrifices made both of animals and humans, for the safety and effective functioning of the irrigation works were numerous found in folk traditions and folk literature. In those days self sacrifice for the sake of rivers and ponds are treated as religion and humanity. The social beliefs was not only practiced by men but also by women was so significant in respect of upliftment of the society. In spite of these Apart from King and Subordinator even the common man also expected the idea logy and social thinking. In today self full society leading life in a scientific way can never Seen. Thus my intention is to tell human beings, being the members of the society is to inspire and develop the people to involve in social thinking for the purpose of betterment of the society.

THE ROLE OF SHAIVA SAINTS IN THE HOYSALA ADMINISTRATION

S.R. Nagannavar & Iranna K. Pattar

Education is a hidden treasure. No one can steal it. Education gives happiness and success. So it is called teachers' teacher. It is also called a divine power. It was respected greatly at the palaces. Man without education is equal to animal. The kings who ruled Karnataka were supporting the educated *Pandits* in their courts. The kings' respects were increased by these *Pandits*. The Hoysala King of Dorasamudra was not exception to it. The main theme of this article is to relate about the importance of Shaiva Saints and Pandits during the rule of Hoysalas' based on the inscriptions which are available in the districts; Hasana, Mandya, Mysore and Chikkamangalore.

The Hoysala Kings supported all religions like Vaisnavism, Buddhism, and Jainism etc. in their kingdom. They were described as '*Chatussamaya Samuddaran*' and many titles. Shaivism was main progressive religion among all other religions. According to the Shirasangi and Nesaragi Inscriptions, the reference about four Shaiva sects is illustrated as bellow.....

Negarda Mahavratigalolam

Negardha Mahapasupatadol srotriydolam

Negardudgnitmenalke

Negardha Kalamukha sudharmam pramukham

In this inscriptions the Shaiva sects; *Mahavriti*, *Pasupata*, *Shrotriya*, *Kalamukha* are referred. The Shaiva saints of *Koula* sects were residing at many parts of Hoysala Kingdom. They were patronized by the Kings. These Shaiva saints were serving as *Rajaguru* (spiritual adviser), teachers of *Gurukulas*, and the main priest of temples, institutors of statues of Gods. Donors, receivers of donations, *Acharyas* of temples properly and respectively. This information is illustrated in many inscriptions. Shaiva Brahmins were also existed. The names of Shaiva saints; *Rudrashakti*, *Vamashakti*, *Vimalashakti*, *Kriyashakti*, *Dharmarashi Pandit*, *Nagarashi Pandit*, *Brahmajiya*, *Malikajiya* etc. are illustrated in many inscriptions of Hoysala dynasty. The information about dominant religions and growth of religions in the districts is available is illustrated in the inscriptions available in the

respective districts. According to my research study there are 1110 inscriptions related to Hoysalas of Dorasamudra in Karnataka. Among them 520 Shaiva, 161 Vaisnava, 115 Jain, 197 Hero stones, 176 complicated inscriptions were detected. By studding the inscriptions of Hasana, Mysore, Mandya, Chikkamangalore districts we came to know that the Shaivism was dominant religion in these districts. The Shavism stood first in each district. The Jainism stood second and Vaisnavism stood third place in Hasana and Chikkamangalore district. The Vaisnavism stood in second place and the Jainism stood third place in Mandy and Mysore districts. 82 and 64 Hero stone inscriptions were found in Hasana and Chikkamangalore districts respectively. By taking these inscriptions in considerations, it is attempted to introduce the role and positions of Shaiva saints and Pandits.

Service of Shaiva Saints as spiritual advisers to the Kings

Many educated experienced Saints were being appointed by Hoysalas as spiritual advisers to the kings to run daily administrative, religious and social activities smoothly as per the situations. This information is referred in many inscriptions which are found in many parts of Karnataka. Ex: A Taragale inscription of Hasan district was detected of during the time of Ballal II. It was engraved on 23 January 1189. According to this inscription Hoysala king Veeraballal of *Dorasamudra* was ruling very happily. *Amritrasi the son of Vamashaktidevaru* who was the Spiritual adviser to the king and the main priest of God *Akkoti Chakravarthi* shri Maleshwar was referred in this inscription. Other saints like Ankajeey of Hennagadalad, Sambhujeeya of Wallyuru were referred.

The inscription of Asandhi village (20. April 1190) engraved in Gangeshwar and Bommeshwar Temple during the time of Ballal II. It records that while *Mahamandalika Narasimhadeva* the Ganga, was governing the *Asandi-nad*, *Bammadeva* got consecrated the gods Brahmaesvara and made it over to Rajaguru *Kriyasaktideva* and to *Senabova*

kalyanadeva, after the death of his mother Ganga-mahadevi. It is stated that the *lingas* were brought from *Patala-Ganga* at *Sriparvata*. (EC.XII P-19-23)

Inscription of Gangeshwar temple of Ballal II at Asandhi in Chikkamagalur district records the grant which was made over to *Kesavajiya, Rudrashkti, Pillajiya of Nakhareshwar, Rajaguru Kriyashaktideva, Suryabharanadeva and other priests of the place by Rangagouda, Holiyagouda, Kallagouda, Ramagouda, Malagouda, Hariyamagouda ect.* (EC.XII P-13-14)

Inscription which is in front of Ishwar temple of Diduga belongs to the Hoysala Ballal II. It refers to the mahapasayata, Keregodunadaluv, samanta kadaya Nayaka who was governing Didugina-vritti in Kalkani-nad and registers a grant of 21 Gadyanas and hanas for decorations of the god Balleshwar, gift of food and temple repairs by Edava Jakkayya, son of Balava Jakkayya, who was administering the village Diduga. The grant was made over to rajaguru Mallikajiya, the probably Kanakasiva, and son of Maraguli Nayaka. (EC.X. P. 562-63) The inscription of Rameshwar temple of *Mosale* in Hasana district which was engraved on 20th January 1287 A.D. during the time of Narashimaha III. It refers to the grant of land for Channakeshava temple by Ballanna son of Kutana Heggade Rajaguru Rudrashaktideva and others were present on the occasion. (EC.X. P. 355-357)

The Role of Shaiva Saints at Gurukula

It is known from many inscriptions that Gurukula system of education was existed during the time of Hoysalas. The saints were addressed as teachers of Gurukulas, Gurukula kulatilaka. Ex: the inscriptions of Ballal II. This was found at the roadside of Jummapur Kaduru taluka and Chikkamagaluru district. It records about the grant offered to Hampa-jiya who was the brother of Brahmeshwar pandita. They were referred as *Tapodhana, Gurukulanvaya, Gunanidhi, nitividha, Ksetramukhatilaka on this earth.* (EC.XII. P. 111-113)

Inscription of Narashimaha I of 1173 A.D. was found beside Bhuteshwar temple at Bennegudda of Halebeedu. It records about the grant offered to Rudrashakti Pandit who was

the brother of *Guru Shvashktipandit*. He was guru of *Geleya Nayaka*. (I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysal Vol.No.III Part II. No. 319. P-204) The inscription of Kattesomanahalli, Beluru taluka, Narashimaha I. (17th Dec 1214) refers to the grant of certain land and house sites to god Channasomanatha, made over to Kedar-Guru. (EC-IX. P-406-407)

Service to the Temples as Stanacharyas

It is known from the inscriptions that the shaiva saints and pundits of Hoysala times served the temples as Sthanacharyas. Ex: the inscription Mosale village Arasikeri taluka which was engraved on the stone near Rameshwar temple (20th January 1287) records that Rajaguru Rudrashktideva had two sons called Vadyadeva and Pilleyanna. The sons donated with devotion to god. This act was witnessed by acharyas and Gouda like *Ramajiya, Karulagouda, Mosalegouda, Ketagouda, Piriyaagouda son of Chikkasomanagouda* (EC-IX. P-355-357)

The inscription which belongs to Ballala II was engraved on 1180 A.D. This inscription was found in Tambala village T.Narasipur Taluka Mysore district. It refer to a royal gift of the village Tumbala situated in Edotorenadu, to god *Agastyanath of Tirumakudalu*, made over to *Agattijiya, son of Pichchajiya, the Stanika, Nagadeva*, son-in-law of Heggade *Bammadeva* wrote the record. The inscription of Village *Hattihalli, Channarayapattana* taluka (18th December 1183) was found near *Malleshwar* temple. This epigraph records the construction of the *Amriteshwar* temple at Attigondanahalli and registers a grant of land for services of the god and temple repairs by Somavve, mother of Bammaladevi, the queen of Hoysala Ballal II. With the consent of the Prabhu of the place, the grant was made over to the temple-priest *Chaundajiya, son of Honnajiya.* (EC-X. P-581-583)

The inscription of Ballala II which was found near Narayanashwami temple at Konnur village Pandavapur taluka, Mandya district registers the grant probably of some land by Neelayya and Chamayya sons respectively of *Mahapradhan, Sarvadhikari, Senadhipati, Mahapasayat Achchu Timmayya* and *Dandanayaka Veerayya* who were given the charge of protection of the fort to god

Nakareswar of Tondanuru in order to provide perpetual lamp. This grant was handed to *Stanapati Amritarasi*. (I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. III. Part I No. 426 & 428 P-140-143)

The inscriptions of 1151 A.D. which was found shaiva temple at Kanikatti of Ballala II It registers a grant of lands and money by the Mahapradhan Ballan. The gift was made over to the Stanapati Sivasakti Pandita for the services of the god *Jagatesvara* of *Kalikatte* at the situation of *Uttarayana Samkranti*. (I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. III. Part II No. 430 P-36)

The inscription *Narasimha I* (31st January 1169) which was found near *Sangameshwar* temple at *Chikkapattanagere* village Chikkamagalur district records *Bhuvagouda* built the Mantap and a grant of wet land of 6 *mattars* below the tank of *Pochiyagere* and dry land of 2 *mattars* to the south of that same tank for the service, worship, perpetual lamp etc. for those gods. The recipient of the grant was *Kalyanasakti-Pandita* son of *Aksharasaktideva* of *Hattadagere*, the head priest of the *Panchamatha*. (I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. II. No. 306 P-182, (EC-XII. P-107-109))

The Personality of Scholarship of Shaiva Saints

It is described in the inscriptions that some scholars and Shaiva saints supported by the kings were described as the great pundits. Some scholars and shaiva saints were introduced in the inscriptions.

The inscription of Ballal II (22nd March 1181) which was found near *Siddamath* at the village *Keresante Taluka Kadur* states that all the *Mahajanas of Vishnusamudra* bestowed the temple of *Siddhesvara* to *Lalavandhibhatta, a siva Brahmana* and highly versed in *Sivagamas*. (I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. III. Part I No. 433 P-148-149. EC-XII. P-83-85).

The inscription of Ballala II which was found near the Smt Gouramma High School at *Arasikere* describes the scholarship and many sided personality of the great scholar *Trailoksakti* thus, '*Varamenipa Shivagamadol nirtar trailokyashakti Shivashatiglishwara padapayojbhrungar nirupamacaritra alagunamunimukyar*' (Adib. Vo. III. Part I No.481 P-150-254. EC-X. P-57-60).

The personality of *Gangarasipandit* is described in the inscription of *Narashimha I*. found at the village *Desani Arasikere taluka* near *Kalleshwar temple* thus '*Asrita jan Kalpavriksha enisuv samasta prajegalum sada harasuva, mahatapodanam lakulasadevar putram Gangarasi Panditara diksasutam tribhuvanashakti Panditara tamma Vamajiyar sahajagunam lksmikantama Dharmanirma labhavanum, sapaldyatakhyatam shantachittamanuttam nipunashivashastrasara pungamangalam bhusanam tapasi munipam*' (Adib. Vo. II. No.215. P-13-14. EC-X. P-323-325).

The personality of *Shistabrahmana Alvibhatta* is described in the inscription of *Narashimha I*. found at the village *Desani Arasikere taluka* near *Kalleshwar temple* thus '*Yama Niyamasvadyaya dhyanaadhar anamounanustanajapasamadhishilagunasampannaru mattam shbd ashastrakoumarrupa vataravyakaran ottarashastrajnyarumattum jyotixhasrikanalaghum and sakaranatnadijy ptijgnatrikalajnyaru mattama shivagama byashigalu lokacharyarulokott amarushista brahmanaru Alvibattaru kaligeshwaradeva layamadis idaru*' (Adib Vo. II. No.220. P-20-21. EC-X. P-124-124).

Shaiva Saints as Builders of Temples and consecrated of Statues

Many Hoysala inscriptions record that the scholars acted as *Rajaguru*, *Saints* and *Sthanacharyas*. They also built temples, water tanks in many parts of Hoysal Empire. They were also involved in the building of the temples and institution of statues.

The inscription of *Manakattur, Arasikere taluka* which belongs to the rule of Hoysala *Vishnuvardhana* and records the construction of the *Mulasthan* temple and setting up of a *kalasa* by *Isanya Panditadeva, son of Kartarajiya*. (I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. I. No.45. P-54-55 EC-X. P-82-83).

The inscription of *Manakattur, Hasana Taluka*, which belongs to the rule of Hoysala *Vishnuvardhana* (1130-31A.D.) registers a grants of lands to temple of *Kalideva* by the *mahajanas of Givindapura, Base-gavunda and Bamma-gauda of Hriya Kadalur*. It was made over to *Holajiya, son (disciple) of Honna-jiya*

and grandson of Sivasakti, the muliga of the place who had the temple built and a tank excavated. It also refers to a tank got excavated by Chinni-Seetti, Nagarashi-pandita of Mudugere wrote the record which was engraved by the Sculptor Devoj. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. I. No.98. P.55 EC-VII. P-324-325*).

The inscription of Balaganchi Village, Channarayana Pattan Taluka, which belongs to the rule of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana (1132-33.A.D.), registers a grant of the tank for the offerings in the Siva temple at Balagachichu by heggade Mahadeva. It states that Kuttara-jiya got erected the Siva temple and excavated the tank. Somesvara-Pandita wrote the record. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. I. No.104. P.170 EC-X. P-586-87*).

The inscription of Govindapur, Arasikere taluka which belongs to the rule of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, explains the construction of the Mulsthana temple at Karigunda in Nirgundana by *Anantasakti-pandita and his son Brahmarasi-pandit*.

Ganjigere inscription of Hoysala ruler Narasimha I (1153 A.D.) explains a grant of lands for the offerings and lights of god *Amritesvar* by the *Sarvadhikari Bucheyya* and others the 50 families of the place, to Someshwar pandita, Son of Ketikarva who was son of Mallikarjun pandita. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. II. No.233. P.40 EC-X. P-539-540*).

The inscription of Bidare village taluka belonging to Narashimha I Channarayapattan states about the construction of Kalideva temple at Kaggana Bidire in the *Kumara-vritti* of *Nirgunda-nad* by *pasayit Belliappa-nayaka* whose descent is given in the record. The temple is described and also registers grants of land for services of the god by him made over to *Mahadevarasi pandita*, younger brother of *Dhammarasi-pandita*, son of *Kariyajija*. Younger brother of *Kalyanasakti pandit*. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. II. No.285. P.154-155. EC-X. P-506-508*).

The fragmentary inscription of Hoysala King Veerballala which was found at near Siddeswar temple of Belur taluka refers to grants made for mahajanas of the village and

second was monetary gift of 12 gadyanas by the *Kalamukha* priest Rudrashakti of Atrigotra.

The Shaiva Saint who patronized their Deeksa Sons and Orphans

The inscriptions are fine proofs to prove that the saint of Hoysala period looked after their disciples as their own children. There are three references as Deeksaputra, Deeksasuta and Karunada Makkalu. They gave them education and Sivadeekse. The disciples who got sivadeekse were treated as their own children.

Ex:It illustrates in the inscriptions of *Kuruvanka* Village, Arasikere taluka at Rangamantap of Ishwara temple. Mahadevaras at the presence of all subjects declares in the inscription thus *'Kaluva Malleyntagad 40 manusya ekkati gangarakkum trailokyasa ktigala deeksaputram lokabharana panditar*. It refers to the donations offered by Mahadevaras to Lokabharana pandit by washing his feet.

The inscription of Desani village Arasikere taluka near Kalmeswara temple belongs to Narasimha I. It is illustrated thus, "Smasta prajegalauma sadaharasuva Mahatapodhanam lakulasahadevara putram Gangarasi panditar deeksasutam tribhuvanapanditara tamma Vamajeyara sahajagunam. It states that the grant of land for the services of the god, feeding of ascetics and temple repairs by Vaidya and the 50 tenants of place. The recipient was *Vama-jiya, younger brother of tribhuvanasaki-pandita*. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. II. No.215. P.14. EC-IX. P-223-24*).

The Siddapur inscription of Beluru taluka, in front of *Veerabadra* temple belonging to Narasimha III. registrers several donations made on deference dates to the *Veershaiva pontiff Shivaratreya Mayideva who was the disciple (Karunyada shisu) of Puranada Mayideva pandit*, a resident of the religious center of Somanatha of Huliager. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. V. No.885. P.32-34. EC-IX. P-412-414*).

Tradition of Disciples

The Hoysala inscriptions tell us clearly that Shaiva saints had a number of disciples. For Ex: *Kanikatte* inscription of Hoysal King *Vishnuvardhana* (1129 A.D.) registrars about

Mahasamanta *Singarasa of Arasiyakere* whose descent is given in the record received Kalikatti in the Magare-300. He got consecrated the god Singeshwar and made a grant of lands for the decoration offerings of a god. The recipient was Kriyashaktipandit disciple of Acharya *Pareshwara pandit*. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. I. No.93. P.142. EC-X. P-99-100*).

The inscription of *Kemalu* village *Channarayapattan*, Hasana district which is found in the temple of *Malleshwar* registers a grant of lands and oil-mill for services of god Mallikarjuna and also for feeding of ascetics by Bellappa Nayak, his daughter *Gaouraladevi* and others. The grant was made over to *Mallikarjunajiya* disciple of *Amritarasi pandita*. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. II. No.301. P.175-176. EC-X. P-499-500*).

The inscription of *Herekallubetta Village Hasana district* found at *Shankarashwar* temple belonging to *Ballal II* clearly tells us that about the grant which was made over to *Madajiya* the disciple of *Nagarasi pandita*, the disciple of *Padmasivapandit* the son of *Kalamukh* saint *Kundajiya* by all subjects Heggade, *Gavundas and Nakharas* (Merchants) to perform offerings, perpetual lamp, decorations, illuminations and repairs at temples by washing his feet. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. III Part I. No.374. P.59-58. EC-X. P-167-171*).

The inscription of *Halkur Village Hasana district* found beside *Kalmeshwar* temple belonging to *Ballal II*. Explains that queen *Bammaladevi* and her uncle *Ballal* eulogized. It further praises the *Mahaprabhu-goudaus* of *Halkuru* who got constructed temples and tanks. *Narashimhagouda*, the *Mahaprabhu* of *Halakuru* and all the *praja gavundas* including *Dasagavunda*, *Chikkegavunda* made a grant of lands for the services of the god *Kalideva*, temple repairs and also feeding of *Mathapaties* and ascetics. The gift was made over to *Devendrashakti* pandita the disciple of *Ketajiya*

and *devendrasakti's* disciple *Dekavve*, *Ramasakti* pandita disciple *Kalyanasakti* pandita and his disciple *Vamasakti*, his disciple *Mahadeva jiya* and his disciple *Chikkakalijiya*. (*I.K.Pattar Inscriptions of Hoysala Vo. III Part I. No.400. P.94-98. EC-X. P-126-131*).

The inscription of *Holalakeri Village Hasana district* detected beside *Ramemeshwar* temple belonging to *Ballal II* records a grant for the services of the god *Ramanatha*, temple repairs and for the food of ascetics. This grant was made in the presence of *Bommaneya*, *Bittayya*, *Hiriya Jayagondanayaka Machayya Nayaka* others. The recipient was *Chikkavamasakti*, disciple of *Kalijiya*. *Kalijiya* was the disciple of *Vamasakti*. *Vamasakti* was the disciple of *Kalyanasakti*. *Kalyanasakti* was disciple of *Kamajiya*. (*Adib, No.458. P.206-207. EC-X. P-156-158*).

Conclusion

By studying the above inscription we came to know that most of them are inscriptions of donations. They also throw sufficient light on *Kalamukha* shaiva saints who were existed in large numbers. These Shaiva saints were working for the progress of the country apart from their religious activities. The names of these saints were also found in the inscriptions of *Chalukyas* of *Kalyana* and *Kalachuries*. The *Hoysala* and *Kalachuries* were working as feudatory rulers under the *Chalukayas* of *Kalyan*. Later they declared their independence.

In this context, we have to answer the pertinent questions; were the same saints visiting the courts of feudatory rulers? or were these saints patronized by the *Hoysala* kings deferent? These questions are to be discussed in the conferences and seminars so that the next generation will come to the proper decision by doing research. I wish to put forward this research article before senior and junior research scholars.

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“THE CONTRIBUTION OF ANCIENT KINGLY DYNASTIES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF KANNADA LITERATURE”

P. Nagaraja & Radha B R

Introduction

The state of Karnataka, with a history of more than a couple of thousands of years has contributed to the political, social, economic and cultural history of the nation. We study history in order to derive lessons out of it for life. Sri Aluru Venkata Rao, in his work “Karnatakada Gatha Vaibhava” stresses upon the significance of the study of history. It is not possible to study history without evidences. Ancient evidences and literary evidences are the main sources for the study of history. Literary sources provide authenticity to the historical footprints. The ancient kingly dynasties which ruled Karnataka have played a prominent role in the development of the language of Kannada. The Kadambas, Badami Chalukyas, Kalyani Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Hoysalas have provided necessary support for Kannada literary works to be produced. The literary interests of the rulers belonging to these dynasties have been the reason for many a good Kannada work to see the light of the day. Also many inscriptions were issued by these rulers which contained literary values. Thus the kingly dynasties had a very prominent role in this regard.

Kadambas

The Kadambas rise to power around the 4th century AD in Banavasi. They ruled for about 200 years with Banavasi as their capital. The Kadambas have played an important role in the development of Kannada culture. Literary sources are not in good number, but inscriptions show enough evidence in this regard.

The first king of the dynasty Mayura varma was a patriot and a staunch Kannadiga. Kannada was the language of the people during his reign. It is assumed that it later became the language of administration as well. The Halmidi inscription of AD 450 is the first Kannada inscription available to date. This is an inscription depicting the valor of a soldier and the grant of a donation. It also provides some information about the administration pattern of the king Kakutsavarma. Kannada language

witnessed a major development by way of inscriptions and works along with Sanskrit works. Even though no information is available about the poets and poetic works of this period it can be assumed that Kannada language and literature witnessed growth during this period.

Talkadu Gangas

The reign of Gangas is a memorable one in the history of Karnataka. They ruled the major portion of Karnataka for about 600 years and contributed immensely for the growth of the state. During their reign Karnataka was prosperous. Harmony between different religions, construction of temples, encouragement to poets and scholars – thus the reign of Gangas was epoch making. Some of the rulers of this dynasty themselves were scholars which paved way for good literary works being created.

Gangas provided great encouragement to poets. Kannada, Sanskrit, Prakrit witnessed development like never before. The second half of the reign of Gangas was the peak period for Kannada literature. The inscriptions belonging to 9th -10th AD are predominantly in Kannada. King Durvinita, Shivamara and minister Chavundaraya were themselves scholars and poets. Durvinita was an able scholar in Sanskrit as well as Kannada. Kavirajamarga lists Durvinita in the list of great Kannada poets. It is said that he authored ‘Gajashataka’ and ‘Sethubandha’ and wrote a commentary to the Sanskrit classic ‘Kiratarjuniya’. Chavundaraya too was an able scholar in Sanskrit as well as Kannada.

Badami Chalukyas

The Badami Chalukyas heralded a new beginning in the political and cultural history of Karnataka. They ruled for about 250 years during which they established an empire of their own and held aloft the flag of Karnataka. Dr Shivarama Karantha terms the age of Chalukyas the golden age considering the achievements they made in the cultural arena.

Sanskrit and Kannada languages witnessed a great progress during their time. Though many inscriptions are in Kannada the script used is Kannada. Many Kannada inscriptions have been found and those belonging to around 700 AD contain poems. The 578 AD Badami inscription of Mangalesha is the earliest Kannada inscription. The 700 AD Kappe Arebhata inscription is significant. The inscription of Chalukyas show that Kannada had obtained an important place during their reign. But no literary work belonging to this period have not been found.

Rashtrakutas

The Rashtrakutas ruled with Manyakheta in North Karnataka as their capital. They ruled from 8th AD to 10th AD. "If at all Karnataka has been able to influence the history of India it is through the rule of Rashtrakutas between from 8th AD to 10th AD" - these words of the noted historian Dr. S Neelakanta Shastry signifies the role of Rashtrakutas in the history of India.

Literature received a major boost under the Rashtrakutas. They encouraged poets and scholars. The court poet of Amoghavarsha Nrupathunga Srivijaya wrote the Kavirajamarga. This is the first extant Kannada work. The work depicts the boundaries of the land stating that Karnataka spread between the rivers Kaveri to Godavari. Vimala, Udaya, Nagarjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinita are some of the poets the work fondly mentions of. The progress Kannada literature had achieved can be gauged through these words.

During the reign of the king Krishna III of this dynasty Kannada literature had progressed considerably. Ponna, who is considered to be a 'Emperor of Poets' (Kavi Chakravarthi) and who authored 'Shantipurana' and 'Bhuvanaika Ramabhyudaya' was a court poet of Krishna III. He held the title of 'Ubhayakavi Chakravarthi' (A Poet proficient in two languages, Sanskrit and Kannada). Arikesari II, the Vemulavada king who was a subordinate of Rashtrakutas had in his court the first poet of Kannada, Pampa. Pampa wrote the Adipurana and Vikramarjunavijayam the classics of Kannada literature. Ponna, Pampa and Ranna were contemporaries who were in the courts of different kings. The three are considered as the 'Three Gems'. Shivakotyacharya wrote the first

prose work in Kannada, the 'Vaddaradhane'. This is an important work significant for the theme, treatment and depiction of human life. 'Prameya Kamala' and 'Marthandanyaya' of Prabhachandra, 'Mithrasanjivini' of halayudha, 'Vardhamanapurana' of Asaga, 'Yashastilaka' and 'Nitivakyamrutha' of Somadevasuri, 'Neminathapurana' of Gunavarma and 'Siribhuvalaya' of Kumudendu are some of the Kannada works of this period.

Chalukyas of Kalyana

Chalukyas of Kalyana were the feudatories of Rashtrakutas and established an independent kingdom during the 10th century AD. The rulers of this dynasty contributed immensely to the field of Kannada literature.

Some of the rulers of this dynasty were themselves scholars and have enriched the Kannada literary scene. Sanskrit and Kannada works were created during this period. Ranna, who is considered as an 'Emperor of poets' was in the court of Tailapa of this dynasty composed the 'Shasabheemavijaya' and the 'Ajithathirthankarapurathanilakam'. Gadayuddha is in the Champu style combining poetic and prose forms. Chandrabhatta, Balabhadradeva, Rajavallabha, Hariyanna, Nagachandra, Mallikarjunabhatta, Bhaskara, Chandrabhatta, Udayakalpa were some of the inscription poets of this age. Nagavarma I who was a contemporary of Ranna wrote 'Karnataka Kadambari' and 'Chandombudhi'. Chavundaraya III wrote 'Lokopakara'. Poet and grammarian Nagavarma II wrote 'Kavyavalokana', 'Bhashabhushana' and 'Abhidana Vastukosha'. Nayasena composed the 'Dharmamritha'. Thus many a literary works and inscriptions were created during this period enriching the language and literature. 'Mallinathapurana' and 'Ramachandracharitapurana' of Nagachandra are important works. Nagachandra had the title 'Modern Pampa'. 'Dharmamritha' of Nayasena, 'Kannada Panchatantra' of Durgasimha and 'Sukumaracharita' of Shaminatha are other important works.

Kalyana Kalachuryas

Even though this dynasty ruled for about 25 years only they left an indelible impression on the history and culture of the land. The

revival of Veerashaiva sect and the creation of Vachanas took place during this period. The important vachana writers of this period are Jedara Dasimayya, the first vachana writer, Basaveshvara, Siddarama, Aydakki Marayya, Madivala Machayya, Ambigara Chowdaiah, Urilingapeddi, Akkamahadevi, Muktayakka, Allamaprabhu are the main vachana writers who enriched Kannada literature through their works.

Hoysalas

The Hoysalas came to power in the 11th AD making Dwarasamudra their capital and ruled for more than three centuries. Creation of literary works which started during Chalukyas gathered pace during the Rashtrakutas and continued during the Hoysala era. The contribution of Hoysalas was significant. The major works of this period are Kanti Hampana Samasyegalu of kanti, Kshetraganiha and Vyavahara Ganiha of Rajaditya, Dharmamritha of Jagaddala Soma-natha, Girijakalyana of Harihara, Jagannatha vijayam of Rudrabhatta,

Neminathapuram of Neminatha, Sukti sudharnava of Mallikarjuna, Shabda manidarpana of Keshiraja are some of the important works of this period.

Conclusion

One of the most important and effective tools to assess the progress of a race is its literature. Literature signifies the essence of knowledge and experience. Thus, literary works, inscriptions provide a glimpse of political, social and the economic conditions of the society. More than anything else they depict the progress of the language. Also we come to know about the medium of learning, the language of administration and that of public use. Thus literary works throw light on the entire life order of the age and times. We also come to know about the way people exhibit poetic sensibilities. Thus all the above discussed kingly dynasties have contributed for the betterment of Kannada language and literature in their own manner leaving a lasting impression on the cultural history of Karnataka.

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LAND GRANTS AND ENDOWMENTS TO THE RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS DURING THE EARLY PANDYA PERIOD

C. Pandeewaran

Introduction

Religion is very powerful and purposeful factor in society. It is an institution which has grip over the people in all civilized societies. Therefore, the religions reflect both god and man. As it is life to be lived not a theory to be accepted or a belief to be adhered to it allows scope and validity to varied approaches to the divine.¹ Religion is the faculty of mind which enables a man to grasp the infinite independent of sense and reason.² Temples are the main stay and backbone of the Hindu religion. Worshipping Gods in temples infuses divinity and purity in the mind and heart of the devotees.³

During the *Sangam* period, nature was worshipped. The temple is known as *devalaya*⁴ or an abode of God. It was also variously designated as *Nagar, Kottam, Kovil and Griha*. God was known as *Kon, Iraivan and Kadavul*.⁵ In the early days, the temples made of bricks and timber and the images of the Gods were mostly painted or carved in wood. So no remains of it have survived because of its perishable nature.

In the early period the temple was simple institution. It was not a wealthy and complex institution but from about the early 8th century C.E. of temples to lord Siva and Vishnu and making gifts to temples became Universal.⁶ The

grants and gifts were made to promote the Hindu religion to develop the resources of the temple and to carry out the temple activities uninterrupted like performing *puja*, celebrating festivals etc., Temple became a centre of socio-cultural festivities and a place of philosophical discourses. It not only takes up society's religious interest but also served as a culture, educational and economic institution.

In the medieval society monarchy, religion and temples were inseparable part of society. Monarch was considered either the representative of god or next to god, before the emergence of god as an entity the monarchs considered themselves to be living gods on earth. It was either duty to protect the interest of the people. In course of time the monarch wanted to perpetuate this by justifying the way of god to men through the institution of religion by constructing temples and maintaining them by grants. Temple became a major institution, hence required a high income. Temple seem to have been well placed because of the grant made by the king royal family members, chieftain, officials, corporate bodies such as *sabha*, *ur*, *nagaram* and rich and poor individuals. So the grants and gifts were made by every class of people. The Pallavas and Pandyas and Cholas kings were great patron of temples.⁷

Grants made by kings

Coming under the influence of the Saiva Nayanmars and the Vaishnava Alvars who propagated the temple culture, the kings of the medieval period built temples and housed their Gods there. Generous gift of villages and land were made by kings to temples. Inscriptions of the early Pandya period give very interesting and minute details about the form and procedure of granting lands and villages. The boundary of the village to be given as gift was generally fixed by letting loose a female elephant and following its track and it was marked by stone and fences of *Kalli* (*elliyakattukallum, kalliyum natty*).

The Pallava – Pandya period formed the most creative period for the development of inscription. Majority of the inscriptions record donations made by the kings, private persons to temples or other religious institution in the form of land, money or cattle. The yield of the

endowment was utilized for meeting the various financial demands of the temple. The royal grant to temples could be either the land dues payable or land itself. They were both incentives for land development and it had positive economic effect. The founding of the *Brahmadeyas* and *Devadana* grants were instruments for extending cultivation and bring land to productive use.⁸

When the Pandyas assumed power after the Kalabhras interregnum, Jainism was the predominant religion in the land. The old religious and social order underwent a radical change and Jainism left its deep roots in the Pandya soil. Pandyamandalam can be considered as the richest depository of Jaina relics.

Jainism spread throughout the Pandyanadu. The Jain colonies flourished at Anaimalai, Aivarmalai, Uthamapalayam, Eruvadi and at other places and it soon developed into centers of pilgrimage. Many Vatteluthu inscriptions of about the 8th to 10th century C.E. are found in the Madurai region as well as in other parts of Pandya country. It mentioned several Jain religious teachers, Jain Pallis, the erection of Jain Pallis, image and gift made to Jain Pallis.

Huin –Tusang who came to the northern regions of Tamil Nadu in the 7th century C.E. spoke of the great concentration of Jains in Madurai country. A squatting Jaina figure was discovered at Eruvadi in Tirunelveli district and below it a small inscription in Vatteluthu characters of about the 8th century C.E. Another inscription in the same place of about the same period records a grant of land to a Jain temple.⁹ Two inscriptions of Maranjadaiyan from Pallimadam in Ramnad district make mention of Tirukkattampalli Jain temple at Kurandi, a Jain centre in Venbunadu.¹⁰

An inscription at Pommamalai mentions the endowment of Korremangulam Village to Tiruppalliamalaipalli. The large Sinnamanur plates register to numerous Pallichchandams endowed by the Pandya ruler Maravarman Rajasimha. Even Rajasimha II, the last of the Pandya rulers of this age endowed several Jain temples. There is not much evidence of the prevalence of Buddhism in the Pandya country.

Jatila Parantaka Nadunchadayan one of the greatest ruler of the Pandyas of the Kadungon line had the title Maranjadaiyan and a record in the 43rd year of him registers as gift of land as Palichchandam to the temple of Aruvalattu – Bhataraka of Tiruviruttalai in *Nattarruppokku*.¹¹

There is a reference from the inscription found on the door – Jamb of the central shrine of Tantonrisvara temple, Vraiur, Trichirappalli taluk registers a sale of land in the Village Varagur by the perunguri *sabha* of the Nandipamar Mangalam for a value of 120 Palankasu. It further registers that the gift of this land to the temple by the king Maranjadaiyan alias Varaguna Maharaja II in his 13th regional year in 875 C.E. through Andanattuvelan and the money received by the *sabha* was divided into 3 shares which included 2 shares of price – value and one share of *irai* – *kaval* (tax).

An inscription from Tiruchendur states that the king Varaguna Maharaja distributed among 16 Village a large endowment he made to the local temple for meeting the cost of service in the temple throughout the twelve months of the year.¹²

A damaged inscription of Virapandya belonged to Munanjupatti, Nanguneri taluk refers to a grant of land for service in the shrine of Durga.¹³

An inscription of Cholantailakonda Virapandya in 946 C.E. records the royal grant of lands for worship and offerings to God Paramasvamigal at Tiruvagnisvaram in Tirukkumullur in *Tenkallaganadu*. He issued the grant from the seat Virakeralan in the place called Manabharnan – Tirumalagai in Mangalija Puram. It is stated that the king have secured the kingdom through the grace of God. A record belonging to the 20th year of Virapandya in 957 C.E. registers a gift of 10 velis of land by the king for conducting worship and offering to the deities in the temple of Tiruppottudiya Mahadeva at Ilangoykkudi, a Brahmandeya in Mulli – Nadu.¹⁴

Grants made by the officials

A record of Maranjadaiyan alias Varaguna I register a sale by the *mahasabhaiyar* of *Vaikuntha Valanadu* in *Nattarruppokku* to *Panchavan* Brahmadhirajan alias sendan Sattan

of Nellittola in Malainadu who made it over to the temple of God *emberuman* at Tirukkurugudi for providing offerings.¹⁵

Puvan- Paraiyan, who is described as one of the Araiyan – anukkar, apparently the king Sadiyan Maran's bodyguard purchased a block of waste land lying fallow as *Purru* and *terri* to the west of the Village from the *sabha* of Ilangoykkudi and made it fit for cultivation with irrigation facilities. The land which was renamed as *ParaiyanVasakkal* was endowed to the temple at Kidaippuram.¹⁶

Grants of feudal chiefs

There is a reference from the inscription found on the first pillar in the Mandapa of Sundaresvara temple Sendalai, a gift of land to the Pidari temple of Mangalam at Niyamam by the servant of Videlvidugu Muttaraiyar who was a subordinate chieftain ruled at Thanjavur during the reign of Maranjadaiyan. They were subject to Pandyan authority in the times of Maranjadayan (alias) Varaguna I. An inscription dated in the second year of Maranjadayan registers that *Panchavan* Pallavaraiyan alias Velsendil of Korrapullankudi in Mudukudinadu purchased some lands from the *sabha* of Vijayanarayana *chaturvedimangalam* a *Brahmadeya* in Nattarruppokku and gave them to temples of Righava – Perumannadigal and Manomayani Chchurathu Perumannadigal.¹⁷

In the second regnal year of Rajasimah, an inscription mentions a gift of land made by Vikkiramakamuka Pallavaraiyan alias Devansolai of Kulattur in Alarrunadu, who had purchased some fallow land from the *sabha* of Shadangavi – Kurichchi a *Brahmadeya* in Kudanadu and had endowed it after making it fit for cultivation to the temple of TirunarayanaVinnagar Devar situated in the north of the Village.¹⁸

There were ten Pandyan copper plates. Among the ten, six plates deal with the first Pandyas and remaining four deals with the Ay rulers. The Ay rulers were the feudatories of the Pandyas. They ruled in Podiyil hill, Travancore and Kanyakumari areas. Karunandadakkan, the Ay ruler, the contemporary of Varaguna, the Pandya ruler purchased the land from the assembly of Minchirai and constructed a Vishnu temple and named that place as Parthivase-

kharapuram. The Parthivasekharapuram copper plates dated 866 C.E. mentioned the land grants made by Karunandadakkan to the temple for different functions. He donated lands for perpetual lamps and for the salaries of the temple servants and for the *vaikasi visakam* festival which is celebrated for seven days.¹⁹

The Paliem copper plates of Karunandadakkan also mentioned that he donated lands to Thirumula Padathu temple. The word Thirumulathu portion of the copper plates there was a saluting slogan for Buddha and ruler who ruled during this period have not done Yagas but he was ardent follower of Buddhadharmā. So it was a Pallichchandam grant.

Grants of Village Assembly

An inscription found on the door Jamb of the Siva temple at Salaigramam registers the grant of 35 *patakams* of land to god Varagunisvara by the *sabha* of Salaigramam, a Brahmin village in Tuvvurkurram alias. Mayimakara *valanadu* exempting it from tax having received 100 *ilakkasu* for jewels and sweet rice cakes to the lord at Srivaraguna Isvaram endowed for Sribali offering.²⁰

An inscription found on the south wall of the Manomanisvara temple, at Vijayanarayanam records gifts of land in Valanjiya Kurichch, the eastern hamlet of Vijayanarayanam Chaturvedimangalam by Tiruvenkata Erichchi on behalf of Puvanan Tirumaladikari to the temple on a day of solar eclipse.²¹

A record in the 16th year of Virapandya records the gift of land in Kilur Kundukulam by a Tinaikkalattar of Nalkur in Vembunadu for providing feed for some Brahmins who chanted some portions of the Vedas in the presence of god Tiruchchalaiturai Ninruarulina Emberuman of Ilangoykkudi, a *Brahmadeya* in Mullinadu.²²

Endowments

Endowments were made for renovations carried out in temples by many categories of people. In spite of the religious sentiments which characterized the age we have on record the desperation of temples especially during disturbed times. These however were extraordinary events. Normally the temple was the recipient of considerable endowments from various quarters and for various purposes.

An important occasion for endowments was the temple festival. Endowments were made not only for the festivals but also for those to be established. Endowments were made liberally to temples by army generals by erecting *mandapas*, stages and *salais*. Some endowments were directly related to temple services. Some indirectly benefited the endowments were either straight away granted or in unusual cases acquired as mortgages in the first instance and later permanently acquired. This practice of letting out temple land on lease degenerated into economic malpractice and this obliged the king to prevent certain temples from indulging in such practices. Some *devadanas* included the tenants on the land and were called *kudininga devadana*. The type of endowment which consisted in permitted the interest get from trust property to be spent on temples was common.

Sheep offerings for burning lamps were also made for the Jaina shrines. In the 42nd year of Maranjadaian (C.E. 798) a Brahmin of Tiruccuriyal, Mani Sankaranarayanan, a Nagarattar caused to install a shrine of the Devar. For burning lamps in 3 sandis he deposited with the Perurar (the village elders) or the township organization) 3 *kalanju* of gold and 24 Sheep (against the yield of which) 20 *nali* of ghee per year were to be delivered. They were left in the protection of Tirumalai Virar and Parantaka Virar. In C.E. 806 one such gift consisted of 50 sheep for supplying 5 *nali* of ghee every month. Cash donations of 2 *kasu* by a priest himself Anantaviranadigal was entrusted to another priest for burning a lamp with the interest proceeds at Uttamapalayam.²³

The wife of a shepherd from Parur in Milaikkurram had caused an image to be cut at Peccippallam. The number of sheep endowment had varied from case to case depending presumably on the number of lamps or hours of burning. The donors were mostly, the common people and of varied avocations. The common people presumably were donated and ghee for lighting the lamp in a temple.

Lamp services were instituted in Kalugumalai for the merit of the inner palace servants (*ulvittu koil sevagar*) who died while laying siege in a war and destroyed Ariviyurkkotai. The early 9th century was an

active period for the Pandyas whose armies moved south and north. A hero stone at Eral seems to refer to one such expeditions and the death of a hero.²⁴ A mother (presumably, Sattanammai) who endowed 12 cows for the merit of her daughter, a dancing girl, Sattandeyam in the temple of Narasinga perumal (Brahmapuridevar) at Tirunelveli, (elsewhere called Vikramapandya vinnagaralvar. A Muttaraiyar chieftain's wife (Arasiyar) of Alangudi in Irunjonadu endowed at Srivilliputtur a lamp and 25 Sheep. A gift of 10 Kasu (dinara in Sanskrit) was endowed by a Brahmin lady for a lamp for at Tirupattur. An Ulagunattan of Nalkur (Vembunadu) endowed lamp for the merit of his mother and the next year a gold for the merit of his father in the temple at Perungulam. These are cited here to show by the time of Varaguna I, in addition to

Jaina centres, the temples for Visnu and his avatars and of Siva were already coming into vogue and grants for the upkeep and puja services were made. Indeed, his reign gave a great impetus to Vaisnava centre growing in popularity and prosperity.

Conclusion

During the Pandya period the most favorable kind of donation was the land donation. More than 36,400 kulis of land were granted to temple. Besides some inscriptions of the Pandya period simply mention the gift of the lands and endowments were made by the kings, village assemblies and chieftains for maintaining the temple administration and made renovation, reconstruction and conduct *pujas*. Sometimes the block of waste land also was donated to the temple.

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BAMMERA POTHANA AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

Pavithra Molugu & Rekha Pande

The concept of Bhakti implies a single minded devotion expressed by an individual in different forms such as music, dance, poetry etc.¹ It is where the individual dedicates himself to the divine being in order to receive spiritual grace. The Bhakti movement had its roots in the Sangam literature and later emerged as a popular moment between 5th and 7th centuries A.D. due to the contributions of Tamil Alwars and Nayanars who worshipped Vishnu and

Shiva respectively. The poets have adopted the language of the masses as against the courtly language of Sanskrit in propagating the devotional message.

The Tamil country during this period witnessed the growth three major sects of Saivism, Shaktism and Vaishnavism.² The Alwars who worshipped Lord Vishnu came from different strata of the society composed

hymns which were compiled into a work called Nalayaridivya Prabhandam. Namalwar was prominent among these groups of poets who composed maximum verses contributing to the devotional moment. This Vishnu Bhakta's in course of time acquired the status of divinity along with Lord Vishnu and his different manifestations.

The line of Alvars was succeeded by Acharya's that began with Nathamuni who laid the foundations for the sect of Sri Vaishnavism that provided bases for the future Vaishnavite saints. He was succeeded by three Acharya's and later by Ramanuja in 11th century A.D. who was the most within the Acharya tradition Ramanuja laid stress on personal devotion in order to attain the philosophy of Visistadvaita which was mostly derived from Brahma sutras and Upanishads. The principle laid down by him served as a basis for his successors like Madhava, Nimbaraka and Vedanta Desika in propagating Bhakti.³ This devotional moment gradually travelled to North India with a 14th century saint named Ramananda who manifested himself in the form of Nirgun and Sagun Bhakti.⁴ The reasons that contributed for the growth of South Indian Bhakti were varied in North India, this wave of devotional moment arose against the dominance of Bhramin's and the establishment of Turkish Supremacy, while in South the moment was launched against the Hetro sects like Buddhism. It also received patronage from various dynasties like Recherla Velma's who extended their patronage to poets like Srinatha and Bammara Pothana. There are not many works that discussed the growth of Vaishnavism in Andhra region the scholars who tried to look at Bhakti in Andhra tried to view it with a whole Indian perspective without taking in to consideration the features of South Indian Bhakti in specific. The works of Bammara Pothana were only looked at as those which contributed to the growth of Telugu literature, but he also occupies a significant position in promoting the devotional message through his works like Veerabhadra Vijayam, Narayana Satakam and Bhagavatam.

Bammara Pothana a fifteenth century poet was born in to an agricultural family. His Parents were Kessana and Lakkamamba though there is no direct information regarding his families. Pothana himself states in his work

Bhagavatam that he belongs to Kaundinyasa gothra. Apastamba Sutra and belongs to a Bhramin family his brother was Thippana.⁵ As a child Pothana followed his elder brother Thippana in all respect and very much interested in outdoor activities. The young child was keen in visiting the temple and offered his worship to Lord Shiva.⁶ One day while Pothana was grazing cows a Yogi approached Pothana, and asked where would this road lead for which Pothana replied that it would lead to Palakurthi and offered him some milk. The Yogi accepted him that he would be gifted with natural poetic abilities and also instructed him the Narayana Mantra.⁷ As a part of his daily routine when Pothana was returning from his field he came across the great poet Srinatha who was very much impressed with smartness of Pothana visits his house where he received great hospitality by Pothana's father Srinatha then puts a proposal to get his sister married to Pothana which was accepted by Kessana.⁸

Few days later Pothana and Srinatha visited the capital of Rachakonda where they received a great appreciation for their poetic skills. Bammara Pothana composes a poem praising the beauty of the court dancer on hearing it Singhabhupala was very much impressed and offered him gifts which were refused by Pothana.⁹ After the death of Pothana's parents the poet along with his brother proceeds to river Godavari to have ritual bath on the eve of lunar eclipse. While Pothana was sitting on the bank of the river he had a vision of Lord Shri Rama who instructed him to translate Bhagavatam and dedicate it to him.¹⁰ Pothana then narrates the incident to his brother after which they visited Ekasilanagaram and after receiving the blessing of great scholar Bammara Pothana started the epic translation in to telugu. On hearing the greatness of Pothana's work the Rachakonda ruler Singhabhupal was desirous to get the work dedicated to him and sent his ambassadors to Bammara to bring Pothana along with his Bhagavatam. However Pothana refused the offer which was informed to the king by his commanders.¹¹ Later the king sent Srinatha to convince Pothana, but Pothana was reluctant. Finally Srinatha tells Tippana about the request of the king Tippana then advises Pothana to dedicate the work, the poet unable to disobey his brother started off to the capital on his way. While he was resting at

Mettagiri he had a dream where goddess Saraswathi was in tears, So Pothana decided not to dedicate his work to the king mean while the troops of Karnataka attacked Pothana who was defended by Singhabhupala's army who then carried away the work. Pothana vexed with all this incidents went on a pilgrimage, as he reached Vontimitta he decided to spent his life there and is believed to have passed away in the last decade of 15th century.

Bammera pothana's notion of God

There have been many questions regarding the existence of the God for which many people tried to locate the universal being and realized that it is an invisible force guiding the Universe. The Smrithi and Sruthi literature also presents a similar view about the existence of god. Bammera Pothana describes about this divine being in the episode of Gajendra Moksham which is a part of his epic translation of Mahabagavatam. The poet presents his idea of God through an elephant which was caught by a crocodile and prays to Lord Vishnu as a final resort. Elephant thought that it was very foolish to enter into the pond of crocodiles and expressed its devotion and follows. "I offer my prayers to the one who designed the universe, in whom it is present and observed who is the root cause of beginning sustenance and the end who is whole and complete to him I offer my worship."¹²

Fusion and dissolution, origin and disappearance the one who evolves the world and observes them back along with its rulers and inhabitance when entire world is filled with darkness beyond which a supreme being shines gloriously to him Gajendra offered his worship to him.¹³

Bammera Pothana in many of his poems describes the various deeds of the lord, when a human being is sleeping different organs like, heart, lungs, liver, kidney carryout their activities. Similarly when the entire world is resting the Supreme Being creates the universe and remains as a source of every deed. Just as electricity provides energy for the functioning of various machines similarly the almighty remains as invisible force and shows his influence in all works of human existence and no creator could escape his glance.¹⁴

Bammera Pothana's Conception of Bhakti and its various Forms

The paths of Gnana, Karma and Bhakti have been prescribed in various scriptures to attain salvation, amongst all of them bhakti occupies a superior position due its accessibility to the common masses. In order to follow the path of Bhakti one need not read scriptures, follow regulations or be a scholar but just have confidence in the omnipotent and constantly devote himself to the lord Bammera Pothana prescribes nine forms of Bhakti to attain the supreme being which are as follows Shraavanam which implies a constant listening the stories of the miracles of Lord Vishnu Keerthanam his considered to be the best method in overcoming all hindrances.

Sakhyam indicates that Lord should be considered as a friend and a true devotee should extend a friendly attitude towards Lord Vishnu like that of Kuchela. Dasyam is where a devotee considers himself as a slave to the lord and constantly carryout devotional service tirelessly. Vandanam insists on the presence of divine power in every creation and to worship the lord with folded hands accompanied with humanity.

Archanam Pothana refers to this form where a devotee can make various offerings like fruits, garlands etc to seek the spiritual grace. Seva as almighty is considered to be present in all the creations it becomes necessary for a Bhakta to dedicate himself to the service of mankind in every possible way. Smaranam it implies the constant thinking of Lord Vishnu and its greatness. Atmanivedanam realizing the great qualities of the divine being one must be prepared to sacrifice himself to the supreme power.¹⁵ Pothana tries to justify how a true Bhakta is required to lead his life and carry out devotional activities in the following lines where he states that it is not a body if it is not dedicated to the service of the lotus eyed one but just a leather bag filled with air. The throat cannot be considered as a throat if it is nit reciting the name of the lord but would remain as a drum. The eyes which are not desirous to see the lord would remain as mere holes in the wall of human body. The life without being dedicated to lord Vishnu is just like a water bubble.¹⁶ Thus Pothana describes various forms

of Bhakti and the principles to be followed by a real Bhakta to receive spiritual grace.

Bammera Pothana views on Saranagathi the philosophy of Visistadvaita advocated by Ramanuja two paths of Bhakti and Saranagathi in order to attain salvation, where Bhakti is to be followed by the upper sections of the society while the mode Saranagathi was to be followed by those who could not read the scriptures this idea was also strengthened by Vedanta Desika who stated that the one who cannot follow the Bhakti marga had to depend on the lord and request him for his grace this idea of Saranagathi was propagated many Acharya's that became the cardinal principal of Sri Vaishnavism.

Bammera Pothana also enumerates the path of Saranagathi in the form of the proud elephant Gajendra which was physically and mentally tired due to which struggle with the crocodile and was ready to lose his life where it seeks the refuge of Lord Vishnu to come for its rescue. Thus Gajendra represents an individual who enjoys all the comforts of the world and considers himself supreme thinking that

everything is under his control whenever he comes across difficulties he uses all his strength to overcome it, but he realized that he will not be successful in the battle, he remembers that there is supreme being who could help in coming out troubles and calls out to the lord stating that O'Lord you are the one most sort by the Yogis and saints the omnipotent who would punish the evil doers and grant boons to the faithful to such lord, he prays and completely surrender to the lord seeking his refuge. Thus Pothana proposes the path of Saranagathi as a last resort for an individual.¹⁷

Bammera Pothana tried to promote the devotional message through his various works such as Narayana Shatakam and Bhagavatham. The translation of the great epic Bhagavatham not only narrates the various stories of lord Vishnu but also explains the path of Bhakti in attaining salvation. This translation of Pothana has not only been a contribution to the growth of Telugu literature but also played a significant role in promoting the sect of Vaishnavism and continues to be an important text in the life of the Telugu people.

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DEVELOPMENT OF ICONOGRAPHY: A STUDY OF MAHISAMARDINI IMAGES IN ODISHA

Dr. Prabhakara Mahapatra

Odisha is a land of many Religions and Isms. The Isms such as Vaishnavism, Saivism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Saktism are worshipped by the people of this state and

Saktism is widely prevailed. But the Mihisamardini concept of Saktismis very popular.

The Mahisamardini concept of Saktism has been derived from the Indian mythology. Various epics and the Puranas, particularly the "*Markandeya Purana*" describes her battle against the demons in three phases. In the first phase she fights against Madhu and Kaitabha, in the second phase she defeats five asuras-Sumbha-Nisumbha, Chanda-Munda and Raktabija and in the third and last phase she kills Mahisa.

Mahisa, the symbol of unrestricted wild energy and death, and the leader of the demons fought for hundred years with the gods and captured the throne of *Indra* by defeating and vanquishing the power of the gods. This enraged the great gods *Brahma*, *Bishnu*, and *Siva* who in great anger decided to kill him and for that produced their united hit (*Mahateja*). This *Mahateja* being added and strengthened by the energies and luster of other gods turned into a flame blazing like a mountain which later on unified into a single carpus of a beautiful woman enveloping the three worlds by her luster¹

It is said that the face of this composite Goddess as *Mahisamardini* was produced from the light or *teja* of *Siva*, her hair from that of *Yama*, her arms from the luster of *Vishnu*, her breast from that of moon; her bust from that of *Indra*; her thigh and legs that of *Varuna*; her hips from the luster of the Earth; her feet from the luster of *Surya*; her fingers of the hand from that of *Vasus*; her nose from that of *Kubera*, her teeth were formed from the luster of *Prajapati*, her triple eyes were produced from the light of *Agni*; her eyebrows were the turim twilight and her ears were formed from the luster of *Vayu* and her hair from that of *Yama*².

According to *Devimahatmya* the weapons and ornaments of that Goddess were provided by various Gods. *Brahma* gave his Kamandalu, *Vishnu* his *Chakra*, *Siva* gave his trident, *Indra* his *Vajra* and the bell of his elephant, *Varuna* his noose, and conch, *Surya* his rays, *Vayu* his bow and two quivers of arrows, *Agni* his *Sakti*, *Yama* his rod, (the *Kaladanda*), *Kala* his shining sword and shield. In addition to these the milky ocean gave her a lustrous necklace and a pair of undecaying garments, a heavenly crestjewel, ear rings, bracelets, a brilliant ardhancandra (half-moon) necklace, armlets, a pair of anklets,

a torque and finger rings.³ *Visvakarma* gave his brilliant battle-axe (*parasu*) and a garland of lotus for her head, the Himalayas gave her mount, and lion, lord *Kubera* his drinking cup full of wine and *Sesa* his *Nagahara*. In this way *Simhavahini* Mahisamardini *Durga* came into being who became the killer of the demon, *Mahisa*. Thus, she is described as *Katyayani* in the *Matsya* and the *Vamana* purana and *Chandika* in the *Visnudharmottara* Purana.

This Goddess has been worshipping popularly by the Hindus in India from ancient time to the modern age. Hence, numerous sculptures of this goddess are located widely in various parts of India. Orissa is not an exception to it.

With the rise of the Guptas in the 4th Century A.D. the Brahmanical form of Hinduism was revived almost in the whole of India. When the Gupta emperor also known as the Indian Napoleon *Samudragupta* launched his South Indian campaign South Kosala and Kalinga came under his political banner and the Saktism along with *Vaisnavism* and *Saivism* influenced the people of Orissa in the anthropomorphic form of mother goddess as *Mahisamardini Durga* or the image of *Viraja* has been situated at modern *Jajpurof* undivided *Cuttack* district on the bank of the river *Vaitarani*⁴. The image of *Mahisamardini Durga* was originally enshrined in the temple at *Kalasapur* located at a distance of about one mile from *Jajpur* town. Only the foundation of the temple can be noticed at present. However, from the ruins of the temple which are scattered at the site, it is well indicated that the shrine was flat-roofed square temple of the Gupta style. *R.P. Chand*⁵ who was the first scholar to examine the icon of the *Mahisamardini Durga* at *Jajpur* was inclined to assign the image to pre-Gupta period. In his opinion, the two-armed *Durga* was the earliest form of the goddess and *Viraja*⁶ represents the earliest phase of the cult of the goddess. The *Mahisamardini Durga* of the *Siva* temple at *Bhumra*⁷ is assigned by the art historians to the 5th Century A.D. which in many respect similar to the Goddess *Viraja* of *Jajpur*. But the *Mahisamardini Durga* of *Bhumra* is four-armed while that of *Kalasapur* is two-armed. As such I am inclined to assign an earlier period namely 4th century A.D. to the *Durga* of *Kalasapur* and the architectural

features of the ruins of the flat roofed square temple also lend support to our view that the icon belong to the Gupta period and not to the pre-Gupta age. The icon of Mahisamardini Durga adorned as Viraja is a two-armed figure. It is made of black chlorite stone and is three feet in height. It is represented in the posture of killing the demon which in the form of a buffalo.⁸ The Goddess is two-armed and is in the pose of killing the animal mounting on the lion. In her right hand she is found holding a spear which pierces the body of the buffalo. In her left hand she pulls the tail of the animal. Her left foot presses the head of the buffalo. The fierces lion and the mount of the goddess, tramples the right leg of the demon. The goddess wears *KiritiMukha*, necklace, bangles and gridle. On the top of the head there are representation of *Ganapati*, Serpent, Yoni, Linga and Moon. This two armed Durga is earlier found in the Siva temple of Bhumra⁹ and that of the Chandragupta Cave of Udayagiri.¹⁰ Therefore, it is appropriate to assign the icon to the middle of the 4th century A.D. It may be compared with the two-armed Durgain the posture of killing the buffalo demon as portrayed in the BhitaStone reliex.¹¹ No two-armed Durga of that period is found in any other place of Orissa.

Towards the later part of the age of the Matharas it seems that MahisamardiniDurga was worshipped with her four arms. During the same period in the Siva temple at Bhumra, there is a representation of the four-armed MahisamardiniDurga in one of the niches of the shrine. The temple is usually assigned by the archaeologists to the 5th century A.D. In the same century in Orissa the mother Goddess was worshiped with her four arms at Bhubaneswar. An interesting specimen of this variety is found in the compound of Markandeswar temple at Bhubaneswar. Here the demon is seen in the shape of a buffalo. The deity is four-armed and in one of her hands she lifts the buffalo by its tail and pierces the trident through the demon's body in the other. There is no doubt that this image marks a significant transition of the iconography of the Mahisamardini Durga from the Gupta period to the post-Gupta period. Except the four-armed representation all other features of the icons are similar to those of the Mahisamardini Durga at Viraja.¹²

In the Chronology and development of iconography of MahisamardiniDurga the next notable example is to be seen in the temple of Parasurameswar. The temple is usually assigned to the later part of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. On the northern wall of the temple carved just above the lintel is the image of *Mahisamardini* with six arms. Here she holds a sword in her uppermost right hand brandished over the head while in other hands she holds a thunderbolt, bow and khetaha. She pierces the throat of the buffalo headed demon with the trident in the middle right hand and in her lowermost left hand she presses the head down. Images of this variety are noticed at Astrang in Puri district, on the east side of Vindu-Sarovara, on the Uttareswara temple and at Simhanatha. An interesting specimen of this variety is also found in the Sambalpur University museum, which is collected from Belkhandi in the Kalahandi district of Orissa. It seems that it was a product of the epoch of the early Pandu-Vamsis of South-Kosala.

In the iconography of the Mahisamardini Durga in Orissa, the epoch of the Bhaumas ushered in a new era when eight-armed Mahisamardini became widelypopular for about two centuries, i.e. in the 8th and the 9thcenturies of the Christian era. The most representative Sakta shrine of the epoch is the temple of Vaitala at Bhubaneswar. In the history of Saktism in Orissa the past anthropomorphic worship of the deity was done through the icon of the Mahisamardini Durga who was accepted as the presiding deity in the Sakta Shrines in the 4thcentury A.D. The same aspect of the Mother Goddess continued to be accepted as presiding deity in the 6th and 7th Centuries A.D. But with the rise of the tantric form Saktism the ferocious deity Chamunda was installed as the main deity in many Saktasharines in Orissa including the temple of Vaitala. However, the cult of the Mahisamardini Durga continued to be a living faith among the people down to the present time. In the northern central niche of the Vaitala temple there is a beautiful icon of eight-armed Mahisamardini Durga. Here the deity holds a Sword, a Sula, a Trisula, and a Vajra in her right hands, she holds a khetaka with a loophandle, a bow and a snake in her three left hands while she presses the buffalo head of demon with her remaining left hand. It may be

pointed out here that the deity tramples over the chest of the demon in her right leg while the demon is represented in a sitting posture. The same representation of eight-armed Durga is also noticed in the southern niche of the temple of Sisireswar. A similar representation of eight-armed MahisamardiniDurga is noticed in the Hanumaneswara temple at Jajpur. Though it has closely resembled with Vaitala and Sisiresvara temple, there is a noticeable change in the form of the demon. Here it is not an animal, but a human figure with the head of a buffalo. There is no doubt that all the presentation of the eight-armed MahisamardiniDurga are the artistic creation of the epoch of the Bhaumakaras.

In the development of the iconography of the MahisamardiniDurga in the Bhauma epoch itself there was one significant noticeable change. Towards the 9th Century A.D. although the eight-armed Durga was still enshrined as *ParsvaDevata* the demon associated with deity was no more the buffalo headed demon. Hereafter, in the representation of Mahisasura we notice the human head issuing out of the delapidated body of the buffalo. This change is remarkable in the icons of the Mahisamardini Durga noticed in the Kichakesvari temple at Khiching.¹³ On the back wall of the Bhagavati temple at Banapur and the Lingaraj temple compound, Bhubaneswar. Although the temple of Lingaraj belongs to the 11th century A.D., the image of Mahisamardini in the Lingaraj temple compound belongs to the 9th century A.D. The image has been nicely preserved and no part of it is broken. Here, the deity is shown with a sword, trisula, vajra and sula in her right hands and khetaka, a bow, and a snake in the left. The dilapidated human figure emerges out of the body of the buffalo and the lion is shown biting the left knee.

A very interesting figure of eight armed MahisamardiniDurga is found in a niche on the south wall of the Jagamohana in the temple of Madhukeswara at Mukhalingam which was the capital of Kailnga under the Early Gangas. There the deity is represented in a standing pose trampling on the back of the demon with her right leg. She holds a club, a sword, a vajra, a trident, a wheel, a bell and a bow in her hands. The buffalo headed demon is being pierced at his back by the Goddess with the

trident. This iconographical representation seems to be a prototype of the same at Vaitala¹⁴ temple with slight variation in the pose of the demon.

The image of ten-armed Mahisamardini Durga becomes most expressive in the temples of Orissa from C. 10th century onwards. A very beautiful representation of the Dasabhuj Mahisamardini is found in one of the niches of the temple of Somesvara at Mukhalingam. Here, the mother goddess is shown with her smiling lips and open eyes. In her five right hands she holds a sword, a trident, a wheel, a club and a rosary and she holds a snake, a thunderbolt, a conch, a vase and an indistinct object in her five left hands. The perfect human body holding a dagger in his right hand emerges from the body of the buffalo and the head of the buffalo is noticed severed from its body. This depiction of the ten armed Mahisamardini is a perfect model of the Dasabhuj mother Goddess and it seems to have laid the standard for centuries to come. In fact, it became most common and most popular in Orissa. In the late medieval period such representation of the ten-armed Mahisamardini Durga are found at various places like Pitapur, Lataharana, NiviranaNiali, Jogeswara and Kakatapur of the Prachivally, Bhattarika near Barambha, Kanakadurga near Remuna, at Khiching, Padhuan near Basudevapur at Bhubaneswar and at many other places.¹⁵

The ten-armed Durga was, thus, widely popular and it became the universal standard. However, we come across an image of 20 armed Durga in the Sambalpur University museum which has been collected from the Chandi temple of Salebhatta of the Bolangir district is assigned to the late mediaeval period.¹⁶

Thus, it seems that the evolution of the Mahishamardini iconography has its unique feature. Although, mother goddess was being worshiped in the form of earth goddess since the Harappan culture, the anthropomorphic form of the Mahishamardini developed during the fourth century A.D. The gradual development of this icon is closely linked with the description of various religious scriptures. It started with two hands and gradually the sculptors made her as four handed, six handed,

eight handed and twenty handed Durga and Mahisamardini and all her weapons as prescribed in the religious scriptures. The demon Mahisasura who was found in the form of a buffalo, became human figure in the later iconography of the deity. The rise and development of the Saktism in Odisha during the Bhaumakara period witnessed large

carvings of this important icon of the Saktism. The representation of the Mahisamardini images in various temples, particular in the north niche side temples reflect not only the fine craftsmanship & aesthetic sense of the artists but also the social and religious condition of that period.

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SYNTATIC STRUCTURE AND MEANING OF THE TEXT IN THE HERO STONE INSCRIPTIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NANDIVARMAN II INSCRIPTIONS

N. Preetha

In the realm of the history of south India, there evolved a glorious dynasty in the full light in the Tondimandalam region & Chola region during the 6th century AD. "The Pallavas "also brought about its first phase of Hindu revivalism.

The epigraphic source which constitutes the principal one for reconstructing Pallava history includes about 30 copper plate grants and approximately 200 stones inscriptions, discovered and copied from different parts of the Tamil and Telugu country. From the epigraphical and Literary sources we are able to trace the origin and evolution of great Pallavas.

Thus the reign of great Pallavas commences from the advent of Simhavishnu and to him may be given the credit of political conquest of the Chola kingdom and a number of rulers, the most notable being the Kalabhras¹. His reign was followed by his son

Mahendravarman I who was a greatest sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty and a multifaceted personality².

Narasimhavarman I succeeded Mahendravarman I & was one of the celebrated rulers of the Pallava dynasty. It was during this reign the Chalukyas were defeated and he earned the title "Vatapi Kondan" another significant incident during his period was Hiuen Tsang's visit to Kanchipuram the Pallava capital. Narasimhavarman I Mahamalla's regin came to an end about 668 AD. and was succeeded by Mahendravarman II. His reign was short and peaceful.

The next ruler Parameswaravarman in his early part had to wage wars against the three major powers. Parameswaravarman was succeeded by Narasimhavarman II surnamed as Rajasimha.

He reached the height of political fame and had become internationally known to such a degree that the contemporary Chinese emperor sought his aid in fighting the Arabs and Tibetians. He was even conferred with the title of "The king of the kingdom of south India"

The long and peaceful reign of Rajasimha came to an end in about 728-29 and was succeeded by Paramesvaraman II. His rule was for a short period of 2 Years, when Vikramaditya Chalukya attacked the Pallava kingdom and inflicted a crushing defeat on him.

After the death of Paramesvaravarman II, according to these labels, a state of anarchy prevailed in the kingdom, there being no fit person to ascend the throne. This is believed to be represented by a blank space on the wall preceding these labeled panels. The matras, the ghatikiyar and mulaprakritis³ therefore approached Hiranyavarma Maharaja and requested him to become king, being one able to bear the burden of the kingdom and of pure descent on both the sides. He thereupon sent for all the members of the family and enquired his sons, Srimalla, Ranamalla, Sangrammalla and Pallavamalla. Only the last, a boy of twelve years of age, was willing to accept the offer. But the father was unwilling to send the boy.

Thereupon, Tarandi Konda- Posar, a vriddh- agamika, assured him that the boy had formerly worshipped Vishnu and was therefore destined to become king and consoled him not to be grieved.

Then the boy took leave of them and started for kanchi, on his way he was opposed by a great army of a certain Pallavadiyariyar, who died on the out-skirts of the capital city. Then the mahasamantra, the Nagarattar, the Mulaprakriti, the Kadaka Muttaraiyar and others went forward, received pallavamalla and him to the palace, after which he was crowned by the mantrimandala, Mahasamantar, Ubhaya-ganattar, ghatakaiyar and others as king under the name of Nandivarman.

From the Kasakkudi plates, it clear that Bhimavarman, the founder of the junior branch to which the Pallavamalla belonged, was a ruling monarch, and that he followed his elder brother Simhavishnu, but the area over which he held sway is not mentioned. From the

tradition preserved in the kannada country, it is learnt that Bhimavarman was a king, and that Aiyadigal kadavarkon, who is identifiable with Pallava Simhavarman was the son of Bhimavarman, who in his old age became a devotee of siva, bestowed the kingdom on his son and went on pilgrimage visiting places holy to siva⁴.

Hiranyavarman, the father of Pallavamalla, is mentioned in addition to the Vaikuntha perumal temple inscription, also in the copper-plates of Kasakkudi⁵, Pattattalmangalam and Tandantottan, all of them belonging to the reign of Pallavamalla himself.

The pattattalamangalam plates say, "after the illustrious Virakurcha and others had gone to heaven after having enjoyed the sea-girt-earth for a long time, there came Hiranyavarman, the foremost of the rulers, and then Nandivarman, whose glorious feet were rubbed against by the diadems of all kings"⁶.

Nandivarman met with strong opposition from the very beginning of his reign. During the early part of his reign, for fifteen years or so he was constantly engaged in his campaigns against the enemies and had to bear severe reverses sometimes. He had to face the invasion of Chalukya Vikramaditya I⁷ almost immediately after coming to the throne. Later he found an asylum at the Rashtrakuta court & married the Rastrakuta princess Reva who bore a son called Dantivarman, who succeeded him on the Pallava throne after the demise of Pallavamalla.

An inscription related to the period of Nandivarman II was discovered in Kattumalaiyanur near Avur in Thiruvannamalai district. The event (information) described in this unit, preced the main event chronologically

**"Sri Kovisaya Nandivikarma Parumarkku".
"Yandu Ezhupathainthaavathu"
"Mali Nabi Muri Seikai"**

The event (information) described in this unit, preced the main event chronologically In this way of segregation of the inscripational detail let us focus into our Syntactics for discerning the meaning and the significance of this inscription. The linguistic structure of the epigraphic texts in Tamil and in other Dravidan languages is complex and distinct in comparison to other varieties. Zvebil, on the

structure of Tamil in general, has mentioned very cautiously that neither the traditional syntactic analysis in terms of subject, predicate, object, attributes, etc., nor the immediate constituent analysis proved to be satisfactory⁸.

Thus to adequately handle the structure of inscriptional Tamil we will need a specific and appropriate linguistic tool rather than the traditional approach in terms of subject- object-predicate. In accordance with the recent theoretical developments in language descriptions, we are following a discourse-oriented, functional linguistics framework within which syntax, semantics and pragmatics are essential parameters. The functional approach is sensitive to semantics and pragmatics and focuses on the functions of discourse in communication viewed as a kind of social practice⁹. The aim of the present analysis is obviously to attempt a preliminary investigation into the link between text form, meaning and the language structure.

A basic or crucial problem in analyzing inscriptions is the segmentation of the text into contextually meaningful units in the context of communication. There is consensus among scholars that discourse is composed of smaller segments in a coherent structure.

Nevertheless, they differ in opinion about what these minimal segments are and how to identify them. In text and discourse-pragmatic analysis, notions such as "Minimal Discourse unit" "Basic Discourse unit and "Information unit" are widely used. These terms, although they have some elements in common, show diverse views and are composed of multiple criteria, like illocutionary force, conceptual content, syntactic relations and prosody¹⁰.

The distinction between these different levels is neither clear-cut nor easy to establish. The unit of information is defined as information structure by Lambrecht who considers it as an important factor in the structuring of sentences¹¹.

A hero stone inscription generally contains the sequence of the three textual units:

Preamble– Operational part – Conclusion.
Preamble–conveys information relating to the king and his regnal year, is regularly expressed through a dative attribute construction.

Operational part, which obligatorily identifies the hero is expressed through three basic structures.

Name followed by Kal, between the proper name and the one who is dead "Pattan" and finally the last variant of the operational part being the combination of the both.

The last part of the inscription is the conclusion in details about the person who erected the stone is given. Hero stones are generally erected to commemorate the death of a warrior who died during cattle raids.

The first rule in a grammar of epigraphic text is to identify the structure of the text. By identifying the organizational architecture of the text, thus can observe each constituent in subject to specific functional and structural constraints. The assumption here is that prior knowledge and organizational structure of the text have a direct effect on its comprehension by the reader researcher.

In the hero stones we find the,

Preamble- gives the details about the king.

Operational part – The notification

Conclusion – The name of the founder of the hero stone.

In this division of information in this kind of hero stones we find the significance of the preamble in one aspect and the insignificant or irrelevant to the operational part. First, let us analyse the significant aspect of the preamble i.e., the regnal year of the king is been furnished in the inscription which serves as a source of information for concluding the reigning period of the king as how in the case of Mahendravarman I the hero-stone inscription discovered by the Tamilnadu state department of Archaeology in Chengam Taluk, extended his ruling period to 39th regnal year¹².

The significant or the irrelevant aspect of the preamble is that it is in no way directly proportional to the operational part, since he is not the participant in the event described in the operational part of the inscription and though the skirmishes take place in various other parts but of the same king's different ruling periods. The nominal clause begins with the name of the king followed by numeral noun is placed clause finally. This clause final numeral noun carries the salient information.

The operational part can be grouped under two major contextual meaningful units (CMU)

- 1.Circumstantial
- 2.Main Event.

The CMU'S can be further divided into several information units. In this way of segregation of the inscriptional detail let us focus into our inscription of Nandivarman II,

“Sri Kovisaya Nandivikarma Parumarkku”.
“Yandu Ezhupathainthaavathu”
“Mali Nabi Muri Seikai”

The numerical clause in this inscription may mean anything like 77th victory / child/ marriage of the king.

Thus in this inscription it is clear that Nandivarman II ascended the throne during his 12th year and hence here in this inscription the year 77 can be taken as his birth date and for calculating the regnal year of Nandivarman II it can be concluded by deducting his 12 years (the age of his ascendancy) this would give the accuracy in the way of dating the regnal years. This paper aims in unveiling the complexity in the method of reading the inscription especially in concluding the regnal years of the kings of various dynasties.

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HUMAN RIGHT VIOLATIONS VS MARGINALIZED PEOPLE – A PRAGMATIC STUDY IN TAMIL NADU

M.C. Raja

Introduction

The issue of human rights has become a thought provoking challenge all over the world. All societies and nations are better understood if their civilization and culture sail juxtapose with accent on human rights. Man's ignorance had pushed the concept of human rights to abysmal depths and with the emergence of self - consciousness, the concept and entity of human rights has assumed in dispensable overtones. Human rights are of universal importance. They are common to all regardless of caste, colour, religion, race etc. All countries strive hard to safeguard human rights through their well established constitutions. The Indian Constitution guarantees these rights in its parts III and IV. Yet violations of human rights occur in the name of religion race, creed, caste, colour, sex, region etc.

Reasons for the Backwardness Marginalized People

The backwardness of marginalized people attributed to many reason. They are: ignorance, illiteracy landlessness, untouchables, inaccessibility, homelessness, bonded labour, poverty, highhandedness of the upper caste people, exploitation by others, serfs, no proper care takers, domination of tribalism and unwillingness to develop awareness among themselves.

Measures to be Taken

If at all the marginalized people are to be uplifted, primary importance should be bestowed on their education with basic needs. Basic and compulsory education surely help them to elevate their standard and position in society. It may even lead to societal recognition.

As they are minorities, special legislations should be put into force to provide opportunities for them in job-oriented education and vocational groups. Special and individual attention should be paid for their higher education. Preference should be given to

marginalized people in employment opportunities. If the Indian democracy is really aiming at improving the standards of marginalized people at all levels, all these must be exercised in a full-fledged manner.

The Indian Constitution has provided following safeguards for the welfare marginalized people.

1.	Education	:	Articles 15 (4), 29
2.	Employment	:	Articles 16 (4); 320(4), 333
3.	Social Security	:	Articles 17, 25
4.	Economic Guarantee	:	Article 19
5.	To Abolish Forced Labour	:	Article 23
6.	Security from Social Justice	:	Article 46
7.	Tribal Area Administration	:	Articles 244, 339
8.	Political Security	:	Articles 320, 332, 334
9.	Tribal Welfare Ministry	:	Article 164
10.	Nagaland, Assam, Manipur Special Concessions	:	Article 37 (a) (b) (c)
11.	Development Measures, Education and Economy	:	Article 46
12.	Tribal Welfare Fund	:	Article 275
13.	Free aid	:	Article 39 (a)

Poverty is the basic root cause for the social and educational backwardness of marginalized people. The government may provide for them liberal grants of scholarships, free studentship, free boarding and lodging facilities, free uniforms, free mid-day meals, free books and stationary, free special coaching, etc. Many a projects to lift them have met with failure. Today the marginalized people hunger for dynamic development which is reflected in Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's demand for a new order i.e. not mere political freedom for the country but social liberation of the people. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar found that the untouchable in India more or less like apartheid Africa. Untouchability was a unique phenomenon unknown to humanity except the Hindus. Marginalized people are treated as permanent and hereditary slaves by the so called upper caste people. Dr.B.R. Ambedkar insisted that

every Indian including every untouchable and approachable shall be equal. He was afraid that human rights had to be guaranteed if the downtrodden were to have fair deal.

New forms of atrocities against Marginalized People in Tamil Nadu

There are many reasons and issues that invite attack on marginalized people. An alleged "disobedience" of village caste-Hindus elders, refusal to perform "duties" such as conveying information about death, or a marginalized boy falling in love with a caste – Hindu girl. Even the victory of a foot ball team of marginalized boys in a school match, or a marginalized bus driver's refusal to oblige a caste-Hindu by stopping the vehicle near his residence, purchase of lands from caste-Hindus, a marginalized people girl falling in love with a caste-Hindu boy, a marginalized people's refusal

to come for any domestic or agriculture related work, have been the causative factors for atrocities against the marginalized peoples in villages in the Tamil Nadu state.

Comparatively, there are more occurrences of incidents against the marginalized people than in other states. In this regard, the marginalized people's population in Tamil Nadu continues to be denied their fundamental rights. They are subjected to inhuman discriminatory practices. Most of the marginalized people live in abject poverty without basic amenities. The marginalized people go through infliction of barbaric atrocities and violation. The following are some of the major challenges that the marginalized people encounter every day.

Human rights – perspective of marginalized people's atrocities

Right to life and dignity as humans are being denied to marginalized people. The right to live with dignity has been systematically violated and sadly in most cases with the active support of the state apparatus. Many incidents of violations of human rights have taken place particularly, the right to life and their dignity. For the marginalized people have been denied entry by the Vanniars (the dominant backward caste of Northern Tamil Nadu). In most of the caste-ridden villages in Tamil Nadu, the "two tumbler" system is still in practice. In Tamil Nadu, the caste disparities, social and economic and caste-based atrocities are perpetuated and propagated by all the social institutions in familial life, educational and religious institutions, market and working places.

A few years ago, in a village called Echar, near Thirupporur, a young woman who married a marginalized man was set on the funeral fire and burnt alive by her fanatic caste-maniac parents and relatives. The heart-rending cries of that woman subsided within the dark cremation ground. The marginalized youth, who went in search of his wife, was also burnt on the same pyre. In some of the places, the caste-Hindu group involved and burnt down the ghettos (*Cheris*) It means a settlement of marginalized people set apart from that of the caste Hindu Village. In 1968, a caste-fanatic landlord, burnt alive forty-four people in the popular Venmani massacre. In other places, in the state,

marginalized people are unable to pull temple chariots, in company with the other caste-Hindus. For many years, marginalized people have not been allowed to touch the Kandadevi temple chariot even. In the other village called Alagapuram, marginalized people are not allowed to enter the temple.

Apart from these atrocities, marginalized people are not allowed to file even nomination papers for contesting in Panchayat election which is reserved for marginalized people. In many Panchayats, the government has not seen able to hold the election. In Erampatti, near Alanganallur village in Madurai District, the people living in the *Cheri* were chased out by the caste-Hindus for celebrating a marginalized leader's Birthday. The Police atrocities against the marginalized people are also high in the State, in villages like Kodyamkulam, Gundupatti, Okalur, Desikapuram and Vandavasi. Even in most of the Tamil Villages, the two-tumbler system (glass tumbler for upper castes and coconut shells for untouchables) is still followed. The cremation ground is also located separately for the upper castes and the untouchables. A few years ago, near Kumbakonam, in Thanjavur district a murderous mob prevented marginalized people from carrying a corpse through a government constructed bridge on public road.

Another incident, reported by the news magazine Frontline, took place on December 16, 1998. In Puliur village, Cuddalore district, a mob of caste Hindus (Vanniars) numbering about 300 raided a marginalized people's settlement and attacked its residents with sticks and iron rods. Approximately 500 houses were ransacked and 13 marginalized people seriously injured. The day before the attack, a marginalized man's funeral procession was stopped as it passed a Vanniars house. "In the mele that followed, the caste-Hindu resident was reportedly assaulted by a marginalized man, who, it is said, had been slapped a day earlier for smoking in the presence of the caste-Hindu resident." In this case, smoking was a luxury to which the marginalized people were not entitled in the presence of a caste Hindu.

Problems of Bonded Labour among the Marginalized People

Bonded labour is also another "version" of atrocity practiced in Tamil Nadu. There are constitutional, legal provisions that prohibit the practice of bonded labour. Article 23 of the Indian constitution and the Bonded Labour (Abolition) Act 1976 were specifically framed to prohibit all agreement and obligation arising out of the system. In Tamil Nadu, there existed varieties of bonded labour problems. For example; The labourers working in the Manjolai tea estate have been working as bonded labours, for prolonged hours and have been paid very meager wages. Therefore, the Manjolai marginalized workers decided to organize a rally against this atrocity and got permission from the government to conduct the rally. But due to some unfortunate happenings, this rally was turned into violence. A number of participants lost their life in the violence. This incident took place on 23 July, 1999. Many marginalized people are still working as bonded labourers in agricultural lands in various parts of Tamil Nadu, particularly in the districts of Coimbatore and Theni.

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RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE VIJAYANAGARA RULERS IN MEDIEVAL RAYALASEEMA

A. Ramanjul Reddy

Background

Buddhism, Jainism and Vedic religion prevailed in the Rayalaseema region. The Buddhism influenced the people of this region between the 3rd Century B.C. and 3rd Century A.D. The Jainism gained popularity from the 7th

Century A.D., though it entered the region earlier. The Vedic religion began to influence this region from the period of the Satavahanas. In course of time the Buddhist faith lost entirely its character and strength and soon observed by the resurgent Hinduism. The position of Jainism was different. It continued to flourish in some

parts of Rayalaseema up to 10th Century A.D. The patronage given to Vedic order in the Fourth Century A.D. was continued subsequently by the Renati Cholas, the vaidumbas, the Banas, and so on. As time rolled on, the rulers and ruled alike began to patronize the rituals and began to donate their mite to the temples and Mathas which became a social and cultural institutions. They influenced the people and constituted the devotional aspect in them.¹

Jainism: Jainism found favour in India with the ruling families. The traditions and accounts of the Jainas reveal that the Jainism entered Andhra even slightly earlier than Buddhism. In fact, the career of Jainism in Andhra desa was much longer though less spectacular than that of Buddhism. Their settlements were humble and unostentatious. The Jains generally preferred as their habitations, probably because of their unsocial practice of nudity, secluded places like natural caves and caverns which were difficult of approach² Another interesting point to be noted is that the Jainism was more predominant and it survived for a longer time in the western parts of Andhra desa i.e. Telangana and Rayalaseema than in the Coastal regions.³ Again the age of Jainism in Andhra appears to be one of economic distress. However, Jainism was more fortunate in securing the patronage of many ruling families such as the early Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas. Most of the inscriptions so far discovered record gifts made to the Jaina church by princes, royal ladies, generals and rarely by private individuals. Even the Hindu reformers of this period, Kumarila and Sankara, concentrated their attacks on Buddhism and spared Jainism, probably because the latter with its less worldly attitude and with its loss knit order and widely scattered settlement was looked down upon as unworthy

rival. Though Jainism entered Andhra desa very early, for a long time it had an obscure existence for which the severe austerity of Jainism and the rigid conservatism of the **Jaina acharyas** were mainly responsible.

Further, the presence of a naked monk was socially disgusting and sentimentally suspicious⁴ But, gradually the situation had a favourable turn. In true missionary zeal, the yapaniyas introduced into Jainism certain innovations and made compromises that could attract popular attention. The above change in the attitude of the Jaina sangha almost synchronised with the beginning of the decline of Buddhism in Andhra. It was during this period that there started a bloody campaign of persecution against the Jainas in Tamila desa by Saiva and Vaishnava pontiffs. This led to an exodus of Jains from southern part of India. The concept of Bhakti paved the way for the formation and spread of Saivism and Vaishnavism in Rayalaseema region from 8th century onwards.

Hindusim: Hinduism was the most popular religion of the state throughout the medieval period until Islam entered this region. In the following few pages an attempt is made to elucidate the religious conditions prevalent during the period under review.

From the time of Vishnukundins there was steady decline in Vedic rituals in Andhra desa. The Eastern Chalukyas who succeeded the Vishnukundins were no doubt champions of Brahmanism, but none of them performed Vedic sacrifices, because by this time Vedic ritualism was nearly played out and temple worship became popular. The sentiment against animal sacrifice gained strength and new emphasis on ahimsa resulted in the decline of rituals.

The Puranas hold the four Purusharthas. They are Dharma artha, kama and moksha as the aims of life⁵ In the scheme of life's eternal values purushartha occupies premier place. The puranas do not overlook Brahmanical ritual but concentrate mainly on the popular religion, Andhra desa was mentioned in the puranic literature from early times.⁶ The inscriptions frequently refer to the Eastern Chalukyan period about the Itihasa, puranas and Agamas.⁷ During the Chalukyan period the concept of Bhakti received new dimensions at the hands of religious leaders. Bhakti developed into a syncretic system and became almost the basis on neo- Brahmanism or Hinduism.⁸ The Bhagavadgita was developed to serve as the authority on such a syncretic religion. Thus Bhagavadgita was accepted as one of the prasthanas by Sankara and other acharyas. But its influence since the Chalukyan kings took the titles paramabrahmanya paramabhadraka and paramamaheswara⁹ indicating the progress of syncretism. Bhakti or devotion is no doubt monotheistic and it has developed as a syncretic system. Around Vishnu and Siva gradually developed two major sects in India namely Vaishnavism and Saivism.¹⁰

Vaishnavism: The most active form of Hindu religion was Vaishnavism. The accession of Saluva Narasimha to the throne of Vijayanagara gave a great impetus to the expansion of Vaishnavism over the whole of South India. Vaishnavism flourished to a great extent in Rayalaseema region from the 14th century A.D. Rayalaseema became a part and parcel of the Vijayanagara Empire. By that time Vaishnavism was made popular and many Vaishnava centres came into prominence. Ahobilam and Tirupati were great centres for Vaishnavism in Rayalaseema region during this

period. The Vaishnava preceptors migrated from Srirangam, the principal seat of Vaishnava cult and philosophy, settled at Tirupati and Ahobilam and propagated the Vaishnava philosophy among the people. Saluva Narasimha was greatly devoted to the God Venkateswara of Tirupati which became the most important centre of Vaishnavism in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹¹ Ramanuja, the chief exponent of the **visistadvaita** philosophy, undertook a tour of the Andhra Country and contributed much for the propagation of Vaishnavism. The influences of his teachings were so strong and appealing that many sections of the society embraced vaishnavism. He was the man who converted Tirupati as a chief centre of Vaishnava learning in the Rayalaseema region. It is believed that Ramanuja consecrated the idol of Lord Govindarajaswami at Tirupati in the present Govindarajaswami temple.¹² The construction of temples for Vishnu gained momentum during this period. Chintala Venkataramana temples at Tadipatri and Tiruvengalantha temple at Devunikadapa are the two important temples, which flourished richly during the Vijayanagara period.

The Vaishnavas fell into two classes: I the Sri Vaishnavas or the followers of Ramanuja and ii. the Madhwas or the followers of Madhva famous **dvaita** siddanta philosopher. Of the two sects, Sri Vaishnavas may be said to be more liberal in their general outlook and principles. Therefore, their creed had greater attraction for the masses than Madhwaism, which never became popular outside a small section of the Brahmana community. The **jiyars** of Ahobalam have played an important part in extending the influence of Vaishnavism. Vaishnavism received much patronage from the Saluva,

Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties, of the Vijayanagara empire¹³ Vyasatirtha, the **Madhava** saint lived during Devaraya II and it was only after Devaraya II that Vaishnavism gained importance through the propagation of Madhva's teachings by Vadirajatirtha, a pupil of Vyasatirtha.

Saivism: Saivism is not only the oldest but also the most predominant religion in Andhra desa including Rayalaseema. The early Pallavas were responsible for the spread of Saivism in Rayalaseema. Srisailam was developed into a great saiva centre in the post Pallava period. It enjoyed great respect and patronage during the Kakatiya period.¹⁴ Many Jaina Basadis were forcefully converted into Saiva centres. Among all the sects of Saivism, the Pasupata sect flourished in Rayalaseema region, the epigraphs from Hemavati,¹⁵ Mahadevimangalam¹⁶ and Jogimallavaram¹⁷ attest this fact. The **Kalamuka** sect too gained popularity in this region and inscriptions from Srisailam inform the existence of this sect.¹⁸

However in the Vijayanagara Empire, the centre of Saivism or Saiva cult and its **advaita** doctrine was Sringeri **matha**, established by Sankaracharya in the 8th century.¹⁹ He was a great religious reformer and teacher of the **vedanta** philosophy i.e. **uttara mimamsa**. During 14th century A.D. Vidyaranya, who is associated with the founding of the Vijayanagara Empire, popularised the philosophy of Sankaracharya. According to an inscription²⁰ dated 1431 A.D. Devaraya II seems to have been a tolerant Saiva or devotee of Siva.

During the 12th century A.D., Basava, gave a new turn to Saivism and preached the equality of men **in** the eyes of God Siva.²¹ During the reign of Devaraya II, Virasaivism received considerable royal patronage. On account of his encouragement of Virasaivism,

Basava described **Virasaivagama**.²² Virasaivism influenced the people of Rayalaseema in the 13th and 14th centuries AD. People from **sudra** community patronized this sect and they were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of **Virasaivism**. **Jangama** caste patronised this sect and became priests of Saiva temples and **mathas**. However it appears that Virasaivism did not attract the people from higher strata of the society. Balandusekharam has rightly observed that "Whatever may be the popularity which Basaveswara' reformist faith enjoyed among the lower castes of the Hindu society, it could not find much acceptance among the higher castes. The influence of the age old beliefs and practices was so deep rooted, that even the most ardent brahmana disciples of Basaveswara could not accept his teachings without effecting radical changes in its fundamental tenets."²³

After Basaveswara, his faith also gradually disappeared. However the impact of Virasaivism was so intense it made Jainas to migrate to other places. It brought a new faith and concept that Virasaiva devotees regarded their lives futile before their religion. They had the belief of obtaining heavenly bliss, i.e. **Kailasa** if they sacrificed their lives for the sake of religion.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be summed up that Saivism rose steadily in popular esteem, and became the religion of the masses. It is evident from the numerous famous Siva temples - Parusameswara temple at Attirala, Bhairaveswara temple at Nallacheruvupalli, Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam and Kalahastiswara temple at Chittoor flourished during this period. The numerous **danasasanas** in these temples prove that Saivism played an important part in supplanting Jainism and appropriated all the places of worship and pilgrimage.

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FROM VAJRADESA TO SUVARNABHOOMI'. PARALLELS AND CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BUDDHIST ART OF AMARAVATI AND VIETNAM

G.Ramdhan

A Brief Discussion on Nomenclature and Overview of Sources

Despite several researches being done on the contacts, development and contribution of Indian culture to Vietnamese culture during the past century, one must admit that the area of study still suffers from inadequate sources. Scholars have been attempting to elucidate the subject through the analysis of some examples taken from South East Asian countries, India and China.

The earliest reference of 'Andhra' comes from *Aitareya Brahmana* wherein the word was used to refer to a community of people. In Mahabharata and Asokan Inscriptions also the word was used as denoting a sect of people and not as a region residing south of the *Vindhya*s. However, it is evident from Buddhist *jataka* stories and Ceylonese chronicles that the land inhabited by the *Andhras* had been referred to variously as *Manjeeradesa*, *Nagabhoomi* and *Vajradesa*.¹

In these Buddhist chronicles *Manjeera desa* was said to have been the portion of the land in India that lies north of River Krishna and south of Kalinga and through which river *Manjeera*, a tributary of the River Godavari,

flows. In some other Buddhist narratives the land between the mouth of the Ganges and Simhala (Sri Lanka) was referred to as *Nagabhoomi*, land of Naga rulers and naga cults. The Buddhist *Jataka* tales refer the land falling south of Dantapuri in Kalinga up to the present day Nellore coast covering the western mandals of Gooty and Kandanolu as *Vajradesa*. The Buddhist chronicles from Simhaladesa (Sri Lanka) also testify this fact and mention the name of Dhanyakataka (present day Amaravati) on the banks of the River Krishna as its major trade centre and call it *Vajraladinne* (Mound of Diamonds). Other contemporary sources and archaeological evidences corroborate the fact that Krishna-Thungabhadra basin had been yielding precious diamonds since ancient times and it could be the historical basis for calling it *Vajradesa*.

The 'Periplus of the Erithrian Sea', a book most commonly accepted to have belonged to the 1st CAD implies, though does not expressly state, that the east coast of India, with its luminous ports from the mouth of the Ganges in Bengal to the cape of Comorin, conducted commercial and cultural voyages to many places of the Far Eastern countries such as

Chryse or Golden Land (*Suvarnabhoomi*) These accounts were supplemented by later writers like Pliny and Ptolemy who referred to the many ports and important trading centres in the Indian Archipelago, Malay Peninsula and the Islands of Java and Sumatra and the existence of a direct sea route from *Palura* (near present day Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh and Ganjam of Odisha coast) to the ports of Golden Land (*Suvarnabhoomi*). The Buddhist *Jataka* tales and *Kathasaritsagara*, a Sanskrit adaptation of *Gunadhya's Brihatkatha*, frequently refer to merchants' voyages to *Suvarnabhoomi* - the Land of Gold - which was 'a general designation of several lands in the Far East'² covering Myanmar, Thailand, Malay Peninsula, Cambodia (Kambuja), Vietnam (Annam) and the islands of Indonesia, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo.³ The *Milindapanha*, a 2nd century AD Buddhist text containing a dialogue between the Buddhist monk Ngasena and the Indo-Greek king Menander-I of Bactria, also talks about voyages to *Suvarnabhoomi* from India. The first century AD Buddhist canonical Pali text *Niddesa* enumerates a series of places with Sanskrit names which were later identified by the 20th century Orientalist and Indologist Sylvain Levy of France with places in South East Asia.⁴ It is believed that Christopher Columbus also attempted to reach the Cham Pa kingdom of Vietnam, getting inspired by the travel records of Marco Polo, the 13th century navigator who travelled to India through China. When Columbus reached Cariay on the coast of Costa Rica he was said to have actually thought that he found the ancient land of goldmines (*Suvarnabhoomi*) of the ChamPa kingdom⁵

The physical remains, including stone sculptures and brick structures, inscriptions in Sanskrit language on steles and other stone surfaces, especially at Go Xoai, Dong Duong An-ThaiG, and considerable number of Chinese and Vietnamese accounts provide indisputable testimonies of parallels and connections between the cultures of India and Vietnam. The Sanskrit names of the ancient cities of Vietnam (such as Indrapura- Don Duong; Amaravati- Quang Nam; Vijaya- Binh Dinh; Kauthara- Nha Trang; Panduranga- Ninh Thuan or Phan Rang, etc.); of Kings (like Sri Maran, Bhadravarman, Harivarman, Suryavarman, Indravarman, Jayavarman, Bhavavarman,

Dharanindravarman, etc.), of Kingdoms (namely Kambuja, Champa, Indrapura, Srivijaya, Simhapura, etc.) of the deities (like Siva, Vishnu, Indra, Rudra, Sambhu, Garuda, Kurma, Narsimha, Durga, various names of the Buddha, etc.) dating back to 2nd C AD onwards sufficiently support the viewpoint that there had been strong influential legacy of India on the ancient kingdoms of South East Asia. They also vouch for the opinion that those ancient kingdoms must have been the result of the enterprises of the young princes who, dispossessed by their hereditary kingdoms back in India, sailed to *Suvarnabhoomi* to make their fortunes.

Spread of Buddhism in Vietnam

The emergence and spread of Buddhism is one of the path breaking developments in the history of the world in general and of Asia in particular. Its influence and contribution has been phenomenal in shaping the cultural identity and political destiny of a number of countries including those in Central, South and South East Asia. During the first two centuries of its origin in the Indian subcontinent the new philosophy confined more or less to the parts of northern India, particularly Magadha and Kosala. It was during Asoka's reign that Buddhism began to spread as a world philosophy. Asoka's efforts in sending Buddhist missionaries to various parts of Asia gave fillip and set forth guiding principles to India's future foreign relations. The Ceylonese chronicles talk about the dispatch of Buddhist monks to *Suvarnabhoomi* by Asoka. A Tower at Ne Le citadel in Gio Chi (present day Do-son near Hai Phong North Vietnam) was supposed to have erected to mark the arrival of Buddhist monks there.⁷ The local folklore also support the view that Buddhism made its way into Vietnam during the time of Asoka in 3rd Century BC.

It is known from the Chinese and Vietnamese sources that the Vietnamese obtained copies of Buddhist Texts from cultural centres at Java and Sumatra and by 2nd BC had the translated versions of those texts into local languages. As such the Indian Buddhism entered Vietnam much before the Chinese Buddhism made its inroads into the country.

Vietnam, because of its strategic geographical positioning, received Buddhism

from both China in the north and India in the West. However, it appears that adoption of the Indian culture in general and Buddhist culture in particular by the indigenous Vietnamese was more natural and willing when compared to its influence from China which was exerted more through political domination. The ancient Dong Son civilization, while maintaining its pre-existing (1000-1BC) cultural identity absorbed the quintessence of both Chinese and Indian values of Buddhism into its internal resources. The combined features later were localized in order to strengthen their national identity. The Cham culture and its kingdoms that flourished between 1st CAD to 15th CAD also selectively received and promoted the spread of Buddhism in Vietnam. The Vietnamese texts such as Ly Hoac Luan (2nd CAD), Mau Tu (3rd CAD) and Linh Nam Chich Quai (14th CAD) are some of the prominent sources which throw lot of light on the spread and assimilation of Buddhism into Vietnamese culture.⁹ These texts also mention the names of several Buddhist centres of India such as Kosambi, Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Vaisali, Champa (probably the capital of Anga or Chola), Dhanyakataka (the birthplace of Amaravati School of Art) and many others with which the ancient Vietnamese maintained cultural relations.

The inscriptions found at Go Xoai in South Vietnam also testify the fact of entry of Buddhism into Vietnam through sea route from India and later by land route through the West-Tibet, Yunan, Laos. The Dong Duong stele inscription of Indravarman II is an evidence to state that both Saivism and Buddhism coexisted peacefully during 7th and 8th centuries AD. The traces of Tantric sect of Mahayana Buddhism or what is popularly believed as Vajrayana Buddhism are found in the An Thai Inscription. The archaeological remains in central Vietnam corroborate the evidence of Inscriptions with regard to the importance of Indian Buddhism. The various names of the Buddha mentioned in the Inscriptions of Champai² - Jina, Lokanatha, Lokeshvara, Sugata, Darareshvara, Svabhayada, Abhayada, Sakyamuni, Amitabha, Vajrapani, Vairochana, Sadharma and Pramuditalokeshvara - indicate the direct connections of Vietnamese Buddhism with Indian names of the Buddha. The inscriptions

explain the various stages in the spread of Mahayana Buddhism - Prajna, Vijnana, Tantra in Vietnam. The biography of six monks - Van ky, Giai Thoat Thien, Khuy Xung, Hue Diem, Tri Hanh, Dai Thura Dang - compiled in the late 17th and early 18th centuries also shows the Buddhist links between India and Vietnam.¹³

Development of Buddhist Art in Vietnam

The prominent features of Buddhism patronized by the Vietnamese monks resulted in production of volumes of Buddhist artifacts which had deep influence of the features of Chinese Buddhism. Yet they bear several resemblances to the features of Indian Schools of Buddhist Art, especially the Gupta (Mathura) and Amaravati Schools of Art.

Buddhist Art in India

Buddhist Art, which originated on the Indian subcontinent and evolved throughout Asia and other parts of the world, includes the art forms - architecture, sculptures, paintings, literature, etc. - depicting Buddha, Bodhisattvas, notable figures of Buddhism, narratives from the stories associated with the life of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other prominent figures of Buddhism. During the first few centuries of its growth the Buddhist art in India took the form of votive tablets or friezes that were used for the decoration of stupas. It is interesting to note that during this phase the Buddha was never represented in human form. Episodes of life of the Buddha and his teachings were represented through aniconic symbolism. The anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha started to emerge from the 1st CAD.

Two places developed as important centres of Buddhist art from 1st C AD onwards and they were Gandhara, in present day North Western Frontier Province in Pakistan and Mathura in Central Northern India (Fig. 2 and 3). In Southern India another school of Buddhist art, distinct from the Gandhara and Mathura schools, flourished in the lower valley of the River Krishna, in present day Andhra region and is called the Amaravati School of Art. This art form which was originated during the reign of Satavahanas in 3rd century BC flourished subsequently for about six centuries under the patronage of various dynastic kingdoms that ruled the region.

The name Amaravati, literally means 'abode of immortals', is relatively modern and supposed to have been named by a 18th century Zamindar, Raja Vasireddy Venkatadri Naidu, who shifted his residence from crowded Chintapalli to ancient Dharanikota / Dhayakataka which once served as capital of the Satavahanas and found mention in several of the accounts from Ceylone, China and parts of South East Asia as a major centre of trade and Buddhist learning. He constructed a Siva temple in the town and named the new town Amaravati after the principal deity of the temple Amareshwara.¹⁴

Features of Amravati School of Art¹⁵

The Amaravati Art School that occupies a pre-eminent position in the history of Indian art is marked by striking differences in styles, themes and materials used from those of its counterparts from Gandhara and Mathura.

During its early phase of development (200-100 BC) few slabs on decorative pieces at the base of stupa were found which depicted pilasters at intervals with animals above bell-shaped capitals and devotees adorning the Buddha who was represented symbolically and not in human form.

The second phase (100 BC to 100 AD) was marked by casting slabs above the platforms that contained superposed panels with representation of the Buddha in preaching form. The figures that portrayed the principal scenes of Buddha's life, occasional representation of the Buddha in human form (the earliest specimens on record), are more natural and graceful than those of the first phase.

The next phase (150 to 200 AD) witnessed carved railings round the stupa. Elaborate description of different planes with figures of the first plane being carved in deep relief and gradual diminishing of the depth in the successive planes was a new feature of the phase. Scenes illustrating *Jataka* tales were carved on the panels of vertical slabs with skillful representation of scenes of action.

The final phase (AD 200) of the Amravati School of Art were adorned with rich and elaborate carvings than the railing. The figures in the sculptures were slimmer and taller.

Numerous miniature sculptures were carved on the small circular bosses, in the friezes and on the casing slabs. The features are full, the expressions aristocratic and benign. The head is crowned with short curly hair.

In all the phases white sandstone, marble were extensively used. Use of light green limestone was found at places like Nagarjunakonda and neighboring sites. Unlike the other two schools, Amravati School gave prominence to kings, princes, palaces and other more secular themes. The slim and blithe features were represented in the most difficult poses and curves. Depiction of scenes was overcrowded. Though the general appeal is not so pleasing the individual figures in the scenes bear distinct charm. Plants and flowers, particularly lotuses were most admirably represented. The lotuses the *poornakumbha* motifs were typical of Amravati School of Art. Lotus represents auspiciousness while *poornakumbha* stands for abundance.

With all its distinctive features, the Amravati School of Art, as opined by Anand K Coomaraswamy, can proudly be considered as mostly indigenous in nature.¹⁶

A Brief Note on the Maha Chaitva¹⁷

When Colin Mackenzie, the first Surveyor General of India, was informed by the construction workers about unearthing of large bricks and carved limestone slabs during constructions at the site of Amaravati, he visited the site (1797) to conduct thorough survey and excavations at the site. But by the time he made preparations and returned in 1816, indiscriminate excavations by the locals had destroyed what remained of the structure. The bricks of the monument were reused to build local houses and the temple dedicated to Siva (Amaresvara). Mackenzie carried out further excavations with a team of military surveyors and draftsmen, recorded what he saw and prepared drawings and sketches of the relics in the area. The Colin Mackenzie Album containing those maps and drawings of the sculpture is preserved in the British Library, London with a second copy in Indian Museum, Kolkata. Drawing from the oral testimonies of the local villagers the colossal monument that was found constructed with large bricks and faced with slabs of limestone was labeled

initially as 'deepaaladinne' or 'Hill of Lights'. It suggests that the huge structure must have been used as a lighthouse for the river-borne trading boats and ships. The Chinese traveler and Buddhist monk Hiuen Tsang (Xuan Zang) who visited Amaravati (640 AD) and stayed for some time to study *Abhidhamma Pitaka* gave a glorious account of the place and monastery that existed.¹⁸

Buddhist Art of Vietnam- Resemblances to Amaravati School

Constant engagement of Indian Buddhism with indigenous societies had led to remarkable achievements in art even in Vietnam. As noted earlier penetration of Indian influence was more peaceful as the reception was more voluntary and selective as compared to that of Han culture of China who carried out the project of assimilation by subordinating the nation with a goal to absorb the local cultures.

By imbibing the essence and values of both the civilizations of India and China, the indigenous Cham and Khmer communities developed their own art styles moulding them to be consistent with their own cultural and spiritual life and values so that the national identity of art was preserved. The scale and continuity of temple towers or mountain-temples, tighter with architecture, Sculpture and decorative art attaining their height, speak volumes about the development of Buddhism among the Cham and Khmer communities.¹⁹

Though the Vietnamese Buddhist Art bears the characteristic features of the Gupta (Mathura) art it was the Amaravati School of Art that appears to have been more influential in moulding the Buddhist art of Vietnam. It is believed that many products belonging to Amaravati Art were carried to the South East Asian countries from India. Among the prominent Schools of Art of Vietnamese Buddhism - Dong Duong, Dai La, Ly, Phat Tich, Tran, Le, Nguyen- three schools of art namely Dong Duong styles, Ly Art style and Phat Tich School appear to have been much influenced by the Amaravati School of Art. However few specimens bearing the features of Amaravati style can also be found in Dai La and Tran Art styles, while Le and Nguyen Art styles are purely Sino-Vietnamese in nature.

Dong Duong Style

Dong Duong, near present day Da Nang, is perhaps the most important site of all Buddhist centers in Vietnam. A stele inscription found at Dong Duong gives an evidence of a monastery or 'Vihara' dedicated to Boddhisatva *Lakshmindralokesvara*, a Mahayana Buddhist deity of compassion which also recalls the personal name of its founder *Lakshmindra Bhumisvara Gramasvamin* who was known in later sources as King Jaya Indravarman II.²⁰ He claimed the lineage of Bhrigu, the venerable sage of Mahabarata, but adopted Mahayana Buddhism as official religion. The monastery was devastated during the Vietnam War. Some photographs, sketches and sculptures that survived were preserved in Vietnamese museums which form the essentials of the typical Indrapura or the Dong Duong style of Buddhist Art.

Many stone statues of Buddha were found in the historical site of Dong Duong portraying the scenes from the life of the Buddha. The two-armed image of Buddha discovered at Dong Duong (Fig. 8) is believed to be of the style of Amaravati School of Art.²¹ Each statue, characterized by strong facial features of thick and clear lips, mustache, beard and eyebrows linked together with line, present a healthy and masculine Buddha. Some statues were having capped hat with big flowers in bloom on both sides and in front making them look more imposing and solemn.²² The slender body frame and head adorned with short curly hair of some of the statues are supposed to be inspired by the Amaravati School of Art.

The most impressive one among the statues was a rare bronze statue of Buddha (Fig. 9), 1.08 meter in height. Represented in a standing pose with the coat-tail lifted by left hand, left lap of the *antaravasaka* being parallel to the body, bare right shoulder, right hand in *abhayamudra*, charming wavy lines of the front flap of robe, the statue that was supposed to have belonged to the third or fourth century AD²³ was considered by scholars like J. Boisselier as a characteristic example of a statue bearing resemblance to the art of Amaravati School.²⁴

The date and origin of the statues of Dong Duong style are much debated. While some believe that they were brought to Vietnam from India or other parts of South East Asian countries during third or fourth centuries or after the sixth-eight centuries, others are of the opinion that the statues were made locally during a period spanning from third to ninth century AD. Most of the statues were believed to have belonged to late ninth century.²⁵

As the debate goes thus, the notable point is that many statues look inspired and influenced by Amaravati School of Art of India in styles, patterns and themes. The wide usage of floral representation mainly of lotuses in the sculptural panels found in Dong Duong is another typical feature of Amaravati Style. However the vermicular shape and the density of decorative patterns all over are regarded as unique feature of the Dong Duong Art Style. Representation of *dharmapalas* (the guardians of the Law), *dvarapalas* (the doorkeepers), Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara are other characteristic features of Dong Duong style that were supposed to have inspired by the Amaravati School. Nonetheless, the Buddhist Art of Dong Duong School may rightly be considered as a style with 'hand of a Vietnamese and the heart of an Indian'.

Oc-eo Wooden Buddha Images

It is known from the texts like *Milindapanha* that the traders along with the Buddhist monks used to carry with them images of Buddha, generally made with wood with a sentimental belief that the '*Dipankara Buddha*' (God who calms the waters) would assist them through safe seafaring.¹⁸ Many such wooden images of Buddha were found at Oc-eo (Fig. 10), an important port of South Vietnam. A typical of fourth century life size image of the Buddha is believed to have been inspired by both Gupta and Amaravati styles. While the style of curly hair, the frills of the robe that covered the body, bare right shoulder and *abhayamudra* resemble the Amaravati style, the broad shoulders, and the body shape are similar to the Gupta (Mathura) Style.

The Binh Dinh Cham Bronze Statue

A unique and large bronze statue was discovered at Binh Dinh province of South Central Vietnamese coast that represents a two armed female deity with a small image of Buddha protected by seven hooded naga (serpant) resting on the headdress (Fig. 11).²⁹ It was believed to be named in the stele inscription of Dong Duong as the main cult image of the monastery, *Lakshmindra Lokesvara*.³⁰ The French scholar Jean Boisselier believed that the image could be one of the four directional Tara, but not the main deity honoured at the temple.³¹ He further opined that the figure represents the unique features of Dong Duong style and considerably influenced by the Amaravati School of Art and Chinese art traditions as well.

Ly Art Style

During the 11th and 12th centuries AD Buddhism developed vigorously in Vietnam under the Ly dynasty. Many noble motifs regarded as sacred such as phoenix, dragon, fairy, cloud and sea wave were depicted with refined lines and consistent composition.²⁹ The Ly style of art is marked by construction of pagodas with Chinese influence which yielded thousands of statues of Buddha. The statues, pedestals, pillar bases, bricks and plates, bowls pots, lotus flower reliefs and other artifacts reveal assimilation of the Chinese and Indian influence, especially the Amaravati School of Art. A tomb-stupa built in 14th century AD, found in front of the Pho-Minh Buddhist temple at Tuc-mac is another example that bears resemblance to Amaravati School of Art. The brick storeys with incised friezes decorating the pilaster bases, intersecting volutes, enclosing circles with delicate scroll motifs, decoration of the lotus petals reveal the influence of Amaravati School on this Stupa.³⁰

Phat-Tich School of Art

Phat Tich, in Bac Ninh province, is considered as one of the most representative Ly site yielding the specimens bearing features of Amaravati School of Art. The typical artifacts of this site included a stone Buddha statue, stone basement, holy animal statues in the

temple yard, rock fragments engraved with dragon and flowers, leaf pieces, small stone dragon, statues of Buddha, Dharma Diamonds of eleventh century, carved stone water vessels, the bird-god statue, piece of stone female head, etc.³¹ All these specimens bear ample features apparently influenced by the Amaravati School.

The statue of stone Buddha found at Phat Tich (Fig. 12), in cross-legged seated posture on a lotus throne, with slim and tall body, foldless drapery covering both the shoulders, round head with eyes half-closed, elongated earlobes, lined-marks around the neck (*trivah*), curly hair with prominent *usnisa* is a typical representative that partly bears the prototype Gupta and mostly the Amaravati styles of art.³² It is believed that the famous Indian monk Vinataruci journeyed along the silk road through China to reach Phat Tich Pagoda to propagate Buddhism in Vietnam in the 6th CAD.

Dai La and Tran Schools of Art (8-12 C AD)

Though Dai La Style and Tran style of Art were essentially influenced by the Chinese styles of art, it is believed that they present a distinctive 'Double Sino- Indian influence'.³³ While the presence of leggings of the images reveal the Chinese influence, the decoration of the robe is a noteworthy feature inspired by Amaravati School. In a representative art specimen of a *Kinnara*, an imaginary creature, a musician with a bird's body and human head, the head was depicted with Chinese features in some images and with Indian features in other images. Various fragments of decorative sculptures, friezes, stone bases of columns, central motifs with a stylized lotus flower, posture and arrangement of the figures also show characteristics of double 'Sino-Indian Influence' of the artifacts belonging to Dai La and Tran styles of Art.³⁴

The 'T' Shaped Pagodas

Pagodas and statues form essential elements of Buddhist Art especially in South

East Asian countries and China. However Vietnamese pagoda is distinctive from Chinese pagoda in all respects. The Chinese pagoda is distinctly marked by the 'Monastery' pattern where the structures are separated from one another parallelly by a yard, resembling the Chinese ideogram 'I' (Ex: Dien Ung / Bac Ninh and Ninh Phuc / But Thap).

The Vietnamese pagoda resembles a cave-type pagoda with a 'T'-shaped design which, is rather wide. The model consists of three parallel structures -the frontal Ceremonial Hall (Realm of Desires), the Incense Burning Middle Hall (World of Form), and the Principal Ceremonial Hall (Immaterial World). The Yen Tu Complex, Hoa Yen and Van Tieu Pagodas are classic examples of this style. The 'T'-shaped pagoda with a cave like frontal compartment is said to be bearing resemblances to the Ajanta caves of India which also form an important part of the Amaravati School of Art.³⁵

Conclusion

Buddhism along with Brahmanism permeated Vietnamese culture and played influential role in shaping their national culture. The Vietnamese people got attracted to the Buddhist values quickly as they found the means of national salvation in Buddhism against the hegemonic culture of the North. In selectively choosing to combine the human values and practices of Buddhism with spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people, the Vietnamese have produced a new culture that aimed to attain and retain a distinct national identity of immortality. The Buddhist cultural exchanges between the two nations during the past two millennia have created an everlasting bond of friendship between India and Vietnam. The Vietnamised Buddhism, by representing the contemporary world view of love for peace and harmony through the ages has become part and parcel of the cultural heritage of the nation and has been playing an important role in steering the continuous efforts to build a wealthy and modernized Vietnam.

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CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY AND POLITICS IN COASTAL ANDHRA 1906-56

Ramesh Babu Para

Introduction

This paper attempts to contribute to the search for a theoretical foundation upon which to develop a Social theory of education. Within the parameters of this task, the notion of Social theory has a two-fold meaning. First, Social theory orders to the legacy of theoretical work developed by certain

members of what we can be loosely described as "Adi-Andhra School". What this suggests is that Social theory was never a fully articulated philosophy shared unproblematically by all members of the Adi-Andhra School. But it must be stressed that while one cannot point to a single universally shared Social theory, one can

point to the common attempts to assess the newly emerging forms of capitalism along with the changing forms of caste domination that accompanied them. Similarly, there was an attempt on the part of all the members of the Adi-Andhra School to rethink and radically reconstruct the meaning of human emancipation in general and Dalit Empowerment in particular, a project that differed considerably from the theoretical baggage of orthodox Hinduism.

Second, the concept of social theory refers to the nature of self-consciousness critique and to the development of a discourse of social transformation and empowerment that does not cling dogmatically to its own doctrinal assumptions. In other words, Social theory refers to its own both a "school of thought" and a process of critique. It points to a body of thought that is, in researchers' view, invaluable for educational theories; it also exemplifies a body of work that both demonstrates and simultaneously calls for the necessity of ongoing critique, one in which the claims of any theory must be confronted with the distinction between the world it examines and portrays, and the world as it actually exists.

The Adi-Andhra School took as one of its central values a commitment to penetrate the world of objective appearances to expose the underlying social relationships they often conceal. In other words, penetrating such appearances meant exposing through critical analysis social relationships that took on the status of things or objects. For instance, by examining notions such as money, consumption, distribution, and production, it becomes clear that none of these represents an objective thing or fact, but rather all are historically contingent contexts mediated by relationships of caste domination and subordination. In adopting such a perspective, the Adi-Andhra School not only broke with forms of rationality that wedded science and technology into new forms of domination, it also rejected all forms of rationality that subordinated human consciousness and action to the imperatives of universal laws. Whether it is the legacy of Gurukula or pail schools in addition to Madrasa, Technical and secular education were conspicuously absent. The

major defects of the traditional education system were the absence of proper standards of teaching, extreme narrowness of the subjects taught and unable to create scientific and critical thinking and the spirit of enquiry among the students. Education was confined to the upper castes

The legacy of Hindu intellectual thought through Indian nationalism or the theoretical edifice on education developed by Gandhi's establishment of Harijan Sevak Sanghs in support of the Hindu reformation project across the country in his 'Harijan' tours in the 1930s. Dr. Ambedkar's argued against the suppression 'Small Holdings and their Remedies'. In so doing it articulated a notion of negativity or critique that opposed all theories that celebrated social harmony while leaving unproblematic the basic assumptions of the wider society. In more specific terms, the Adi-Andhra School stressed the importance of critical thinking by arguing that it is a constructive feature of the struggle for self-emancipation and social change. Moreover, its members argued that it was in the contradictions of society that one could begin to develop forms of social inquiry that analysed the distinction between what is and what should be, finally, it strongly supported the assumption that the basis for thought and action should be grounded, as Bhagayreddy Verma argued in his annual meetings of Adi-Andhra Conferences.

In general terms, the Adi-Andhra School provided a number of valuable insights for studying the relationships between theory and society. In so doing, its members developed a dialectical framework by which to understand the mediations that link the institutions and activities of everyday life with the logic and commanding forces that shape the larger social totality. The characteristic nature of the form of social inquiry that emerged from such a framework was articulated by Ambedkar, questioning of traditional Hindu social structures by raising "there will be outcastes as long as there are castes", challenge to unscientific and irrational religious belief, social inequalities, untouchability, become an emerging paradigm of dalit assertion in the reconstruction social relationships in modern India. In the same line of thought Gail

question of "secularism or religious pluralism, in India, has been a struggle and an achievement not something that has sprung automatically from the basic values of the dominant religious and caste-class establishments"¹

The issues raised here by Ambedkar have not lost their importance with time; they still represent both a critique and a challenge to many of the theoretical currents that presently characterise theories of social education. Educational theory should operate in the interest of law like propositions which are empirically testable. A major assumption here is that theory should contribute to the mastery and control of the environment through a set of deductively derived operations aimed at discovering the regularities that exist among isolated variables under study. In this case, theory becomes enshrined in the logic of the formula, and observation and technique become starting points for theoretical practice²

The common assumption on the role of education to now 111 question due to the economic, cultural, and social transformation of colonial to post-colonial Indian state. The power of the nation state is threatened by the economic development of society which has removed some of the key instruments to use to control the economic destiny of the nations. Colonial bureaucracy, the form of organization which delivered mass education and caste efficiency, is now considered outmoded and inefficient while the notion of common culture as the basis for social solidarity is being challenged by various groups asserting the right to educate their children according to their specific religious and cultural values³

The first was the development of the Dalit movement, which underwent a transformation in 1906 with the emergence of Jagan Mitra Mandali later in 1917, became Adi-Hindu Social Service League. Though the Hyderabad region was under the indirect rule of British Government, it had independent status of administering the Hyderabad state by Nizams. Telugu did not receive state patronage; instead Urdu was made the language of administration.

Hyderabad state under Nizam kept it almost isolated from the progressive trends and modern influences. Adi-Andhra Movement is profoundly rooted in the remote part of the Hyderabad tradition itself. The main trajectories of the movement is the material conditions that created by the colonial rule, the propagation and proselytization of Christianity and Islam, the mass anti-colonial assertion. The society of Hyderabad during 1906 to 1934 consisted of two main sections namely the Hindus and Muslims. The agitation was already in existence when Bhagya Reddy Verma began his propagation work through Jagan Mitra Mandali by popular folk forms like Harikatha, Burrakatha as 'Bhajana Mandali' in 1906. Within 14 years that is by 1920s the Hyderabad and Secundrabad experienced widespread openings of schools, and similar occurrences took place in the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and to a lesser extent in the Karnataka⁴ Soon after this, awareness activities in Hyderabad and Secundrabad led to the discovery of caste associations in many of the provinces.

In the mentioned period education came to assume a key role in the political economy of caste associations, contributed to the unprecedented sense of economic and social progress that was a hallmark of the political development. Underlying the sense of progress was spectacular period of sustained educational growth. The most noteworthy measure in the year 1917, Madari Bhagyareddy Yerman presides over the First Andhra Panchama Conference at Bezwada. local government was the creation of a labor department, which was made responsible for the educational progress of dalit communities. Thus, separate labour department schools were set up throughout Madras presidency. And the total number of public institutions chiefly intended for the Depressed Classes increased gradually. The number of special schools for Untouchable communities increased by 42.2 percent between 1919-1920 and 1936-37, while the strength of depressed class students went up by 180 per cent during the period 1919-20 to 1948-49. Although this appears impressive, it must be remembered that, compared to the total population, only 7.52 per cent of boys

and 1.65 per cent of girls belonging to the Untouchable communities had the benefit of school education in 1928-1929. In the same year, Scheduled Caste students consisted 11.6 per cent of the total school population. It was also found that the number of male dalit students tended to decrease as they went up to the higher classes. They constituted 6.6 per cent of total students at the primary level (Class V) but declined to 2.8 per cent, and 0.89 per cent respectively, at the secondary and high school levels in 1928-29. In other words, the number of scheduled caste students in the higher classes become quite neglect.

The second factor was the Dr. B R Ambedkar can be viewed in the context as the leader of the depressed classes who raised the issue of universal compulsory education after Jyoti Rao Phule. Who pressed the government for the adoption of a more liberal policy in India? They criticized the repressive measures being adopted to control the agitations and activities, and government's failure to meet the demands of the more moderate Indian nationalists. On contrary to this, Gandhi's establishment of Harijan Sevak Sanghs in support of the Hindu reformation project across the country in his 'Harijan' tours in 1930s. By creating alternative leadership to Dr. Ambedkar, the congress successfully fostered sharp differences amongst the different dalit communities and they got widened in the following years.

The third factor was the increasing fear of the establishment of Urdu medium school in the Bastis and Wadas of Dalits spreading to the Islamic culture, complicated by Dalits deteriorating relations with Hinduism. Further, the work attempted to show the influence of different schools of opinion, of official and non-official advisers, on the policy-involving as they did-divergent views about the character of Adi-Andhra Movement and its problems, and the future of Nizam and British Government in India.

An attempt was also made for access the impact of the policy on the character of the government, and to allot responsibility for its different elements between the Adi-Andhras and different sections within the Caste

Associations of Dalits in Nizam's Government of India. The Caste Associations have generally been described as one of order and progress, or repression and concession. In my opinion, the concessions were weighted in a particular fashion to try and reduce their real value. Repression, on the other hand, was partly reduced or controlled by Adi- Andhra Social Service League's interventions. The work also challenged the prevalent theory, that the policy retained the character of the state as a benevolent despotism. In my view, the general effect of the policy was an alteration in the character and role of the state of India in India's evolution, and certain subtle changes in the role of the Adi-Andhra Social Service League, leading to repercussions of the relationship between the Hindus, Muslims and Adi- Andhra people. The idea of education is investigated by raising questions: what is school what and how does a school teach and how does school as a major basic institution of education relate to society? These questions are examined through some terms that are almost obsessions with the current educational discourse. These terms are access and structure (what is school), creativity, completely and evaluation (how does a school teach), community and value (how does a school relate to society). These issues enmesh. The way these terms was used depend upon the underlying epistemic premises. It is argued that very often the kind of educational reform desired does not take place because of the epistemic tensions between the different perspectives that bear upon it both internally and its relation to each other.

History and Background of the Adi-Andhra School

The Dalits in Hyderabad and Secunderabad region of Telangana started the autonomous "Adi- Andhra" self-respect movement⁵ to educate socially, politically, economically and culturally. The founders of the movement were Madari Bhagaiah, popularly known as Bhagya Reddy Verma, Arigay Ramaswamy, and B.S.venkatrao, these leaders endlessly engaged themselves in mobilized Dalits as their identity and plight as well as establishing new schools. Bhagya Reddy Printers, Secunderabad

Verma formed a Jagan Mitra Mandali in 1906, perhaps the first Dalit popular organization in Andhra Pradesh started by the Dalits.⁶ A politico cultural and educational propaganda weapon to educate the Dalits through popular folklore, the Mandali injected a new awakening among the Dalits.⁷ He was the founder member of 49 schools in different Bastis and Wadas of Hyderabad and Secundrabad. He also started a weekly in Telugu called "Hyderabad", and a fortnight called Bhagyanagar, later renamed as the Adi-Shakti then to Adi-Hindu.⁸ In 1911, Bhagya Reddy Verma started Manya Sangam, which was renamed as the Adi-Hindu Social Service League in 1921.⁹ The objective of the league was to eradicate the social customs that were imposed on the Dalits by Hinduism. To start schools for Dalits, under the league's auspices another voluntary organization was also sounded, called Swastik Dala Yuvajana Sangam. The league published an English monthly, Panchama, with J.S. Mathaiah as the editor.¹⁰

Bhagya Reddy Verma's contribution throughout his life was with the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which made him a natural champion of the Dalits. He also formed another association called Manya Sangham which was renamed as the 'Adi-Hindu Social League in 1921. The main initiation of the Sangham was to create social awareness among Dalits through folklore against the social customs such as Devadasi or Jogini (dedication of young dalit girls to the temple)¹¹

After the Bhajan's the leaders used to delivered speeches to the community gathering based on the pamphlets.¹² Important leaders in this association are Vamana Naik, C. Balamukund and Seth Ganeshmulji. Branch of it was started in Secundrabad by Audiah in 1921. In his book entitled "Our Struggle for Emancipation," P.R. Venkataswamy narrated the history of the relentless struggle led by the underprivileged for their legitimate rights and social justice in the 'Nizam state of Hyderabad'.¹³ Later Bhagya Reddy Verma influenced by Ambedkar and converted into Buddhism. Then onwards the league stopped celebrating regularly Buddha Jayanti. Arigay Ramaswamy who hails from

Madia community was also pm1 of the league initially. Later Arigay Ramaswamy started his own association for Madigas whose interests were marginalized in the league.

Arigay Ramaswamy stated an organization called Adi-Hindu Jatiyonati Sabha. The continuous effort to uplift the marginalized communities Arigay Ramaswamy found Suneethi BaJa Samajam in 1912. He started an organization in 1912 with the principle object to perform inter-caste marriages for the poor in the name of 'Bhoomanda Swamy Gurumandali' which was named after his spiritual guru Bhoomanda Swamy. They used to celebrate anniversary function every year. The popular leaders of his association were Maddela Malkaiah, danti Ramaswamy, Taluku Ramaswamy, Boosa rajarathnam, and Kotturu Raj Gopa.¹⁴ The activities of the Gurumansali are limited to certain places in the city such as Secundrabad and Kummaraguda where he resides. In 1927 Arigay Ramaswamy decided to change the name of the association name as Adi-Hindu Mahasabha. After changing the name from Jatiyonati to Mahasabha several small organizations like Adi-Dravida organization by M.V. Palayam Pillay and Ethirian of Youngmen's Dravidian Association merged into the Adi-Hindu Mahasabha. The association has opened several branches within the city. The Adi-Hindu Mahasaha took up several issues like establishing library and reading room, night schools for boys and adults. They also established youth groups to conduct various socio-cultural activities.

In 1931 Arigay Ramaswamy started new organization called Arundatiya Mahasabha. The outbreak of the association is due to sub-caste differences between Arigay Ramaswamy and Bhagya Reddy Verma in organizing Adi-Hindu Social Service League. In the name of organization Arigay Ramaswamy used to organize meetings of the Sabha to address the local problems of the Adi-Hindus generally hailed from Madigas and Maias.¹⁵ Within a short span of the time this association becomes very popular association taking up the several issues relating to social, economic, educational and political aspects of Dalit community.

One of the important developments in this context was the introduction of the word "Dalit" in Nizam state by formation of Hyderabad Dalit Jatiya Sangham.¹⁶ These organizations, despite their internal problems and dilemmas, pressed more for the introduction of distributive policies for the educational and political advantage of the depressed Classes.¹⁷ As of this project many associations came up by the nascent dalit leaders, prominent among them are Adi-Dravida Education League and Adi-Dravida Mahajan Association in 1932, Youth League of Ambedkarities in 1934 and Hyderabad

State Depressed Class Association in 1938. Some of the first generation educated Dalit leaders like B.S. Venkat Rao popularly known as 'Hyderabad Ambedkar' entered in the political structure. Through him, some of the important lower level positions for Dalits in the Nizam government, particularly in the public work, revenue, railways, defense, and the education departments.¹⁸ He was also instrument in getting a huge budget offers 1 crore (10 million rupees) from the Nizam government for the establishment of schools and hostels for the Depressed Classes.

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CHAVITTUNATAKAM, ANCESTOR OF INDO-WESTERN ART FORMS

P.S. Rizvan

Chavittunatakam- An Introduction

Chavittunatakam is a pure musical dance drama¹ form which developed amongst the Latin Christians of Kerala after the advent of Portuguese. It was a combination of western style and traditional folk culture. Earlier Chentarnil was the language of the play, nowadays plays performed in Malayalam. The Annavi (master) who has a prominent role in Chavittunatakam. There are 12 basic Chuvatus (footsteps) in this play and each Chuyatus consists of a pattern of the number of beats and movements. These steps varied according to character, i.e. masculine characters have sturdy footsteps.

Chavittunatakam is a famous nrithabhinaya form², where actors sing and perform with dance according to background music. Music is an important aspect of this form and it is connected to Karnatik music traditions and western opera. Both Indian and western instruments such as Chenta, Elathalam (Large gun-metal cymbals), Mridangam (Double headed drum), harmonium, violin, fiddle, clarinet, flute etc. The stage sets for this performance is made by arranging a layer of wooden planks, below the layer of tin sheets. This helped to amplify the sound of dance steps. The play starts with the Virutham Mulal (also known as choral chanting). All the actors and master participate in this. But the actual play starts with Durbar scene. The most exciting scenes in Chavittunatakam are battles and miracle scenes. The play ends with Mangalam, thanksgiving prayer to god for the successful completion of performance under the leadership of Annavi.

Theories related to the origin of chavittunatakam

Three various groups emerged related to the origin of Chavittunatakam. Native group of scholars includes Sabeena Rafi and T.M Chummar opined native origin of Chavittunatakam. According to Sebina Rafi, Chavittunatakam existed before the Synod of Diamper (1599)³ and it was performed during the Synod to entertain ArchBishop Menezes. During the 17th century, Christians

of Mattanchery assembled every Sunday evening in front of Kunan Kurish and performed various art forms which were Hinduistic in nature. Chinnathampi who was an intellectual and Catholic reached Kochi and noticed this. He decided to change this system and he composed play named "Braseena" which was considered as the one of the earliest play. The native group argued origin of Chavittunatakam prior to Synod of Diamper and gained popularity after this event.

The second group argued Tamil version of origin. They stressed on the idea that earliest version (Karalasan natakam) was written in Tamil language (Chenthamizh). This group believed that during the early period Christians missionaries used Tamil script for printing Christian literature.

Even the theatrical form of Chavittunatakam to some extent similar to Teerukkuttu⁴. But Chavittunatakam emerged before the development of Malayalam. That's why earliest composers used Chentarnil, which was a common language in Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

The third group believed in Portuguese influence in the origin of Chavittunatakam. They believed themes, narration, musical composition all are closely related to western European theatrical forms. K.M George opined Portuguese introduced Chavittunatakam in Kerala.⁵ During the arrival of Portuguese, the traditional Christians of Kerala who were the followers of Syrian Christianity, but culturally they were more close to Hindu traditions and art forms. The Portuguese tried to give new cultural identity to Christians; this led to the emergence of Chavittunatakam.

Early Kerala Christians

Before looking into the emergence of Chavittunatakam it is important to look at the development of Kerala Christians. Christianity has become the official religion of the Roman Empire during 4th century A.D. but before that, Christianity has arrived and spread in Kerala. The origin of Christianity in Kerala traced back to A.D. 52 when St. Thomas came to the port of

Muziris! (modern Kodungallur). He was one of the 12th disciples of Jesus Christ. At that time, Kerala had trade relations with Jews and St. Thomas converted these Jewish merchants into Christianity⁶ Panthayenas, an Alexandrian academician opined organized Christian society existed in Kerala during this period⁷

Thomas of Cana was another notable figure who came to Kerala in 345 AD at Muziris. His group consisted of people from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem. He played an important role in bringing the Chaldean church into direct contact with the Christians of Kerala.

Jesuit Mascarenas says, after the arrival of Thomas of Cana, the Christians of Malabar accepted the rite and ceremonies of Christian church.⁸ This group adopted Indian lifestyle, language, culture and they were known as "Knanaya Christians". The earliest Christians of Kerala were also known as Syrian Christians (Marthoman) and they were dominated Christians till the arrival of Portuguese.

European roots and Chavitiunatakam.

European middle ages (5th to 15th century) are also known as "dark ages". 5th century onwards, the Roman Empire faced several threats from Huns, Gothic's, Vandals, Tartaro and Slavs. This led to the decline of the Roman Empire. These nomadic groups spread all over Europe. Along with this, Caliphate rule also spread towards Europe since the 7th century onwards. They captured the Mediterranean region, Africa. After conquering of Gibraltar, they reached Europe and captured Spain. They had the strong support of Moors. The emergence of caliphate considered a serious threat by Pope Leo 3rd. To counter Caliphate threat they formed Holy Roman Empire. Pope invited Charlemagne, who was the ruler of France. He ascended the throne of Holy Roman Empire.

He was an ideal ruler and he focused on the interest of people and developmental activities. He reorganized his army which became similar to the Roman army. The army consists of 12 paladins or peers headed by Roland, who were the foremost warriors of Charlemagne. The story of Charlemagne and his army became the dominant theme in

European literature. Charlemagne with the help of these 12 paladins successfully destroyed Moors. His period also witnessed reconstruction of cultural development of Europe. He abolished slavery, oceanic robbery and enforced Justinian laws. He also stressed on the development of literary activities. His capital Aix la Chapelle became the center of intellectual activities, where Greek, Latin, French scholars assembled and composed several books. History writing also developed during this period.

After his death, he became an iconic figure and authors started glorifying him. This eventually led to mythical interpretation which considered him as the anti-Islamic and leader of Crusade wars which actually started in the 11th century after his death.

Major works such as stories and poem emerged during this period with the theme of Charlemagne. "Chanson de geste" the famous work during this period, which was a composition of narrative poems of the glorification of Charlemagne and his 12 hero warriors. Another major work was "Chanson de Roland" which was also known as "The song of Roland". This was a French epic poem. Out of these "Orlando Furioso" written by Lodovico Ariosto acquired widespread popularity throughout Europe. He romanticizes the Charlemagne. The poem deals with the war between Charlemagne's paladins and the Saracens army. The poem is about the war and love and the romantic ideal of chivalry which mixes realism, fantasy, humor, and tragedy.⁹ This work replaced the pagan stories. It is larger than Iliad and Odyssey. Ariosto came to be known as "Homer of Italy" and Orlando Furioso as the "Italian Iliad"¹⁰ The story of Charlemagne became "Karalsman Natakam" which was the first Chavittunatakam play.

The renaissance period witnessed the invention of the compass, sail-boat which helped sea voyages. This led to the exploration of new lands. Portugal and Spain have become the forerunners of exploration. Spain attention was more towards western direction and Portugal focused on eastern lands. In 1498, May 20th Vasco DaGama reached Kappad near Kozhikode. This marked Portuguese dominance in Kerala.

The advent of Portugal and emergence of Chavittunatakam

When Portugal reached Kerala, they were able to see a strong Christian community here who were known as Marthoman Christians. Syrian Christians gave warm welcome to Vasco Da Gama; they considered him as the protector of Christianity. During the early period, Portugal had friendly relations with Syrian Christians, but eventually, their status got declined. Portuguese considered them as secondary citizens who had barbaric and pagan beliefs. The ritualistic practice of Syrian Christians at that period was indigenous and Hindu in nature. They practiced bali (oblation), manthravadhham (magical rituals), polygene, polyandry and followed koothu and koodiyattam.

The Portuguese who came to Kerala as traders eventually they shifted their focus towards administration, and religious conversion. Portuguese wanted to convert Syrian Christians into Latin order with the help of missionaries. The Synod of Diamper (1599) is considered as the most powerful activity used by Portuguese for the Latinization of Kerala church and brought it under their dominance. The Latin Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo De Menezes presided the event. Synod of Diamper helped reformation of Kerala Syrian Christians and their beliefs. Syrian Christians of Diamper time was Christian externally and Hindu savama internally. Outside they have churches and inside they had the temple. They were like a savama Nair and Nambhuthiri.¹¹

The major impact of Synod of Diamper was Latin replaced Syrian and Christians of Kerala accepted the supremacy and suzerainty of Pope of Rome. New social order emerged amongst Latin Christians along with the development of various art forms such as passion play and Chavittunatakam. Passion play couldn't attract a wide range of audience, but Chavittunatakam has become a popular art form amongst Christians. Synod of Diamper prohibited koothu and koodiyattam from Christian churches, to counter this Portuguese gave enormous support to Chavittunatakam. Along with this Synod of Diamper prohibits traditions such as Christians wearing weapons. Instead of this, they used Chavittunatakam as a

tool to showcase their strength and muscle power. While looking into these, it can say that after the Synod of Diamper, this art form received huge patronage and it became the common art form of Kerala Christians. The earliest composers of Chavittunatakam might be the Christian missionaries who acquired knowledge both in Indo-western languages.

Main plays

The genre of Chavittunatakam can be divided into five types¹² on the basis of their themes. The first category is based on European history, has the work such as Karalsman Natakam. As mentioned earlier this play focused on the heroism of great emperor Charlemagne and his 12 paladins. The main theme of Karalsman is the fight between Charlemagne and Abdu Rahman. At the end of the play, Charlemagne won the battle. Karalsman Natakam is the most important play in the Chavittunatakam because most of the later play influenced this.

The second genre is the plays on biblical themes. Among this most popular is the story of David and Goliath. Other plays include Yakubu Natakam, Abraham Natakam, Tobias, Barabbas etc. These plays were tried to spread Christian themes and biblical account amongst the people.

The third genre includes the plays based on the biography of saints like St. George and St. Sebastian, both were martyrs. The main plays include St. George Natakam, Givarghis patayali, Alphons Natakam etc. These plays stressed on the miracles performed by the saints, which attracted the kings, pagans and their conversion to Christianity. Next one is moral plays. These plays focused on the propagation of moral conduct and behavior amongst the people. Popular plays in this category include Komala Chandrika, Jnana Sundari, Veerakumaram, Dharmistan etc.

The last genre developed recently which focused on the plays based on Indian history and mythology. All the plays in this genre are written in Malayalam. The main plays are Akbar, Chandragupthan, Anarkali, Swami Ayappan, Tipu Sultan etc. Unlike other plays which have the western style of costumes and dresses swami ayyapan is the only play with

Indian style of dressing and costumes. The latest play in Chavittunatakam is Tipu Sultan. The earliest plays focused on the religious conversion and promotion of Christianity through the heroic stories. Later it focused on morally based plays; recently it adapted Indian stories and mythology to attract more audience into it.

Chavittunatakam: Influences and imitations

Chavittunatakam formed with the elements of native theatrical traditions with western European theatre conventions, which gave priority to Christian themes. Two levels of cultural influences can be noted i.e.: native and European influence.¹³

Native influence and relations include the legacy of Kalari, Kathakali, Sanskrit-Tamil drama traditions, theyyam, kooth, koodiyattam, mudiyettu etc. The martial of Chavittunatakam can be traced with Kalari culture of Kerala. Early Christians (Syrian Christians) had rich martial by engaging in armies and wars. There was a number of kalaris belonged to the Christian community. Portuguese and Dutch selected natives into their armies by giving them titles such as Kappittan (captain) and Kommandanti (commandant)¹⁴ All these indicate rich heritage of martial culture amongst the early Christians. This Kalari background later influenced Chavittunatakam, which portrays realistic war scenes, fights and the battles on the stage. The first lesson in Chavittunatakam is Kalari under Annavi (guru) who is similar to Kalari gurukkal. The training in Kalari is mandatory because the actors required a flexible body for the perfection of characters. It followed several terms and conditions Sanskrit dramas. Sanskrit dramas start with invocation of gods and deities for the blessing which is similar to Stutipattu of Chavittunatakam. The intervention of clown or comic character can be seen in both forms. The sutradhara in Sanskrit drama and kattiya in chavittunatakam has a similar role. Both interact with masters and their narration makes play progress.

Sebina Rafi tried to find out the similarity and relation between Kathakali and Chavittunatakam. She opined that Aryans who migrated to Kerala in 7th and 8th centuries spread their stories, beliefs, and culture through various art forms. Similar to this Portuguese

Christian missionary used Chavittunatakam as a tool for spreading their religious doctrines, ideas, and religious conversions.¹⁵ Both forms have similarities in the case of objects used such as Nilavilakku Chenta, Ilathalam etc. Music and dance played the crucial role in both forms. In Chavittunatakam characters sang and performed, but in Kathakali there are separate singers.

Keliperukkal is the announcement of Chavittunatakam. It is similar to Thidangal of Theyyam and Kottiyariyikkal of Mudiyettu. Mangalam of Chavittunatakam resembles dhanashi of Kathakali, bharaatakavya of Sanskrit drama.

An Opera is a story set to music. It is the combination of music, dance, and act. The actors have to sing and perform in both Chavittunatakam and Opera. The background score played a significant role in both. Costumes of both forms are according to the plot and these forms followed the system of choosing the actors according to characters. Both forms are performed in open stage and once play starts, the Asan or director (in Opera) coordinate the play by giving instructions. The Chavittunatakam is the only art form which has the characteristics of European Opera and Kerala folk culture.¹⁶

Conclusion

Art is what marks the culture, traditions, norms, norm breakings and lives of people across the world in every times and periods. Portuguese period saw the flourishing of Latin Christianity in Kerala and their culture which paved a clear platform for the emergence of Chavittunatakam, an art form that portrays the real-life values, beliefs and raw emotions of the said community. Chavittunatakam was in fact a sharp brilliant tool of cultural identity of Latin Christians, which has been influenced by European dramatic and South Indian folklore traditions. Having its initial themes totally based on European heroic stories and biblical connotations, the art form took a gradual graceful progression to relevant themes of Indian cultural history and mythology. Thus Chavittunatakam, the ancestor of Indo-western art forms is in the path of a creative drift which we could look forward to. Let it always evolve to be the best in forms.

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INDIAN FOOD AND CULTURAL HERITAGE: 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY

Rizwan Ahmad

In this paper we are looking at one of the vital topic pertaining to the medieval India. Indian Food and its cultural heritage remained silent in the historical writings of medieval India. Food always understood as a basic need for any living thing. Through an attempt on food studies, one can examines how the food is connected with people's life, and also able to analyze how the various cultures contributed in building the Indian food and cuisine culture. Thus this paper becomes important as most of the discourse on food focused on nutrients, diets, food safety, malnutrition, and food poison etc. Basic studies on the food extensively studied within the framework of anthropology, sociology and from the medical science but unfortunately food history remains unexplored in the indian history writings. Moreover, the medieval period of india mostly got attention for its political, socio-economic, architectural changes by the historian and scholars. Hence, here this paper tries to fill that lacuna which exists in the current writings. The seventeenth century starts with the Mughal Empire. This Empire occupies a very ambiguous place in the writings of Indian history. The Mughals had come to India with a rich socio-culture background and it got mingled with the land so well that the today's cultural heritage is difficult to see whose culture we are pursuing. The emergence of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century added more sparkling colours to the beauty of Indian culture in the medieval India. Though Eighteenth century was the period of chaos and disintegration of central power.

However, the Mughals, Indo-Persian culture reached an apogee of refinement and beauty in the food culture of India. The Mughals were self-sufficient, self-explanatory and even they had never faced the problem of being foreigners ruling over an alien land.¹ Whereas, the eighteenth century was the time when regional powers were becoming popular along with their food consumption. Despite the fact, the Europeans were actively participating in the political scenario of India. The food and cuisine have never given any importance in the historical writing and the focus is more on wars, diplomacy, administration, art and architecture. Gastronomy also plays a very important role in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Through an attempt on food studies, one can examines how food connected to human being's life and also able to analyze how food consumption established an identity in the society. The present paper attempts to look at different perspective of food in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Food and Cuisine

Food consumption always plays an important role in human's life and it also contribute in shaping the socio-cultural identity in the society. As far as Indian food is concerned it was always dynamic and got mingled with so many cultures that not only enhances the food varieties but it also gave the strength to our cultural diversity. Indeed, the food consumption binds the people to connect to their cultural or ethnic group through similar food patterns. Immigrants often use food as a

means of retaining their cultural identity. Despite all these, the ingredients, methods of preparation, preservation techniques, and types of food eaten at different meals vary among cultures. The food preferences develop with multiple reasons, like the area in which families live, the influence of the ancestors, economic condition and somewhat the faith to which one belongs that result into patterns of food choices within a cultural or regional group.

Food consumption always seen as a basic requirement for the survival and growth of humankind in the society. Though food always got cherished as a sole purpose for a healthy and prosperous life. In spite of the fact, food which plays an important role in the culture and for the formation of the one's identity in the society. Very often, food availability and its consumption also seen as measuring rod for one's status and dignity. The expression of hierarchy, social position, economic status, and prestige were attached to the kinds of food eaten and the availability of various dishes in the bygone times. Food reflects choices, beliefs, passion, habits, status, and personality which have not been focused on medieval Indian history. Indeed food also conveys the idea of communication for one's individuality and one's place in the society.² Food communicates class, ethnic group, lifestyle and other social position. Hence it can be said to be a medium of communication in the social system. However the notion of identity is not a passive experience but it develops through an active individual or social practice.³ The enormous appetite generally attached with the prestige in almost every society, firstly as a sign of power and a sign of wealth but on the other hand it also indicates poverty. Cuisine is ever evolving and dynamic. According to Ferguson cuisine is 'the code that structures the practice of food and allows us to discuss and to represent taste'.⁴ Ferguson goes on to draw out certain conditions that a set of culinary practices must fulfil in order to qualify as a cuisine: A more or less coherent repertory of culinary preparations, usually structured by the products at hand, becomes a true cuisine only when its status as a repertory becomes apparent. That is, culinary preparations become a cuisine when, and only when, the preparations are articulated and formalized, and enter the public domain.⁵ Cuisine is also fixed by a boundary or region

with limited amount of ingredients depending upon the geography, climate and history of the territory.⁶ Though the haute cuisine or high cuisine can be kept in a separate category as it is not having any boundary or restriction in regards with ingredients.⁷

Mughal Food as cultural Heritage

The seventeenth and eighteenth century occupies a very ambiguous place in the history of the Indian subcontinent. The framework of cultural diversity in India was started in the food consumption as well. The Indian cuisine can be said as the blend of multiple culture and available in a one platter. The aspects of the food would be path breaking in the cultural history of India. This paper tries to enrich our cultural heritage and beautify the medieval Indian history. Though the canvas of the seventeenth and eighteenth century is very wide and has been seen from different perspective in the Indian history writings. Even eighteenth century was the period in the world history where so many things were happening at global level, the French revolution, agriculture and industrial revolution all these have changed the political and the social narrative of the European history. At the same time India was also going from a transition period. In this paper we have tried to bring emphasis on food as an important element in the formation of our cultural heritage in the Mughal and later Mughal period. Although the Mughal history starts with the conquest on the Lodhi's by Babur in 1526 in the first battle of Panipat and ended the hegemony of power struggle in India with the establishment of the Mughal Empire. As in the beginning itself Babur had gone through a difficult time in his life. He faced a problem from Ibrahim Lodhi's aunt as she wants to take a revenge from him. In order to do so, she took help from the cooks who worked in the kitchen and add poison in his food. Despite eating that food he escaped from the danger and says that "an evil arrived and happily passed on"⁸. Thus in the beginning itself, food was not merely used to feed someone but also used as a weapon of war in the medieval India. At this backdrop, the seventeenth century starts with the death of Akbar and the Mughal throne went in three able successor's hands i.e., Jahangir (1605-27), Shahjahan (1628-58) and Aurangzeb (1659-1707). Under them also

expansion was taking place but with low pace.⁹ Food has not a single meaning i.e., to feed someone or fulfill someone appetite. In the medieval period, the consumption of food has political attachment as well. The seventeenth century was the time when social norms of the society were always taken into account. This century was also a period of the political strengthening, Emperor Jahangir in his time declared not to kill animals on Thursday and Sunday in the remembrance of his father.¹⁰ Despite the fact he was very fond of chased meat. This was also the time when cultural boundaries was not restricted to any place or region. For instance, one of the British ambassador to the court of Jahangir records that in his royal kitchen he had both Indian and English cook.¹¹ So the cultural boundary in this period was not confine to any place or region, it was multifaceted with so many culture and mingling with our existing culture. One can also understand this was the time when alots of Europeans (the Dutch, French, Italian, and Britishers) were entering in India, with a notion of trade opportunities for their native nations. This shows the political ability of the Mughal emperor. For instance, one of the contemporary traveler writes that at the time of Shah Jahan, European style of pastries, cakes and other sweet dishes prepared by some of the slaves who had been with the Portuguese at Ugulim.¹² Thus this lavishness and splendor indicate the elaborate system of food consumption marks a legitimacy and power in the society.

Even one of the contemporary traveler Edward Terry also confirms it that many people do not consume wine but they have other sorts of liquor which was healthier and it popularly called as Cohhaa (coffee) a black seed boiled in water which changes the taste of simple water¹³. The fresh fruits like apples, pears, grapes and melons which comes from different parts of the country like Samarkand, Bali, Bocara and Persia as these items were very much dear to the higher class of people.¹⁴ The food consumption also incorporates several things especially in India, the concept of purity, vegetarian, non-vegetarian, and food taboo existed during that time as well. For instance one of the contemporary writer states in the kingdom of Gujarat that surprisingly in a family all the members hold the same opinion with regards to food consumption, some eats meat,

some do not, some eat meats but do not slaughter the animals themselves, some eat only fishes, some only milk and vegetables, and some do not eat red spinach as they believe that it comprises of blood.¹⁵

In the eighteenth century, the powerful Mughal Empire so persistently built up was started faltering and splitting up into fragments. In this century, one of the contemporary writer Elizabeth Fay writes that there was a perception in England that the heat of the Bengal would destroy one's appetite. Interestingly she observed just opposite of it, people consume more food in India.¹⁶ There were so many contemporary authors and poets who have amplifies the beauty of Indian cuisine through their writings. Interestingly the festive food also becomes popular among the Indian masses. One of the contemporary poet of the Eighteenth century Nazir Akbarabadi writes in his one of the poetry for diwali¹⁷. Interestingly one can noticed so many food items were part of the celebration like sweet, Barfi (one kind of sweet), Batashe (one sweet dish). On one hand this was the period of chaos in the political sphere and on the other hand cuisine was getting more spaces for joining the people. Food can be seen as a medium of binding the people. However, for Eid celebration he writes that¹⁸ Though mostly the poets uses so many hyperbole and filled it with imaginary things in their poetry to make their works beautiful. But here in his poem, one can also find out the true feelings of the Indian society. The dishes which were prepared for the Eid celebration was Sheer (a kind of sweet pudding), Sewaiyan (a popular sweet dish). Indeed here one can also notice that for some people, Sharab (wine) was not excluded from the celebration, it was part and partial of the celebration. Thus the regional cuisine also started a new phase in the social sphere. the society al together noticed a different gastronomy culture in India. In the eighteenth century while addressing to her known person, Mrs. Elizabeth fay in one letter states that the sugar and water was the favourite bevourage in India in the eighteenth century. This must be a mixture of sugar and water. Whereas in the form of butter India had "ghee" with multiple use.¹⁹ This was also the time when the importance of food was more, the chapati of wheat was not easily available to all the masses.²⁰ Thus from this small couplet,

one can understand the society was not so rich by that time. The importance of wheat chapati shows the real picture of the eighteenth century. Although this was also the period when other food items shows the existing culture was so vibrant for at least food consumption.²¹ From this poem one can notice that, there was so many items existed in the Indian society like, Barfi(sweet), Jalebi(sweet dish), and Imarati

(Sweet dish). So all these items enhances the existing food culture of the eighteenth century. Despite of the fact, the central empire or the Mughal Empire was collapse in the eighteenth century. Interestingly this was also the time when wine was part of marriage celebration. For that Mir Hasan, one of the contemporary poet of the Eighteenth century.²²

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Sach puchiye to apni ye zaten chupayi hai
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SACRIFICE THE ORDER OF NATURE IN THE 'KAVUS' (SACRED GROVES) OF KERALA

R. Rohinikrishnan

Introduction

One of the original function of the sacred groves was perhaps to provide the proper atmosphere for sacrificial like primitive rites. Gadgil and Vartak who undertook a study of sacred groves in Maharashtra and Goa believe

that sacred groves have their origin in the hunting-gathering stage of the society" they say that sacred groves „served to create the proper setting for cult rites including human sacrifice¹. The sacred grove is a sanctuary dedicated to a god; Rod Barnett² argues that treed precincts were designed for

the specific purpose of making a link between the sacred realm of the gods and the profane world of human lives. Within its carefully delineated spatial arrangement the violent and transgressive ritual of animal sacrifice takes place. One of the most complete forms of gifting is sacrifice, which withdrawal useful products from "profane circulation" and destines them as "the accursed share" for ritual consumption

For the indigenous groups or so called *avarnas* in the caste hierarchy of Hindu, temples are usually simple structures. The priest is drawn from their own castes. An idol is frequently not present; the deity is represented by a sword, dagger or other weapon on a round stool (*pedam*) covered with red silk. Toddy, meat and sometimes fish are included in the offerings and animal sacrifices are the rule. *Velichappadus*, Dravidian temple priests, are in the habit of becoming possessed on special occasions, and may indulge themselves in self-mortification and benediction. *Kuruti*, propitiuous offering of a reddish fluid prepared by mixing caustic lime with turmeric paste is an almost indispensable component of the Dravidian puja. *Kuruti* could be symbolic of a "bloody" sacrifice, and this practice dates back to the Sangam period³.

According to Caldwell *Guruti* (in some parts of Kerala known as *gurus*) comes from the Tamil *kuruti*, meaning "blood"⁴.

To regard the blood sacrifice cult as offering to the deities in the present atmosphere of most of the sacred groves/*Kavus* of Kerala we can infer more references from Sangam literature of ancient *Tamilkalam*. Many different kinds of sacrifices are mentioned in the poems. The only animals whose sacrifices are mentioned in the poems are the lamp and the goat. In Pur. (*Purannanuru*) 366 a whole flock of sheep is slaughtered during frenzied dancing, and it is said that if any of them escape it is a bad omen; in Kur. (*Kurintokai*) 263 the throats of goats are cut on river islets; and Kur.362 the Velan, to cure the heroine of her diseases, kills a kid, rubs the girl's forehead, and offers the sacrifice along with many-coloured rice to Murukkan. In. AK. (*Akannanuru*)156 the mother of the distressed girl takes to

Murukan an offering consisting of a chaplet and a ram⁵.

When a girl was thought to be possessed by Murukan, that god was worshipped with frenzied dancing and ecstatic rites, as described in the following lines:

Women skilled in ancient truth said as if it were a fact, "She will recover if we worship the large-speared one whose mighty hands have the universal fame. They arranged well the worshipping ground, put the garland on the spear, sang so the prosperous town resounded, offered sacrifice, spread lovely red millet and blood, and worshipped Murukan"

Ecstatic dancing was common in Tamil worship. Pur.22 mentions a place near which men with palmyra leaves on their heads dance the *Verikkuravai* (frenzied Kuravai) "boiling like water in flood"; Pur.129 describes hill men who get drunk and dance in frenzy; Pur.259 speaks of a bull that dances and forlics like a *Pulaitti* whose body has been possessed by Murukan; Kur. 105 describes a peacock that eats a ripe ear of millet put for a god to eat and gets feverish and shakes as gracefully as a frenzied dancing girl; and Kur.366 mentions frenzied dancing as goats are sacrificed⁶.

K.R.Venkatraman considers *Kotravai* and *Aiyai* to be the earliest known mother goddesses. He concludes that from the Sangam period itself, goddess worship in the region exhibited a composite character, blending various forms of beliefs and rituals⁷. While *Kotravai* is the goddess of war and victory, she is propitiated to ensure that the tribes worshipping her do not go hungry. In *Cilappatikaram*, the muse of the tribe warns the people of the fury that the goddess would unleash if not offered blood sacrifice, and the bounty she would bestow on them if worshipped in the proper way⁸.

Whitehead states that the origin of animal sacrifices to the village deities, which were very common, could be traced to the totemistic practices of the Dravidian people and predated the coming of the Aryans. The author further argues that agrarian society developed first under the Dravidians and, making connections between the fertility of the earth and women,

he sees this as one of the reasons as to why the village deities were primarily goddesses⁹.

George L. Hart III view the gods of the ancient Tamils as immanent powers present in objects encountered every day and involved in every aspect of ordinary life. They are to be distinguished from the gods of the early Aryans in that their potential danger was stressed more than benevolent aspects, and their transcendent character is far less important. Thus they were thought to reside in any object that was potentially threatening or dangerous. *Anaku*, *katavul* and even *teyvam*, from Sanskrit deva, were all used interchangeably to signify the sort of dangerous immanent deity¹⁰.

Kamil Zvelebil says that, "The classical poetry is pre-eminently of this world; it makes almost no allusions to supernatural meddling in worldly affairs. When, quite marginally and exceptionally, it reflects some kind of religion, it is mostly the rites and ceremonies connected with the daily life of the people, or, in bardic war-poetry, reflections of tribal cults and their survivals (sacrifice of blood and flesh to the devils etc.), the presence of Vedic religion of Brahmanism, in early Tamil poetry may be traced only with difficulty as a very feeble, unimportant superstratum"¹¹.

In the *pattu* collection, the *Porunararruppatai*, *Pattinappalai* and *Perumpanarruppatai* provide the earliest references to the deity of *Ananku*¹². The goddess of victory was traditionally associated with the Ayirai hill, located in the Chera regions, which was the site of the sacrifice of human blood for the goddess in other poems¹³. Here, the goddess is addressed by the epithet *Ananku* and is said to reside in the hills. This hill was also called Aivar Malai, and was the source of the Ayirai (Ponnani/Purnavahini) River¹⁴.

The poems in the *Akananuru* also make many allusions to this dangerous goddess: „On the slope of the hill where the goddess *Ananku* resides... the tiger brings down the elephants to satisfy the hunger of its pregnant mate"¹⁵. Or, „the forest is filled with various fragrant flowers, which makes it fit to be worshipped as the abode of the

goddess *Ananku*¹⁶. In both the contexts, the goddess is associated with hills and forest. Description in the latter, available in the „forest“ episode in the *Cilappatikaram*, wherein the *Aiyai kottam* (Kotravai's temple) is said to have existed in the midst of a flowery grove in the forest¹⁷.

In the *Kuruntokai*, the blessed elephant is said to have lost its strength and fainted after touching the head of the sacred goddess *Ananku*¹⁸. The *Natrinai* refers to the hunters who offered a sacrifice to the mountain goddess to propitiate her for rains¹⁹. This is the only reference to the goddess controlling natural phenomena in the poems, and a generalized appeal to a supernatural force, a practice that continues at the village-level worship. The offering of sacrifices to appease deities, to bring rainfall, averts smallpox and other diseases, is a common feature of ritual worship at the village level²⁰.

The *Patittuppattu*, which is an account of the exploits of the Chera kings, has numerous references to the goddess of victory, their patron in war. It is said that the ruler Palyanai Selkelu Kuttuvan worshipped Kotravai, who dwelt on top of the Ayirai Mountain²¹. Though his conquest, the king spread the fame of this mountain and, by inference, that of the goddess as well. This is one indication of the spread of the tradition of goddess worship to other parts of the Tamil macro-region. Another Chera king, Perumcheral Irumporai, reputed to be the greatest of the Chera kings, is said to have worshipped the goddess Kotravai- also called „Vindhanavi“ (she who lives on the Vindhya mountains)- in her shrine on top of the Ayirai mountain, before setting out on his expeditions²². According to the poet Arisil Kilar, after a success in the war, Irumporai offered rice to his patron deity mixed with the blood of the dead warriors belonging to the enemy camp²³. In another poem, Aiyai is said to have been offered rice mixed with the blood of the devotee himself, to ensure success for his king in battle²⁴.

In the *Perumpanattuppatai*, the poet eulogizes Kotravai as the goddess who bore Murukan in her great womb as the beautiful one who skilled in the *tunankai* style of

dance²⁵. The *pey makal*, who constantly chanted her numerous names, surrounded her²⁶. The reference to *Ma Mottu* (the great womb) is significant as it suggests Kotravai's conceptualization as a fertility goddess²⁷.

In the *Maturaikkanci*, there is a graphic description of the *pey makliar*, who were associated with Kotravai as her attendants: „They eat the flesh of elephants, dance the *tunankai*, excite the dismembered corpses on the battle-field to rise and dance with them, and instill fear in the minds of those still live“²⁸.

While there is mention of Vedic sacrifices and of the Brahman in the Sangam literature, they were not dominant influences, evinced from many graphic descriptions of the ritual offerings of the sacrifices and the wild orgies of dancing and drinking associated with the worship of the *tiani* deities²⁹.

In the *Katuk, Kan Katai*, or the „sight of the forest“ episode, Kovalan prayed to the goddess living in the forest and riding a stag (Paykalai Pavai) to help him discern the identity of the celestial being who tried to deceive him³⁰. In the same canto, Kovalan and Kannagi along with the Jaina saint Kavunti Atikal, take refuge in the temple of Aiyai-Kumari, being unable to continue their journey through the hot *palai* region. This goddess (*pava*), who was worshipped by the gods, was reputed to have lived in the heavens, and the third eye on her forehead was her identifying characteristic³¹. Her temple was situated in a grove with flowering *kurava*, *marava*, *konku* and *venkai* trees. She was worshipped by the wielders of bows (hunters), whose lands were not fed by rainwater and hence, were dry and barren. For these people, their bows became their plough and their livelihood depended on their raids into other territories. This Kumari was their patron in that she granted them decisive victories in their raids. In return, she had to be propitiated with sacrifices (the commentary calls this a *nara bali*, or human sacrifice)³².

The city of Puhar is described in the *Intiravilavu Vurettu Katai*, with its various ramparts³³. The residents of the *maruvurppakkam* (traders, artisans etc.) and the *pattinappakkam* (warriors) vied with each other to show their dedication to the

guardian deity³⁴. Men from both quarters offered their own heads as sacrifice to the *bhutam* so that *bhutam*, in turn, would always stand by the side of the king and not let any calamity befall him³⁵. The self-sacrifice by these people is described as follows:

They cut off their dark haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked, and willingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king may ever be victorious, when those headless trunks seemed to speak through the drums of untanned leather these words of thunder: „We have given you our lives as a sacrifice: Accept them“³⁶.

It seems that human sacrifice and the offering of blood constitutes an established ritual feature during the Sangam period and continues to be an important in the post-Sangam religious tradition³⁷. The *Vettuva Vari*, or „hunter's song“ episode of the text, provides the most detailed description of Kotravai³⁸. It describes a scene witnessed by Kovalan and Kannagi while resting in the temple of the Aiyai-Kumari. This deity was the patron of the ancient clan of the Eyinar of the Marava tribe³⁹. Sivathamby mention that, it is the point „where the hunter inhabitants of the region perform a ritual to propitiate their goddess and seek her blessings for better game“⁴⁰.

An oracle of the tribe referred to as Salini, standing in the centre of the settlement (*manram*), reminded the community of its pledge to the patron goddess⁴¹. Dikshitar opines that „women possessed with divinity“ was generally „an old lady of the family of hunters who considered herself inspired and spoke out as if she were herself a goddess“⁴². This oracle, whose body hair stood prickling, declared that the neighbouring tracts of their enemies continued to flourish while their own fortunes diminished, because the members of the tribe had not paid their customary dues to the goddess. Till their debt to this victory-giving goddess, who rode on a stag, was not repaid, the bows of the Eyinar would not ring with victory. The people who lived by robbery would not be able to lead their life of revelry⁴³.

In return for bestowing victory the goddess is propitiated by the offering of blood from the human sacrifices made by the Eyinar⁴⁴. The tribe members beg her to send more success their way and to lure travelers to the region so they could be robbed⁴⁵. A passage in *canto* 12 describes the Kotravai *kolam*, a motif described in the *Paripatal*. A virgin from a prominent lineage dressed and decorated to represent Kotravai as part of the appeasement ritual⁴⁶.

The goddess Kotravai is mentioned on several occasions in the *Manimekalai*. In *canto* 6, there is a description of the *cakravala kottam* (circular temple) dedicated to the goddess Campapati or Manikekala, the patron deity of the Puhar⁴⁷. Just outside the precincts of this temple were the cremation grounds or *chutukkatu*, containing a temple dedicated to Kali⁴⁸.

The Kali temple was said to be the haunt of evil spirits, Kapalikaas and other ascetics⁴⁹. The goddess of the forests (Katamar Selvi) who inhabited the place is described as being propitiated with a human sacrifice in the *munril*, or open courtyard in front of the shrine⁵⁰.

The *Manimekalai* portrays the ritual of human sacrifice to the deity. There is a gruesome description of pillars around the sacrificial altar (*bali pitika*) with severed heads hanging down from them⁵¹. It is narrated that the devotee's hair was tied tightly in the tuft, which was secured to a bamboo pole fixed to the ground behind him⁵². He then chopped off his own head with a sword held in one hand while holding the tuft with the other. This vow (*katanirutta*) was taken by the man to repay the benevolence of the goddess in granting victory to her devotees in the cattle-raids⁵³.

The Sanskritization process influenced the ritual enactment of the most of the *Bhagavathi kavus* of Kerala. Blood sacrifices of animals is one of the widely prevalent ritual in all *kavus* of Kerala from the primitive period onwards, however with the entry of Brahmins in the ritual arena of those *Bhagavathi kavus* where they substituted the blood-cult with *kuruti* and *naippayasam* (a pudding of rice, jaggery, ghee, plantains, honey, grapes etc.) in

the place of blood and flesh respectively; and thus the advent of *kuruti*. This is in charge of the Kurup, or the „Kurukkal“ attended to the deity. Large circular bowls of copper or bell-metal are filled *kuruti*. The ceremony of *kuruti* is generally done during the *mandalam* day, which is known as *mandalam kuruti*; but when there are spread of epidemics, there may be the *nattu kurtuti* (national or common) at any time. Also anyone may vow it and conduct it on any day, generally a Tuesday or a Friday, which are the days sacred to Kali. This is conducted in the temple precincts, but outside the temple building-generally in the temple yard⁵⁴.

In the *kavu*-yard, there will be a *pipal* tree or a *pala* tree grown on a raised basement at the foot of which there will be granite (or rarely laterite stone) blocks, representing the deity and the spirits that are the servants and followers of Kali. These spirits are considered to be ferocious, quick-tempered, blood-thirsty and dreadful. In the ancient days, these attendants, like the deity, must have been fed on flesh, blood, and wine. When the puja of the deity was taken over by the Brahmins, they must have allowed some sort of worship of the deity and these attendants to the Nayars, who might have used flesh and blood and animal sacrifices in their puja. This must have been continued even to very later times, at least once a year, in an auspicious period⁵⁵.

In the ceremony of *kuruti*, the Kurup, or the „Kurukkal“, bathes, dresses in the *pujari* dress, and does the puja in which *„nivedyam“*, *kuruti* and *payasam* are offered. It is here that, sometimes, cocks are also sacrificed. After the puja, the *Velicchapadu* comes, „possessed“ to the place dips his hands into the bowls of *kuruti*, circles them thrice, upturns the *kuruti* to the ground, jumps on the thus wet place, roars and retires. This roaring must be an indication to the people that Herself and Her attendants are pleased, and the dipping of the hands and the upturning of the bowls may be a sorts of Herself accepting them and offering them to Her attendants, to appease them fully into satiety and submission⁵⁶.

That the *pipal* tree or *pala* tree is considered as the residence of the spirits, in the

olden days the manes of the departed *karanavans* must have been accommodated in an honoured place, naturally under the foot of a grand and majestic tree which, at it now becomes a sacred place. Later when Kali cult came into vogue, must have been used to accommodate the Goddess also, till temples were built after Brahmin advent, and the Goddess was transferred from the foot of the tree into sanctum sanctorum. Attached to some *kavus*, the *Srimulasthanam* (the sacred initial spot), which is the foot of a *pipal* tree. It is still a very sacred part, and kept pure, holy, and undefiled. Stone blocks are chosen to represent the divine beings, also probably from the analogy of the *karanavanan* –cult. Thus these stones representing unseen beings came to be accepted as a convention, and later, when kali began to be worshipped and the rites in connection with the *Karanavan*-cult were incorporated into the Kali cult also, these stone blocks also came to the representatives of Kali and her followers. In every case, the original place where She had been placed, was kept sacred, and whenever any puja was done by the Nayars as the *kuruti* puja it came to be done in this spot, where they had, while they were the priests, been doing the puja⁵⁷.

In this primeval offering of flesh, blood and wine, which is now substituted by the offering of *payasam*, *kuruti* and honey, and rarely also along with the killing of cocks added thereto, there was also human being sacrifices, at least in some *kavus*, is attested by the ceremony of *tukkom kuttal* (hook-swinging) on the *Bharani* day in the Malayalam month of *Meenam*⁵⁸.

Nature is a complex set of ideas, some of which are religious. Wilderness is another word of nature, is to be associated with these ideas rather than with a physical terrain⁵⁹. Religious experience took an active, participatory, collective form, rather than an individualistic reflective or contemplative mode. The core reason for the community festivals are the search for divine benevolence. At the center of this ritual search was the sacrifice, which was intended to please the gods and strengthen the links between mortals and immortals⁶⁰. Pedley says "To sacrifice is to perform a sacred act or to make something

sacred, to separate it from the world of men and give it to the gods" ⁶¹.

Such ritual killing occurred at many different places and under many different circumstances throughout the year. It took place on the altar, sometimes in a temple precinct, sometimes not, but usually, in either case, within a grove of trees. Sacrifice was not the only forms of religious experience and also not all sacrifice the blood sacrifice. Other gifts such as grains, vegetables, fruits and cakes are burned at the altar and unburned gifts also offered as gifts in the sanctuary. Libation, pouring of wine, honey, milk or oil on to the altar or ground as a part of daily ritual in many of the households and shrines⁶².

Barnet says "what distinguished sacrifice from these means of contact with the god was its interruption of other forms of life. While most types of ritual contact with the sacred include some kind of differentiating element that distinguishes both the moment and the place from the ordinary, and acknowledges its singular nature, blood sacrifice involves a death (of ox, cow, pig, sheep, goat, dove or chicken). It is by means of its death that the creature is separated from the world of men and given to the gods" ⁶³.

Sacrifice "as an action of disturbance" which explain how sacred groves functioned. In this vital ritual a domesticated animal is led to the altar, water and grains are sprinkled on its head to force it to "nod" assent, and then it is killed. Parts of the animal- the thigh-bones, usually- are burnt as the gods' portion and the rest of the meat is distributed among those present. By way of this act the participants connects to the divine⁶⁴.

Burkert says „if an individual is able to draw near the gods... he can do so because he has „burnt many thigh-pieces of bulls“, for this is the act of piety: bloodshed, slaughter-and eating" ⁶⁵. It is in the deadly blow of the axe, the shedding of blood and burning of thigh- bones that the worshipper has experience the god more powerful. "The realm of the gods is sacred, but the „sacred“ act done at the „sacred“ place by the „consecrating“ actor consists of slaughtering animals"⁶⁶. In the words of Philosopher A.N. Whitehead⁶⁷,

“sacrificial killing, then, is an experience of the sacred in which the subject enacts „a concern for the world“; which places the object as „a component the experience of the subject“, with an effective tone drawn from this object and directed towards it”.

Conclusion

Sacred groves as the religious charged settings for sacrifice which should be understood as “an act of transgression and an act of atonement and goodwill”. With these sacramental functions, sacred groves acquire

their primary status with in the social and religious life of man⁶⁸. To participate in the multiple realms of sacrality, wilderness, culture and society, the grove assume itself be subject to cultural operations⁶⁹. As the religious contexts of sacred is a complex field that, it cannot be assumed the groves have fixed meaning. In Kerala, the *kavus* (sacred groves) which have the practice of sacrificial rites reflect the antiquity of the cult and also religiosity of the pattern of worship of simple folks especially non-Brahmanic forms.

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TERSE STUDY ON TRIBAL MODE OF WORSHIP AND BELIEF SYSTEM AMONG FEW TRIBES OF DECCAN

Saidulu Bhukya

Tribes traditionally and socially have mythological belief that the ancestors of their community were born to forest and earth. They treat forest as father and earth as mother. Each clan of tribe has an animal as symbol of their clan. Similarly, tribes in deify many plants and animals that are found in their natural surroundings. Huge trees like Pipal (*Ficus Religiosa*), Banyan, neem, tamarind, Sal and other trees and they even occupies central position in most of the tribal habitats that speak about man plant coexistence. Beliefs to say are Ideas and speculation or expressing an opinion based on incomplete evidence about the physical, social and supernatural reality though not as easily supported by facts. They are cultural conventions that are concerned with true or false assumptions, specific descriptions of the nature and the place of human being in it. Their lifestyle, ceremonies, art, medicine and many more is related with religion and their own belief systems.¹

Gonds worship most of deities under neem tree and in particular celebrate most of their festivals under this tree. Neem tree has not only medicinal values but also considered as sacred by tribal societies in this district and it has important place in social life of tribes. Even the Kolams install the image of deity Bhimanna under the neem tree. Bhimanna's idol is made

of Teak wood and smeared with turmeric to sanctify before installing. For making Bhimanna's idol certain rituals have to be followed to maintain purity and sanctity. We can find similar rituals in both Kolams and Manne tribes, as both are said to be related distantly to each other. Medichettu (a type of fig family) wood is used by the tribes in making idol of Goddess.

Most of the Bhimanna or Ayak shrines are located in secluded and dense forest areas closer to running water. Plain area facilitated with perennial supply of water is essential features of a Bhimanna sanctuary. Such kind of locations helped devotees and visitors especially for the annual feasts, devotees come to worship from far of villages, camp there for few days. Thus shrines used to be located in natural surroundings. Kolams relied on forest for food supply along with shifting cultivation, they pray to Bhimanna for their success in the gathering of tubers and honey and also for safety to their cattle from tigers. But when they go out for hunting they worship Rajulu. For them both Polam Rajul and Bhimanna (Ayak) are caretakers of deer and other wild beasts. Kolams before removing honey combs pray Bhimanna for safety to evade any untoward mishaps that may occur while collecting honey from tree tops. The deity, Bhimanna is also

believed to be the god of living and dead and exert control over the game. The same also take care of wild produce of the forest. Therefore through their belief they sought help in food gathering, collection of honey and tuber. There is annual rite of first fruit offerings among all the tribes, this practice even can be seen among non tribals. Most of the Kolam and Manne rituals in worshipping Bhimanna are similar to the rituals employed in worshiping of Persapen by Gonds and among Muria Gonds of central province.²

Gonds observe Rajula festival for the well being of their cattle as a mark of welcome to the new year in the name of Jungle deity. On this day men and children go to the forest with their cattle and sacrifice a fowl or goat to appease this forest deity, Rajula (otherwise known as Nagoba deity) who is in charge of the forest and protects the cattle from the wrath of tigers and other wild animals. By praying this forest god, tribes expect their cattle to be safe throughout the year. They also express their devotion to forest at the onset of monsoons. Only men participate in this ritual and women are forbidden from participation.³

The most prominent god of Gonds is Persapen and the emblem of Persapen consists of a bamboo shaft with an iron spearhead on the top and nowhere one find human or anthropomorphic shape. The bamboo shaft is known as Kathi and spear-head is known as salla. To this spear headed bamboo shaft, Chauwar is tied. Chauwar is the whisk of the wild cow (Nilgai) secured from nearby jungles. The same is noticed among indigenous tribes of Adilabad. This bamboo shaft should have as many nodes as the number of gods worshipped by each saga. Entire things other than metals are available for tribes naturally in the forest of Adilabad. Besides Pharsa Pen, they also believe in several other Gods namely Mariai – the Goddess of plague and other diseases, and Bhimsen – the Hindu God. Apart from these God and Goddess, there exist great number of deities and spirits in the beliefs of Gonds. The above said tribal practice or their belief in god is more near to nature and suits their natural surroundings. There is also first fruit rite when mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) and Kernels of Chironji (*Buchanania latifolia*) ripens. The rite of new fruit offerings is carried out by the celebration of

the wedding of Chenchu Bhimanna. We notice that the tribal societies got stratified into different clans. To each group one or more totem animals are associated. Each saga or clan has its own totemic symbols that are revered. Tribes have strong belief in this totemic culture that has been attributed with divinity. The totemic symbols can be both animals and trees.⁴

The religion of the Gonds of deccan does not differ much from that of the numerous other tribes in central India. Similarly, Gonds believe in a supreme god whom they call either by his Hindu name, "Bhagwan," or by his tribal name, "Bara Deo," the "Great God." Though his name is often invoked, he is a worshiped as eternal, just, merciful, maker of the fertile earth and the universe is conceived as coexisting with him. In the Gond belief system, besides this high god there also exist a great number of male and female deities and spirits that personify various natural features. Every hill, river, lake, tree, and rock is inhabited by a spirit. The earth, water, and air are ruled by deities that must be venerated and appeased with sacrifices and offerings. These deities and spirits may be benevolent, but often they are capricious, malevolent, and prone to harming human beings, especially individuals who have made themselves vulnerable by breaking a rule of the tribal code. The deities and spirits, especially the ancestor spirits, watch over the strict observance of the tribal rules and punish offenders. The Gonds are fully aware that certain diseases have a natural cause, and they know many jungle medicines to cure such diseases. But when these remedies remain ineffective, they resort to magical devices.

Gonds religious practitioners distinguish between priests and magicians. The village priest is appointed by the village council; however, his appointment is often hereditary. His responsibility is to perform all the sacrifices held at certain feasts for the village community for which he receives a special remuneration. Sacrifices and religious ceremonies on family occasions are usually performed by the head of the family. The diviners and magicians, on the other hand, are unofficial charismatic intermediaries between the supernatural world and human beings. The Gonds, like the other tribes of central India, believe that most diseases

and misfortunes are caused by evil spirits and offended deities. It is the task of the soothsayers and diviners to find out which supernatural agencies have caused the Present sickness or misfortune and how they can be appeased. If soothsayers and diviners cannot help, magicians and shamans must be employed. Magicians believe that by magic formulas and devices they can force a particular deity or spirit to carry out their commands. Shamans are persons who easily fall into trances and are then believed to be possessed by deities or spirits that prophesy through their mouths. These frequent ecstasies do not seem to have any detrimental mental or physical effects on the shamans, who may be male or female. Magic may be "white" or "black": it is white if it counteracts black magic or effects a cure when a sickness has been caused by black magic. Gonds also believe in the evil eye and in witchcraft. A witch is usually a woman who by her evil power brings sickness and death to people in the neighborhood. When discovered, she is publicly disgraced and expelled from the village or even killed.

Other than beliefs, the ceremonies too play their part in tribal culture as a part of belief system.⁵ Involvement of gods and goddesses in conducting of ceremonies speaks in plenty about it. The Gonds celebrate many feasts connected mainly with the agricultural seasons and with life-cycle events (birth, marriage, sickness, and death). On all festive occasions sacrifices and offerings are performed either by the Official village priest, by the soothsayers and magicians, or by the head of the family that is celebrating an event. All these Sacrifices are accompanied by appropriate ceremonies of symbolic significance. The offerings and sacrifices can be either animal or vegetable; it depends on the type of deity being addressed. Female deities generally demand that blood be spilled; the victims are usually chickens or goats, sometimes male buffalo, and, occasionally in the past, human beings. Vegetable offerings include fruits (especially coconuts), flowers, colored powder, and strings.

The construction of mythologies around serpent god i.e. Nagoba and organizing of religious fair (jatara) at Keslapur every year with splendor and grandeur is standing evidence of veneration of hooded snake (Nagoba). Their

belief in totem animals is eco-friendly as tribes like Gonds rely more on agriculture. They have learnt to live along with various species whose presence is felt as important as theirs in their surrounding, not only materially but religiously. Gusadi dance is performed by wearing head gears decorated with the peacock feathers. They wear cotton cloth around their waist. They smear ash all over their body and beards made of animal hair are also important part of the dance costumes. Madai is another major festival celebrated among the Gonds. It is the festival when Gonds meet their relatives settled in various parts of the country. During this festival they also sacrifice goat beneath the sacred village tree to appease the tribal Goddess. Impact of Hindu culture is seen more on gondi belief system. Gond fairs and festivals are seemed to be influenced from the Hindu traditions.

After death an adult Gond man or woman is cremated; children are buried without much Ceremony. Ceremonies are performed at the funeral to prevent the soul of the deceased from finding its way back to its house and village. The Gonds believe in an afterlife. They believe each human being has two souls, the life spirit and the shadow. The shadow must be prevented from returning to its home, or it will harm the surviving relatives. The life spirit goes to Bhagwan to be judged and rewarded by reincarnation into a higher form or punished in a pool of biting worms; after a while the soul is reborn and begins a new life. Others believe that the soul joins the other ancestors of the clan, especially after a stone memorial has been erected. Still others believe that the soul is absorbed in Bhagwan or Bara Deo. The belief in the survival of the ancestral spirits is, however, quite strong. These ancestor spirits watch over the moral behavior of the living Gond and punish offenders of tribal law. Thus they act as strict guardians of the Gond community.

Like most tribals, the Gonds are accomplished artisans and can manufacture almost all the implements they require. They are artistically gifted: they paint their house walls with artistic designs, and they carve memorial pillars in wood and stone for their dead. They have invented various original dances and are passionate dancers. They are good musicians

on the drum, the flute, and other instruments. They are good singers, though the melodies of their songs sometimes sound monotonous and may not be of their own invention. They are inventive in composing new songs, folktales, legends, and myths and in retelling them dramatically. They have composed a great epic celebrating the origins and exploits of a Culture hero named Lingo. Thus they are carrying forward their pristine treasury of age old evolved culture and knowledge.

Among Koya, the popular festival is sammakka Saralamma Jatara or Medaram Jatara. It is a festival celebrated in honouring the goddesses. She later became the saviour of the tribals of the region. It commemorates the fight of a mother and daughter, Sammakka and Saralamma, along with her son Jampanna with the reigning rulers against an unjust law. There are many legends about the miraculous powers of Sammakka. The rituals related to the Goddesses are entirely conducted by Koya tribe priests, in accordance with Koya customs and traditions. Medaram is a remote place in the Eturnagaram Wildlife reserve, a part of Dandakaranya, the largest surviving forest belt in the Deccan. This fair is celebrated during the time the goddesses of the tribals are believed to visit them.

Chenchus are the aboriginal tribes residing in forest covered mountainous area popularly known as Nallamalla hills spreading over telugu speaking region. Today the forest region no longer belongs to chenchus, they lost ownership with state declaring of forests as tiger reserve. Resettlement of chenchus resulted less as they are reluctant in leaving their settlements. Though they refused to migrate but they are living with wild beasts in harmony since time immemorial. They stood strong against external and alien cultural percolation to

large extent. Even today they practice hunting and collect fruits, tubers, honey and gum for survival. By religion chenchus are more animists in nature⁶ They worship earth as *bhoomi amma* and sky as *akasha amma*. Other deities are *amma talli* (small pox) along with Lingam, in form of stone or wood. Chenchus believe that dead should be bathed completely. If not done their souls return home. The dead are buried on their stomach with palms of hands turned upwards is unique to this tribes culture. They also believe that forest or adavi talli is their home and protector, if they leave then they shall die. shiva is god of destruction and he is worshiped in form of lingam by chenchus. If leopard by chance visit their penta or settlement, then that night is said to be shiva's night for them. It is said that the pilgrim centre of srisailam was once owned by this tribal headmen. Foreign traveller Ferishta in 17th century gave poignant description about this hunting and food gathering tribe during medieval period itself.⁷

Conclusion

Other than the temple recently built at Keslapur dedicated to Nagoba or serpent god and one at Srisailam, the tribes don't have culture to construct physical structures around goddess, goddesses or shrines. Whereas, the temple building culture among non tribals reached more materially matured form with passage of time. Tribal shrines and gods are either under trees or under open sky. Their worship of gods is more like worshiping natural forces and wild animals. The deities or images of gods are also mostly made of wood of different plant species. Their mode of belief system is streamlined with day today living style. Therefore, their (tribes) different cultures have distinct place in the history of humankind.

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FOOD AND CULTURE: THE CASE OF MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF MALABAR

M. Shabeermon

In their introduction to *FOOD and CULTURE: A Reader* Carole Counihan and P V Esterik remarked: "food is life and life can be studied and understood through food"¹. As we know that food is a basic necessity for human existence and is also one of the sources of his highest happiness. This is rightly pointed out by George Bernard Shaw when he said "there is no more sincere love than the love of food"². It is this love of food that makes men to build new social relationship and power structures. It is a fact that there is nothing in this world which is not touched by the food in one way or the other whether it is a household economy or political strategies of state, social differences, bonds, contradictions etc. These aspects of food have been vividly presented in Warren Belasco's *Food: The Key Concepts*³. Similarly E. N Anderson's *Everyone Eats: Understanding food and Culture* presents food from its symbolic character. How various cuisines reveal and shape social relations and connect the past with present concerns and future possibilities is the focus of Jane Dusselier's work on food as culture⁴. As Margaret Visser says a change of diet will change the culture.⁵ No doubt, Food is a lens through which we understand the vast and diverse aspects of various human cultures.

Culture is defined as the beliefs, values, and attitudes practiced and accepted by members of a group and community⁶. Food practices provide cultural criteria in assigning cultural identity to a certain social section in the society. Hence food is not simply related to taste and hunger, it provides a decisive criterion for the construction of a cultural identity⁷. Culturally speaking, what one eats defines who one is and is not. The famous saying is true to its spirit "You Are What You Eat". Of course food is a part of culture. Symbolic representation of diverse social activities associated with food helps to convey the peculiar features of various cultures. As a centre of human life and activities, food influences their tradition, customs and ceremonies. People's language, religion, social economic activities etc. Play an influential role in their culture. Food is one among those factors which shapes the

society. This role of food with its physical, spiritual, social and cultural aspects is discussed in the famous work *A Cultural History of Food*⁸. If we consider food as a cultural product as in Cultural Studies, we will be able to grasp the hidden meanings of social relationships. This aspect of food is very well presented by Jane Dusselier when she wrote about how America's taste for candy was culturally constructed⁹. Similarly Bob Ashly writes about how richly symbolic language of dislike has been constructed around pig on which European culture is actually founded¹⁰. In Kerala, Malabar Mappila's food is actually the result of historical and cultural reasons. For example, in Kerala, certain food items like Kanji or porridge and Tapioca (kappa or Poola) have different word meanings. Kanji or rice gruel, is a kind rice porridge, popular among Malayalees but this word has also been used to denote a good for nothing person. Tapioca is popular in central Kerala and in the higher lands and is frequently eaten with fish curry by the keralites. In Malabar Tapioca is called as Poola which is a vulgar word in the south part of Kerala denoting the female sexual organ. An explorations to these words through Saussurian Semiotics will help us understand how meaning is produced through food¹¹.

The close affinity between the food and culture in various societies is highly visible in their beliefs, religious practices and other cultural activities. This aspect is clearly expressed by Moran when he said that each community is believed of having its own uniqueness and identity of food practices which portray a society's system of beliefs and ideals¹². It is true that every marriage, festivals and other celebrations represent the local community and their religious belief systems. That is why Christopher Murphy in his work *Piety and Honor* says that food in the feasts or celebrations symbolizes values and brings important meaning for religion, cultures and ethnicity¹³. Hence a region's food is actually a testimony of its general character through which one can also understand the life and conditions of a region¹⁴.

Every society has its own ways of taking food. People having diverse cultural tradition eat different food. There is difference in the way people prepare food and consume food, and more larger difference is visible in the ingredients used for cooking various items among societies. If we take the case of *Parotta*, a common menu item in Kerala, the preparation, the ingredients, and the way it is consumed are different across India. As Peter Atkins says "Cooking is a moral process, transferring raw matter from nature to the state of 'culture' and thereby taming and domesticating it. Food is, therefore, 'civilized' by cooking, not simply at the level of practice, but at the level of imagination"¹⁵.

The way how cooking matters in Indian society is evident in the census data of 2011. Government of India considers a household as usually a group of persons who normally live together and take their meals from a common kitchen/ common cooking unless the exigencies of work prevent any of them from doing so. It is also said that if a group of unrelated person live in a census house and do not take their meals from the common kitchen or common cooking, then they will not collectively constitute a household¹⁶. So here too cooking is very important for considering a person's family status. In fact food stands as a metonym for the family and marks family roles and relationships in a material form¹⁷.

Food brings fame and honour to certain regions and the inhabitants. Thalasseri a north Kerala town that is famous across Kerala, for its Biryani. Biryani for Thalasseri is like what is pizza to Italy. This connection between people and place are forged, maintained and contested through multiple cultural practices, including many food related practices¹⁸. This relationship between food and identity for understanding modern India is the theme of Appadurai's classic paper on how to make a national cuisine. He says that food -the cuisine aspect of it- is a cultural device to imagine the nation, the site of which is the cookbook¹⁹.

Cultural transmission through diverse food practices is an aspect of Diaspora. Diasporas are spatially dispersed communities²⁰. They are the medium of cultural transmission that carried, maintained and protected their cultural identity

through various practices. It is a fact that the Food-centered nostalgia is a recurring theme in studies of diasporic or expatriate populations²¹. In fact memories of these Diasporas are not gathered and ready to be accessed when needed, but are relived each time in different ways and with different emotional attachments. This is particularly evident in the case of food-related recollections. When migrants find themselves in unfamiliar sensory and cultural environments, eating is an inevitable component of daily life that forces them to interact physically, emotionally, and cognitively with the surrounding Otherness²². It is a fact that there is a large Kerala migrants in various Arabian countries who, for the sake of maintaining their cultural identity, follows local food habits. These *malayali* diaspora across the world find their cultural expression through food²³.

The taste for the local food preferences is visible when we take students to outside Kerala as a part of academic activity. One thing we ensure while planning the annual tour programme to different Indian states is the availability of Kerala food which makes our trip more pleasurable. This is true to every community. We find happiness in our regional food which is a product of our social, physical and cultural life. That is why Claude Levi Strauss and his followers sought to understand food as a cultural system which clearly recognises that taste is culturally shaped and socially controlled²⁴. Similarly culture also provides guidelines for acceptable hybridization in food and eating behaviour. Religious obligations are always at the top for people. Religious taboos always restrain a person from taking food beyond the defined ranges. For example Pork and Alcohol are prohibited for Muslims but they are acceptable for some other communities. How these prohibitions especially the fat of pork and cow had been a vital cause for the revolt of 1857 is clearly narrated in the modern Indian history²⁵. J.B.P Morey says that with mutual consent the Hindus and Muslims of Malabar kept away from eating pork and cow²⁶. At the same time Quran allows eating of prohibited items at certain critical times. This is very clear from a popular idiom among Mappilas: "Paichaal Panniyirachiyum halaal"²⁷. As far as Malayalis are concerned rice and paddy are compulsory for almost all the

religious and cultural ceremonies including the festivals and marriages. Even in the coronation ceremony of Kerala rulers, in the past, there was a practice called *Ariyittvazhcha* means giving rice and sceptre to king by the people²⁸. Not only in Kerala, but also everywhere in Asia rice has a feminine soul that must be placate and carefully nurtured²⁹.

Food culture has some association with the production system, landscape, and economic status of the people. In Kerala the *Mathi* (Sardine), is considered as the fish of poor while *Ayakoora* (Pomfret) and *Aavoli* (Silver Moony) are as rich man's fish. If you buy *aavoli* or *ayakoora* regularly that means you are rich enough to spend such an amount that will define your economic status since fish has been a feature of a Malayali's menu³⁰. Despite having nutritional advantage still *Mathi* has been treated as a fish eaten by the economically backward people. This aspect is clearly noticed by Shovic when he said a host family demonstrates its prosperity or societal rank by providing large quantities of food³¹. Similarly some food items have psychological connection with the people too. For example Bed Coffee is essential for certain people while one cannot imagine a marriage in Malabar without having Chicken Biryani. It is hard to find a Malayali celebrate Onam without drinking Paayasam.

Food is an important part of religious symbols, rites, and customs, those acts of daily life intended to bring about an orderly relationship with the spiritual or supernatural realm³². How Mappila Muslim's religious belief systems affect their food culture is highly evident in the case of Ramdan fasting. From dawn to dusk Muslim community observes fasting and they break the fast with variety of dish items. Changing pattern of Malabari Muslim food culture during the month of Ramzan, indeed, is a topic for detailed study. Along with this we should understand the banning of Beef eating by various states across India. On account of their religious belief eating Beef is prohibited among a group of Hindus but by making rules Muslims were forced to agree on that. As a secular nation, the issue of Beef eating has invited a lot of questions from different quarters of the society. This resulted in the observation of a number of Beef eating

festivals in different parts of the country. As Kancha Ilaiah said "If Beef is banned by denying the age old food habits it will be the beginning of the end of country's multiculturalism"³³.

Culture plays a key role in the food related manners among various communities. As far as Muslims are concerned eating by right hand is only acceptable for them but in the West people use forks and spoons for taking food. Similarly licking fingers after dining is polite for certain communities and impolite for others. We can also see variation in the quantity of food taken at the time of dining. In Malabar some aged people, while having the lunch, leave a little quantity of food for Cat every day. This was a routine for them. They found pleasure in doing that which also testifies their sympathy to the animals. Similarly, at the time of honey moon period, wives used to eat what their husbands have left on the plate. They were also happy in doing that. F. Faucett noticed that during the Malabar Nayer's marriage function the bride serves food to the groom, and after taking their meals together from the same leaf, they proceed to the pandal³⁴. Kittler remarks that some people from South East Asia might leave a little bit of food on their plates in order to show that their hunger has been satisfied. So cooks might be offended if food is left on the plate, since it indicates that the guest may have disliked the food.

In Kerala especially among joint families, eating together is a special feature of the family life. This helps them to discuss family matters and also it binds them more closely with one another. Another striking feature is the way food is served. The Muslim stress on brotherhood spilled into the dietary arena as communal eating was the norm. In our locality, there was the practice of dining more than 8 people from a big plate which was remarkable when we consider the changes which have taken place in the food etiquettes. This practice of group eating from a single plate was introduced to Indians by the Arabs and is widely practiced among Indian Muslims. In short food culture varies widely from region to region. However, in most part of the world, food is associated with hospitality and expression of friendship. Therefore sensitivity to food culture is important in building and strengthening human relationships.

As a common activity, social practice structures the lives of different communities and groups. Indeed they are important because they reaffirm the identity of those who practise them as a group or a society. Social practices of a particular community are closely linked to its worldview and perception of its own history. They vary from small gatherings to large-scale social celebrations and commemorations. In some cases, access to rituals may be restricted to certain members of the community; initiation rites and burial ceremonies are two such examples. Some festive events, however, are a key part of public life and are open to all members of society. Social practices shape everyday life and are familiar to all members of the community, even if not everybody participates in them. Social practices, rituals and festive events involve a dazzling variety of forms: worship rites; rites of passage; birth, wedding and funeral rituals; culinary traditions; seasonal ceremonies; practices specific to men or women only; hunting, fishing and many more. They also include a wide variety of expressions and physical elements: special

gestures and words, special clothing, processions, animal sacrifice, special food etc. The food practices of Mappila community are very important because they can provide wide variety of information which are vital to understand them as a community.

In short, as an emerging field of study Food studies examine the complex relationships among food, culture and society from numerous disciplines. It includes the study of food related areas like production, consumption, and aesthetic appreciation of food. Food studies also analyses what is the relationship of food with human experience. If one needs to study food Culture he/ she should follow an interdisciplinary approach by encompassing areas such as, Geography, Anthropology, Sociology, History etc. Food culture looks at people's relationship with food and how those food practices reveal information about them. It is the culture which defines the people's connection with their food. Every community has their own specific food stuffs which they find easy to access and love to eat.

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ART & ARCHITECTURE OF BAGALI KALLESHWARA TEMPLE - DURING KALYANA CHALUKYAS

N. Shakuntala

The Western Chalukya Empire ruled most of the western Deccan, South India, between the 10th and 12th centuries. This Kannadiga dynasty is sometimes called the Kalyana Chalukya after its regal capital at Kalyana, today's Basavakalayana in the modern Bidar District of Karnataka state, and alternatively the Later Chalukya from its theoretical relationship to the 6th century Chalukya dynasty of Badami. The dynasty is called Western Chalukyas to differentiate from the contemporaneous Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, a separate dynasty. Knowledge of Western Chalukya history has come through examination of the numerous Kannada language inscriptions left by the kings and from the study of important contemporary literary documents in Western Chalukya literature.

The Western Chalukyas developed an architectural style known today as a transitional style, an architectural link between the style of the early Chalukya dynasty and that of the later Hoysala Empire. Most of its monuments are in the districts bordering the Tungabhadra River in central Karnataka. The Western Chalukya temples show an improvement over the previous experiments. These temples show a transition from the Nagara to Dravida style and create a new style called "Vesara" or "Karnatadravida"¹. Temples of all sizes built by the Chalukyan architects during this era remain today as examples of the architectural style.² The ornate columns are seen as one of the most important features and that is why some

of the temples such as "Mahadeva Temple" are called finest in Karnataka after Halebidu. The Temple plan in most of the plans is star shaped. Most temples are dedicated to Shiva and Nandi at the entrance of the shrine appears as a main feature.

A typical Western Chalukya temple may be examined from three aspects- the basic floor plan, the architectural articulation, and the figure sculptures. The basic floor plan is defined by the six of the shrine, the size of the sanctum, the distribution of the building mass, and by the pradakshina³, two basic kinds of architectural articulation are found in Indian architecture. The southern Indian Dravida and the Northern Indian Nagara.⁴ Figure sculptures are miniature representations that stand by themselves, including architectural components on pilasters, buildings, sculptures and on complete towers. They are generally categorised as "Figure sculpture" or other decorative features⁵ On occasion rich figure sculpture can obscure the articulation of a shrine, when representations of gods, goddesses and mythical figures are in abundance⁶.

Western Chalukya architecture also known as Kalyana Chalukya or Later Chalukya architecture, is the distinctive style of ornamented architecture that evolved during the rule of the Western Chalukya Empire in the Tungabhadra region of modern central Karnataka, India, during the 11th and 12th centuries. Western Chalukyan political

influence was at its peak in the Deccan Plateau during this period. The centre of cultural and temple-building activity lay in the Tungabhadra region, where large medieval workshops built numerous monuments.⁷ These monuments, regional variants of pre-existing dravida temples form a climax to the wider regional temple architecture tradition called Vesara or Karnatadravida⁸. Temples of all sizes built by the Chalukyan architects during this era remain today as examples of the architectural style.⁹

Chalukyan temples fall into two categories – the first being temples with a common mantapa (a colonnaded hall) and two shrines (known as dvikuta), and the second being temples with one mantapa and a single shrine (ekakuta). Both kinds of temples have two or more entrances giving access to the main hall. This format differs from both the designs of the northern Indian temples, which have a small closed mantapa leading to the shrine and the southern Indian temples which generally have a large, open, columned mantapa.¹⁰

Most notable of the many buildings dating from Kalyana Chalukyas period are the Mahadeva Temple at Itagi in the Koppal district, the Kashivishweshwara Temple at Lakkundi in the Gadag district, the Mallikarjuna Temple at Kuruvatti in the Bellary district and the Kallesvara Temple at Bagali in the Davangere district¹¹. Other monuments notable for their craftsmanship include the Kaitabheshvara Temple in Kubatur and Kedareshvara Temple in Balligavi, both in the Shimoga district, the Siddhesvara Temple at Haveri in the Haveri district, the Amrutesvara Temple at Annigeri in the Dharwad district, the Sarasvati Temple in Gadag, and the DoddaBasappa Temple at Dambal, both in the Gadag district.¹²

Kalleshwara Temple of Bagali

Bagali is a small Village/harmlet in Harapanahalli Taluk in Davangere District of Karnataka State, India. It comes under Harapanahalli Panchayat. It is located 50 K.M towards North from District head quarters Davangere, 14 K.M from Harapanahalli. Bagali is a small village, though currently reduced to a small hamlet, boasts of a very rich and luxurious

past. And, it is seemingly hard to understand that why such a village, which was a centre of attraction for almost about six centuries, lost its glory and went into oblivion. Bagali narrates its story in its fifty odd inscriptions, spanning across six centuries and four great dynasties.¹³

Bagali is called in ancient Inscriptions as Balgali, Baluguli, Baguli and during the medieval period was an important Agrahara right from the times of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana who were succeeded by the Hoysala and Vijayanagara. By the end of the ninth century, the Rashtrakutas were at their decline and we saw emergence of the Western Chalukyas. The earliest Western Chalukya inscription at Bagali is dated in 987 CE and refers to the reign of king Tailapa II. The same inscription mentions a grant made to god Adityadeve consecrated by Duggimayya.¹⁴ This was the time, when the Rashtrakuta chiefs still continue ruling the land but as a subordinates to the Western Chalukyas. Though the Western Chalukyas ruled the land till the end of the twelfth century, Bagali was under various chiefs under their rule. At the start of the eleventh century, we find Nalomba-Pallava ruling over Bagali which was part of their Gangavadi-96000 territory. By the last quarter of the same century, when Vikramaditya VI came to the Western Chalukya throne, Bagali came under his suvordinatepandya chiefs. Now, Bagali became part of Nalambvadi-32000 territory. This period under the Western Chalukyas was the most glorious and inundated with many grants towards religious works.

Architectural Elements of Kalleshwara Temple of Bagali

Kalleshvara temple also spelt Kallesvara or Kalleshwara. This temple is located in the town of Bagali near it Harapanahalli town in the Davangere district of Karnataka State, India. The main temple was constructed during the reign of the western Chalukyan King Ahavamalla in 987 AD and consecrated by Duggimayya. Inscriptionally, the main deity is known as Kalideva. And according another information The construction of this temple spans the rule of two Kannada dynasties: the Rashtrakuta dynasty during the mid-10th century, and the Western Chalukya Empire, during the reign of founding King Tailapa II around 987 AD.

This temple first constructed by the Rastrakutas and then expanded to its full glory by the Kalyana Chalukyas is a beautiful specimen to study the two architectural styles seamlessly blended. The consecration of the temple was done by an individual called Duggimayya.¹⁵

The temple, facing east, is constructed close to the embankment of huge tank of the village Bagali to its north. This temple is built close to the embankment of a huge old tank. This tank seems to be same referred in the earliest inscription of the town, dated first quarter of the tenth century CE. The temple faces east and is consisted of a Garbhagriha (sanctum), Sukhanasi (vestibule), a closed Mandapa (Antarala), and an open Mantapa (Mahamantapa) with an entrance in the south and east, a huge open Sabhamantapa, a shrine for Surya with an astylar Mukhamantapa built slightly away from the main entrance, all in east-west orientation. The temple is constructed in two phase, phase one comprises of the Garbhagriha, Sukanasi and the phase two consisted of the open Mandapa and few additional shrines. Art historian Adam Hardy classifies the architectural style of the temple as "Late Rashtrakuta *vimana* with erotic carvings, and a closed *mantapa* (hall), fronted by a Later Chalukya non-mainstream open *mantapa*, the building material for which is soapstone". The existing tower over the shrine may be a later day re-construction.¹⁶ the temple, whose premises have yielded thirty-six old Kannada inscriptions from the 10th and 11th centuries, is protected as a monument of national importance by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Garbhagriha

Garbhagriha (sanctum sanatorium) is simple square with a natural ling inside. A Linga representing Shiva and the deity is known as Kalideva. In few inscriptions, the Linga is referred as Svyambhulinga. The god is referred as Kalideva or Kalinatha.

Antrala

An antarala connects the Garbhagriha to a Mahamantapa (closed pillar hall) which has two entrances, one of the east and on in the south. Both the doors have beautifully carved doorways with multiple door jambs. The antrala

doorway is rich and much decorated. It has Gaja-Lakshmi on lalata-bimba while above the lintel is the Hindu Trinity of Bramha, Vishnu and Shiva. Above them is a chadhya, over which an elaborate makara-torana is forming five loops. In these five Lapps, on terminals are Brahma and Vishnu in yogasana mudra, while the middle three has Shiva dancing on Andhaka, Shiva dancing on Gajasura and Shiva dancing in chaturatandava. On the door jambs, at bottom are the four sets of Shiva dvarpalas.¹⁷

Closed Mantapa/Mahamantapa/Sabhamantapa

The Mahamantapa belong to the late Rashtrakuta style.¹⁸ Mahamantapa at the entrance of the antarala is ornate as expected. This Mantapa is well-known for its 54 ornate pillars supporting the highly decorated ceiling. Of these twenty four pillars are constructed over the jagati provided with kakshasana. Each of those pillars is well carved. There is a Nandi (bull) at the eastern end of the Sabhamantapa.¹⁹ A shrine for Ugranarasimha along with an antarala is to the north of the Sabhamantapa and a passageway connects it to the main temple. The closed mantapa is coeval with the phase one of the temple construction. It has two doorways; however the door frames seem to be later addition as suggested by Foekema.²⁰ Its eastern doorway connects to the open mantapa. Its four central pillars have heavy appearance and bereft of any decoration. The open mantapa is of phase two construction and is one of the largest mantapa among the Chalukya creations. It has 37 bays in total on one end, it connects to the closed mantapa and on the other to the Narasimha temple.

Open Mantapa

The main feature of open mantapa is its variety of pillars; we find twelve different varieties here, round, square, 6-sided star, 8-sided star, 16-sided star to name a few. Its four central pillars are heavily decorated, carved with exquisite sculptures on their square bases. We find here Sarasvati, Ugra Narasimha, Bhairavi, Ganesha and Shiva. The central ceiling is decorated with ashtadilpala, the guardians of eight directions. The middle bracket of the ceiling is missing, which might have an image of Shiva form. This Mantapa built with soapstone belong to the Western Chalukya style.²¹

Pillars

The Pillars that support the roof of the Mantapa are monolithic shafts from the base up to the neck of the capital. Therefore, the height of the Mantapa and the overall size of the temple were limited by the length of the stones shafts that the architects were able to obtain from the quarries.²² Mahamantapa have 54 pillars and each of those pillars is well carved. The main features of the open mantapa also is its variety of pillars, we find twelve different varieties here, round, square, 6-sided star, 8-sided star, 16-sided star to name a few. Its four central pillars are heavily decorated, carved with exquisite sculptures on their square bases.

Vimana/Shikhara

The Current Vimana looks like a much later addition. It has no any decoration.

Walls

The outer walls of the Rashtrakuta period shrine are decorated with erotica while the outer walls of the closed hall are bereft of any sculpture. Earlier dynasties like the Rashtrakutas had no qualms using erotic reliefs to decorate temple walls.²³

Sculptures

In all, there are eight small shrines built around the main shrine. The late Chalukyan cultures, kept in the Mahamatapa of the temple, include Shiva, Umamaheshwara, Ganesha, Kartikeya, Surya, Anantasayana, Sarasvati and Mahishamardini. There are thirty six inscriptions in the temple assignable to the 10th -11th century AD which record donations to the gods Kalideva and Narasimha. Also provided there a shrine for the sun god Surya with a hall (Mukhamantapa) facing the east-west orientation, and a small shrine for the deity Narsimha (a form of the Hindu god Vishnu) in the north of the gathering hall. These constructions are described to the Western Chalukya rule.²⁴

There are eight small shrines built around the main shrine of the fifty pillars, twenty-four pillars are located over the platform (jagati) provided with a balcony seating (kakshasana). The door ways (doorjamb and lintel) of the eastern door way that faces the Nandi (bull, a companion of the Hindu god Shiva). And the

southern door way that opens an entry into the close hall is intricately decorated. A few independent sculptures from the late Chalukyan period are found in the closed hall. These include Shiva, Umamaheshwara (Shiva with his consort Parvati), Ganesha, Kartikeya, Surya, Anantasayana (the god Vishnu seated on a snake), Saraswati and Mahishamardini (a form of the goddess Durga).²⁵

Ugranarasimha

The North of the open Mantapa is connected to a shrine dedicated to Narasimha. This is a simple shrine comprises of a Garbhagriha, Sukhanasi and a Portico. This shrine is coeval with the open mantapa, both belonging to the second phase of the construction. This shrine faces south. Opposite to the eastern entrance of the temple, but exactly aligned with the main axis, stands a separate shrine dedicated to Surya. With the main temple dedicated to Shiva, an attached shrine dedicated to Vishnu as Narasimha and another shrine dedicated to Surya, the whole arrangement fits to be a Trikuta Temple.²⁶ A shrine of Narasimha with an antarala and a passage exists to the north of the Sabhamantapa.

Suryanarayana

There is also a shrine dedicated to Suryanarayana which is to the east of the main temple with a tower of its own. There are eight smaller shrines all around and the idols they housed are now kept at an Archaeological Museum in the village. There may be possibility that the Surya shrine be the oldest among all, as an inscription found here dated 987 CE, mentions consecration of lord Adityadeve which provably is the same god enshrined in this shrine. Inscriptions, hero stones and sati stones were found at the temple premises spanning across the 11th and 12th century. They too have been housed at the museum.

Erotic Sculptures

Few blogs and scholars have tried to term and compare this temple with the temples of Khajuraho because of the presence of few erotic sculptures. However, this comparison is very incorrect. First there are not many erotic sculptures at this temple and second, the execution and style of these images are far

inferior to those at Khajuraho temples in aesthetics and workmanship.²⁷

Conclusion

The Kalleshwara Temple is built close to the embankment of a huge tank which is now characterized by a few puddles of water. Hills

dotted with wind mills surround the temple. Bagali, earlier known as Balgali was an important agrahara (rent-free land occupied by Brahmins) but is now an unimportant village. Many are unaware of the treasure it houses but the ASI has maintained the temple complex and the museum very well.

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BHARATANATYA AS A LEGACY OF DEVADASIS: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

K.K. Shibina

Introduction

The tradition of classical dance has a long antiquity in India. The presence of dance speaks on several types of references both in south India and north India. Many of the literary and inscriptional works provide references on art, different types of art forms, and how they are

helping to write history and their long antiquity. This paper tries to find out the emergence of a new art form called Bharatanatya and how this art form is related with deavadasis. In India, dance is conceived as - an expression and spiritual on the earth, and performed through the sense of intelligence¹. Hence dance often

formed an inseparable part of religious ceremonies². The present study tries to figure out how devadasis preserved Bharatanatyam since earlier times.

The socio-political and cultural conditions of Medieval Kerala has already received an attention from eminent Kerala historians like M.G.S Narayanan³, Kesavan veluthat⁴, M.R. Raghava Warriar and P.M. Rajan Gurukkal⁵. The classical art tradition of Kerala had a long period of evolution. The emergence of Brahmins led tremendous changes in the socio-economic and cultural scenario of Kerala. Elamkulam Kunjanpillai⁶ has given detailed information about the Medieval Kerala and its society, temple culture and devadasi system. M.G.S Narayanan also has provided detailed study of devadasi system in Medieval Kerala with the help of inscriptional sources as well as literary sources. M. Sumathy⁷ tries to analyse the system of devadasis in Kerala in the general background of the early medieval society of Kerala. She divides her study by focusing on various aspects such as donations to the temples by devadasis, management of endowments, wealth or status of their clients, and their relations with ruling chiefs. She tries to justify that the use of the term courtesan is more appropriate than the term devadasi. Here I try to find out the historical significance during the medieval period.

Devadasi System

The term devadasi is used to refer to the temple women in the twelfth century. For example, one can come across various references to the 'devadasigal' in Kannada records⁸. According to these records, devadasigal received support in Jain temples. Devadasis are also mentioned in some of the inscriptions in different terminologies such as tevaratiyal and tevanar makal. They perform certain functions in the temple and receive in return food, cloth, gold or rights over land from the temple⁹. Devadasis are even identified in the inscriptions as women of temple or servant of devotee of the temple.

The devadasi system is said to have developed from the ritual dancing¹⁰. The purpose of the ritual dancing is to please the deity to seek some favor which was usually the prayer for relief from some ailment. The term

devadasi or devaradiyal literally means the slave of God whose main duty is to conduct musical and dance performances in the temples¹¹. The practice of such performances was part of some oblations to the God. It seems to be formalised in the agamas and later it was included in classics on dance.

The main role of the nagiyar or nagya woman was to serve as maids of the temple in order to attract the rich to the temple¹². The nagiyar used to perform recreational functions to the temple and it was opened to all who entered into the temple¹³. The association of dancing girls with the temple was materially beneficial to both the state and the temple. Regional distributions of the dancing communities in Kerala studied meaningfully from the 9th century¹⁴. Some of the inscriptions provide information about their employment in the temples for performances and other services.

The temple dancers are referred to in the records as Nanga, Nankiar, Nankai, Tevatchi, and Kuttachi¹⁵. Most of the south Indian records have referred devadasi as a tevaradiyal. Literary remarks and epigraphically remarks are important, and if they are understood in the right context the significance should be appreciated¹⁶. The medieval manipravala literature gives much information about devadasis during medieval period. This study extensively used the historical narrative like literature reviews. During the decline of Chola Empire, the devadasis witnessed the degradation of devadasi system. Devadasis were identified for their dance performance rather than their ritual services to the temple.

Bharatanatyam- The dance tradition of devadasi

Devadasi and their ritualistic performance were inseparable¹⁷. The livelihood of devadasi depended on their performance ability. Marglin stated that dance was close to devadasi. But the process of abolition and their stigmatisation questioned the existence of devadasi women¹⁸. The strong protest against the devadasi system established a public opinion against the performance of devadasi women. The reformers, radicals, missionaries, doctors, journalists and social workers considered the custom as a serious problem to the society and its community too¹⁹.

Historically, the dance tradition of devadasi was popularly known as *sadhir attam*, *dasi attam* and *karnatakam*. The dance used small drum orchestra was called as *china melam* (small troupe). It was opposed to *periya melam* (big troupe). The *periya melam* was performed in the outdoor engagements and generally included the musical instruments like *Nathaswaram* and *Tavil*²⁰.

In late 1920s, the processes of revival started to misinterpret the history of devadasi's dance. They renamed *sadhir attam* as Bharatanatyam²¹. There was a huge discussion on renaming of devadasi's dance. It is difficult to find the exact person who coined the word Bharatanatyam. Kimiko Ohtani,²² an art historian mentioned that the term Bharatanatyam was used only sixty years ago. In earlier articles Rukmini Devi dance was called Indian classical dance and the word Bharatanatyam was seldom used.²³

Rukmini Devi authenticated her role in the process of renaming the devadasi dance tradition²⁴. She mentioned that so far as she knew that she was the first person who began to dance in the early 1930's. It gave (new) name to the dance and since then the word Bharatanatyam was acceptable in common use. Ramasubramaniam²⁵ wrote that the term was first coined by E. Krishna Iyer in the twenties of this century to honor the mythical name of *Bharata*, the author of the *Natya sastra*. The idea was to remove the unsavory connotations of the priory existing names like *sadhir*, *dasi attam*, etc. The 'depraved' *sadhir* entered a 'respectable' home of Brahmin elites. The devadasi figure stood at the centre of Bharatanatyam discourse.

Usually, *shringara* (love or eroticism) was considered as the chief element of traditional dance. Krishnamurthy mentioned that the beauty of Bharatanatyam was based on the element of *shringara* and introduced *kirtana* which was not part of the traditional devadasi dance form. Many Indologists and nationalist historians advanced the claim that Bharatanatyam was a direct descendant of the arts of the Tamil Sangam age²⁶.

Minakshi Sundaram Pillai addressed that Bharatanatyam was ancient and it could explain the mythical history. The upper class Brahmin elite claimed the dance form as from the age old Sanskrit tradition. Raghavan²⁷ mentioned that the music of ours had been age old and it was the outcome of our spiritual and religious fervor. He considered Bharatanatyam as an authentic Indian dance art. He traced its antiquary from the *Rig-Vedic* hymns, *Mahabharata* and *Chilappathikaram*. He stated that the Bharatanatyam was same dance that Arjuna taught the *Virata* princess in the *Mahabharata* and also it was the same dance of Malavika in the play of Kalidasa and, Madhavi did in *Chilappathikaram*.

Conclusion

The existence of devadasi system questioned after the abolition of devadasi system. Brahmanical ideas initiated the move of reviving the dance of devadasi. They renamed devadasi dance as Bharatanatyam. They made some of the changes in the traditional dance for convenient. In the meantime, some of the Brahmin girls started to learn dance from the traditional nattuvanars and gradually occupied the stages of devadasi, and questioned the cultural economy of the devadasi community.

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JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI AND THE RELIGIO-POLITICS OF KASHMIR

Shiekh Manzoor Ahmad

Introduction

Kashmir valley is an unparalleled piece of land bestowed by nature with beautiful gardens, noisy streams rolling down between the foot hills of snowy and lofty mountains. The alluring green meadows, the fresh air, clean water bodies make the valley, paradise on earth. At the same time this dream land served as a cradle for different cults and religions from the very beginning.

The early inhabitants of Kashmir were predominantly Naga-worshippers or snake worshippers. Eventually they embraced Buddhism, Brahmanism and Islam.¹ Presently Islam is a dominant religion in the valley which was introduced by Persian and central Asian Sufis. This remarkable change in the religious demography of Kashmir occurred especially during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries following mass conversion to Islam. Kashmiri Muslims are converts from Hinduism and a thin slice from Buddhism.² It was not the military intervention of Muslim to convert the Hindus and Buddhists into Islam, rather the humble and peaceful efforts of great Sufis from Persia and central Asia, which influenced the Kashmiri masses on a large scale. Despite the fact that Kashmiri masses converted to Islam wholeheartedly, the old practices and rituals remained with them for a quite long time till the socio-religious reform movements emerged with a great zeal. Walter Lawrence made his remarks about this very fact that Kashmiris being Muslims were still practicing the old

Hindu customs and rituals as: "The indifference shown in the matter of mosques and Mullahs may be accounted for by the fact that the Kashmiri Sunnis are only Musalmans in name. In their hearts they are Hindus, and the religion of Islam is too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings, and they turn from the mean priest and the mean mosque to the pretty shrines of carved wood and roof bright with the iris flowers where the saints of the past time lie buried. They like to gaze on the saint's old clothes and turban and to examine the cave in which he spent his ascetic life. In connection with the suggestion that the Kashmiris are at heart Hindus, it may be mentioned that certain places are held in reverence by Hindus and Musalmans alike. As an instance, at Fatehpur in the Vernag Ilaka, and at Waripora in the Magam Ilaka, I have seen the Imprint of a foot in a stone worshiped by the Musalmans as *Kadam-i-Rasul* (the Prophet's footprint), and by the Hindus as Vishnu Pad (Vishnu's foot)."³ Lawrence also remarks: "The people believe that a visit to the shrines will secure the object of their wishes. Sick men will regain health, women will be vouchsafed children, and the litigant will win his case, if a pilgrimage be made to Chhrar Sharif or any of the leading shrines. The white rags which are tied to the shrines are placed there by supplicants for offspring, and till a child is born the rag is left in its place."⁴

This was the level and height of common masses, towards the understanding of Islam. The socio religious conditions of the people of Kashmir were as bad as in the other parts of the

subcontinent in the late 19th century and early 20th century. The Kashmiris suffered from social evils and moreover, the religion was under complete domination of an ignorant and corrupt priestly class, who kept the people ignorant for, to maintain their power. The wave of change and reform came in Kashmir only when the establishment of Dogra rule brought Kashmir close to Jammu and subsequently to Punjab. The entire, resulted in bringing Kashmir close to the other parts of India. Consequently, Kashmir society got influenced by the socio religious reform movements like *Ahl-i-Hadith*, *Aligarh* and *Deoband movements* etc.⁵ By the influence of these movements a sensitive personality, Maulana Rasool Shah (1855-1909), the then Imam of Jamia Masjid Srinagar.⁶ He was the first who like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, was bestirred into action by the backwardness of his community.⁷ He came on front and started reforming the society after founding the first Islamic organization *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* in 1899.⁸ This *Anjuman* realized that the all-round improvement in social fabric is possible only when the social evils could be eradicated through proper method and program based on Islamic teachings. Therefore, the emphasis on the concept of *tauhid* (oneness of God) was also aimed to foster the spirit of unity and cooperation among Muslims.⁹ The *Anjuman* not only worked of uprooting the social evils but to imparting religious as well as scientific education to the new generation.¹⁰ The *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam* also represented Kashmiris on both religious and political platforms and it has been associated with the political history of Kashmir, right from the beginning of the *Anjuman* Mirwaizin of Kashmir had been playing prominent political role. The leading figures of Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference were Maulana Ahmadullah, Maulana Atiqullah, and Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Shah, who were associated with the freedom struggle of Kashmir against Dogras.¹¹ The other reformist movements were *Anjuman-i-Tablighul Islam*, *Ahl-i-Hadith*, and *Jamaat-i-Islami*. The origins of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Kashmir go back to the late nineteenth century when a student of an *Ahl-i-Hadith* Madrassa in Delhi, Syed Hussain Batku, returned to Srinagar in Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign, he raised a cry against *pir-mureedi*, superstitions, and rituals and denounced the worship of *asthans*

(shrines). But the opposition of the local mullahs was so strong that the Maharaja was compelled to give orders for Hussain's expulsion from the city.¹² This was the first reaction of the people against the reforming efforts of the reformists of the time. Eventually, the *Anjuman Ahl-i-Hadith* was formally launched by the activists of the movement in 1923.¹³ *Ahl-i-Hadith* strongly emphasizes on the Quran and Hadith. They oppose polytheism, innovation (*Bid'at*) in Islam, blind imitations and also vehemently criticize Sufism, as it is alien to Islam and as an un-Islamic accretion according to their ideology. Therefore, For them Islamization means strict adherence to the Quran and Hadith and total break with what they describe as alien elements appended to Islam from Hinduism and Buddhism.¹⁴ They were of the opinion that the custodians of shrines were accused of hiding the true message of Islam just like People of the Book did, and keeping the masses ignorant of the faith and inventing rituals and customs in order to make a living from the credulous as intermediaries between them and God, which had no sanction in Islam.¹⁵ For this, there was a strong reaction of the *mullahs* against the *Ahl-i-Hadith*, even fatwas were issued that the dead bodies of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* should not be buried in the Muslim graveyards, and that no Muslim should enter into matrimonial alliances with them, not only this very kind of mental torcher had done upon them but the doors of Mosques were also closed for them.¹⁶ The inevitable consequence of this kind of attitude of *Ahl-i-Hadith* regarding the religious beliefs and practices which were prevalent in Kashmir was the birth of *Anjuman-i-Tablighul Islam*. This *Anjuman* was founded in the City of Srinagar in 1932 by the orthodox Muslim theologians.¹⁷ The *Anjuman* struggled to restore the historical character of Islam in Kashmir. The *Anjuman* conceives it, was shown by the *Awalia Allah* of Kashmir.¹⁸ Now the Interesting point is this that all these above discussed reform *Anjumans* or movements fought against social evils and un-Islamic things and much of the time against each other on ideological fronts. But there was a new kind of interpretation of Islam coming to Kashmir, which was actually the ideological challenge of the Islamic Religion to the newly emerged secular ideologies of the west. Actually the religion was given divorce from the state politics and it was restricted to private life only

on the name of secularism. But the political interpretation of Islam by Maulana Maududi, influenced the then educated youth of the valley of Kashmir like Maulana Sad-u-Din, Qari Saif-u-Din etc. who founded *Jamaat-i-Islami* of J&K in 1946, which was actually founded by Maulana Maududi in 1941 at Lahore. Therefore, my whole emphasis in this paper is on the *Jamaat-i-Islami* Jammu and Kashmir and its role in the political arena of Jammu and Kashmir.

Formation of Jamaat-i-Islami movement in Kashmir

The first organized Islamic revolutionary movement of the twentieth century was *Jamaat-i-Islami*, formed in Lahore on 26 August 1941 by the great Islamic thinker, writer, politician and one of the most important leaders of the Islamic revival in the twentieth century Maulana Maududi¹⁹. He was born on 25 September, 1903 in Aurangabad. On the day of the inception of the very movement, Maulana Maududi delivered a speech there during which he clearly announced the basic objectives of his organization. He certified that:

1. That while the other movements remained content with incorporating some parts of Islam or some objectives accepted by all Muslims, the objective of the *Jamaat* was to promote Islam in its totality; that the *Jamaat* would adopt the same system of organization as adopted by the prophet;
2. That ultimately the *Jamaat* would not restrict its activities to Indian Muslims alone but would appeal to Muslims the world over.²⁰
3. The *Jamaat-i-Islami* stood for a revolution to overthrow the evil, wicked and sinful leaders and to transfer theoretical and practical leadership into the hands of the pious and the faithful leaders.²¹ Therefore, the objective of the *Jamaat* was to establish *Hukumat-i-Ilahiyya* or the rule of Allah, as Allah alone is a law maker and an absolute sovereign, thus no law can be made in the state that is repugnant to the Quran and Sunnah (words and Deeds of the Prophet). This kind of ideology and program of Maulana Maududi had greatly influenced the then personalities of the valley of Kashmir namely, Sa'du Din, Ghulam

Ahmad Ahrar and Qari Saif-Ud-Din. They formed the *Jamaat-i-Islami* in Kashmir before the partition of India in August, 1946.²² But after the partition of India, *Jamaat-i-Islami* Hind in April 1948 (at a meeting in Allahabad) was formed with Maulana Abullais Nadvi as its Amir. But the workers of *Jamaat-i-Islami* Jammu and Kashmir choose to remain separate and independent because of the political conditions of the state.²³ Unlike *Ahl-i-Hadith*, *Jamaat-i-Islami* Jammu Kashmir has a clear cut motive, program and methodology for the establishment of Islam in the state. It has faced severe hiccups from various quarters from time to time and still is engaged in major debates on its claim of purity of faith and practice. Its role in making of contemporary Kashmir is not well documented and needs an exhaustive effort to establish its role in the reform in Jammu and Kashmir. It is one of the prominent socio political organizations of Kashmir with undeniable role in the social and political awakening in the state.

The Socio-Political Role of Jamaat-i-Islami.

Jamaat-i-Islami is a *shariat* based movement, propagating its message and achieving its goal through peaceful and democratic way. Their whole work is based on the ideological foundations of Maulana Maududi. They reach to the people through the literature of their chief ideologue which is totally based on Quran and Hadith with a logical tone. This has been the reason that the educated youth has a mental bend towards the *Jamaat*. After seven years of its formation in Jammu Kashmir, the founding members constitutionalize it by framing its own independent constitution in 1953²⁴. Just after, it spread a wave of schools throughout Jammu and Kashmir to educate the new generation. The education given in these *Fallah-i-Aam Trust* schools apart from Islamic, Arabic and Urdu English, Science, Mathematics etc. were also taught. The main agenda of the *Jamaat* has been to prepare a ground for the foundation of the Islamic *shariat* based state.

'Mawdudi's demand that society first be educated in Islam and prepared for the Islamic revolution and the Islamic state stood in clear

contrast to the approaches of Ayatollah Khomeini and General Zia ul-Haq, both of whom used state power to carry out Islamization and therefore, placed primary importance on the struggle for political power. Mawdudi did not share their enthusiasm for a singularly political solution and saw Islamization as an organic process that should emerge from the social culture and only then culminate in the Islamic state. In contrast to Khomeini, Mawdudi regarded the Islamic revolution as essentially a peaceful process. Education would guarantee greater adherence to the *din* and harmonize society, thereby reducing the need for force in the revolutionary process.²⁵ However, in 1975, during Sheikh Abdullah's government, these schools which had numbered 170 with a roll of around 25,000 students, faced crackdown. The party was also banned. Its offices were sealed; thousands of its workers were put behind the bars. The party became active only after the ban was lifted in 1977.²⁶

The *Jamaat* felt that the Islam in the state was full of corrupt practices and was under the influence of un-Islamic local customs²⁷. People have the tendency towards polytheism, because of the pre Islamic influence of the *Buddhism*, *Viasnavism* and *Saivism* on the other hand *Jamaat-i-Islami* wanted to purify the society from these un-Islamic influences.²⁸ The people influenced by the *Jamaat's* program and ideology in Kashmir began to wage a war against all these anti-Islamic things especially Hindu paganism, materialism and atheism.²⁹ *Jamaat* wanted to adopt everything from the Quran and Sunnah. The Kashmiri masses are tradition lover, Shrine worshipers. So a conflict started between them and the *Jamaat* in the valley of Kashmir. The *Jamaat* from the inception faced these heavy blows on every quarter even it was considered that *Jamaat* is a threat to their Islam.³⁰ Even the *Ahl-i-Hadith* activists from Shopian district started a campaign against *Jamaat-i-Islami*, telling people that: The Mawdudi *Jamaat* has adopted the appearance of Muslims but, in actual fact, they are, so far, from Islam that the prayers said behind an *Imam* who belongs to that sect are unacceptable (to God). In short, they are even worse than the Mirza'is, Qadianis and so they should be completely avoided.³¹

This attitude of Ahl-i-Hadith towards *Jamaat-i-Islami* might be based on their ideological differences. To *Jamaat*, religion and politics are not two different things but interdependent, inseparable and complementary to each other. According to one chief ideologue of the *Jamaat* Peer Sad-u-Din, religion serves man's soul, politics serves man's body. Body and soul make man. Islam is a way of life which deals with man's every aspect of life.³²

The *Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu Kashmir* clearly explains its ideology, aim and policy in its Constitution. It openly mentions in its Constitution that "the whole universe and whatever exists within, owe their existence to God, Who has created them—the Sustainer, the Controller, the Sovereign, the Law-giver, and the Lord of all."³³

The Constitution further affirms faith in Allah's absolute control over all spheres of life i.e., social, cultural, political and economic activities and admits only the "divine code rejecting any other code which is not in consonance with His Command and Guidance."³⁴

The constitution also provides clear cut information of the objectives of *Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu Kashmir*, which it describes as "striving for *Iqamat-i-Din* i.e., establishment of God's religion, (*Hakumat-i-Ilahiya*) inspired by the sole desire to earn Divine pleasure and secure" success in the Hereafter." It further contends that this "*Din* encompasses all aspects of Man's physical and spiritual life as well as his individual and collective endeavors in this life. There is not a single aspect of human life ranging from beliefs, rituals and morals to economic, social and political activities which may be outside its purview."³⁵ *Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu Kashmir* considers 'Islam' as a complete System of life. Thus, the main aim of the *Jamaat* within the state of J&K is to establish Islamic State, in which all social, economic, educational and political affairs would be conducted in accordance with the principles of Islam. It also emphasizes that politics and religion are not two different things rather; they are inseparable and interdependent on each other. This kind of notion and ideology of *Jamaat* remained the main program and policy from its inception till 1971 Because the *Jamaat* was consolidating its

position and it was engaged in the matter of preparing the ground for the future involvement in the politics of the state, by educating the team of dedicated and trustworthy cadre through its proper methodology, literature and weekly programs. But at the same time the core issue which was discussed and highlighted by Jamaat from its very inception was the 'issue of Kashmir.' Therefore, The chief ideologues of this very Jamaat were eager to have a possible solution to this Kashmir issue and also bring an Islamic revolution within the state as soon as possible and For this they planned to participate in the elections which were the only solution before them, so that, to bring out overall change in every sphere of life by abolishing the national secular government through peaceful and democratic way.³⁶ Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu Kashmir justified its participation in election for safeguarding the democratic rights of the people of J&K as Government failed to do so. Syed Ali Shah Geelani made his remarks about the basic aim of the Jamaat to the participation in elections of the state as; the Jamaat-i-Islami J&K had two basic objectives behind the participation in the elections. Firstly, articulation and the spread the basic message of Jamaat and safeguard the fundamental rights of the common masses through democratic ways. Secondly, to alive the Kashmir issue.³⁷

Eventually, the Jamaat-i-Islami took participation in parliamentary election of 1977 for the first time. Since then it took part in every elections which were held in the state including the Assembly elections of 1972, the Bi-election of 1975, Assembly election of 1977, and Assembly election of 1983. Subsequently, in 1987 it fought elections as a constituent of the *Muslim united Front (MUF)*.³⁸ But the 1989

Assembly elections of J&K were totally different than the previous elections because these elections of 1989 were not fair but rigged. Nevertheless, it is an established fact that 1987 was rigged election. Former National Conference leader and Member Parliament Abdul Rashid Kabuli said on 29 September 2013 that the 1987 Assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir were rigged. Kabuli, who was the former election campaigner of the National Conference, said, "The Muslim United Front participated in the elections. But the elections were rigged. I am witness to the fact that today's biggest militant commander (United Jihad Council Chief) Syed Salah-ud-Din who participated in 1987 elections had won his assembly seat but he was forced to accept defeat".³⁹ A leader of the Congress Party at the time, Khem Lata Wukhloo, recalls: "I remember that there was a massive rigging in 1987 elections. The losing candidates were declared winners. It shook the ordinary people's faith in the elections and the democratic process."³⁹

The rigging of election in 1987 not only changed the whole political discourse but it brought a paradigm shift in the political atmosphere of Kashmir. The Government of India has regarded Jamaat-i-Islami as a major challenge to its position and principles in the state. From time to time the state government at the instance of Central Government tried to contain the activities of Jamaat-i-Islami. The party was banned in 1975 and in 1990. It has been suspected and alleged with the involvement in the present uprising in Kashmir that started in 1989. It is clear that Jamaat-i-Islami has been supporting the ongoing freedom movement wholeheartedly.⁴⁰

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EACHANKADU AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE

J.S. Singaravelavan

Introduction

Eachankadu is a small village situated in Tiruporur Taluk, Kanchipuram district, Tamilnadu about 45 km south of Chennai. This site lies on the district highway which connects Mambakkam to other major towns like Chengulpattu and Tiruporur via Kayar (Figure 1). For understanding the cultural sequence and settlement pattern of this site, a systematic survey was conducted at this site. This article pertains to the findings from the systematic survey which was conducted by the present author of this article.

Previous works by scholars

Robert Bruce Foote, Father of Indian Prehistory has thrown light on the prehistoric past of this region with the discovery of Palaeolithic stone tools from Pallavaram (R. B. Foote 1), approximately 28 kms from present study area. After R. B. Foote, A. Swamy from University of Madras explored then district of

Chenglepattu and brought to light many prehistoric site from this district. His study on Archaeology of Chengulepattu District was a monumental work on prehistory. Subsequently, Archaeological Survey of India, Chennai Circle have added many important sites, while conducting Village-to-Village survey. Apart from these studies, there is a dearth in prehistoric research from this area.

Geology and Geography

The site is surrounded by thick forest and is notified as Reserve Forest area by Govt. of Tamilnadu. In the study area, small streams of lower order which originates from the natural reservoir. At this site the uppermost soil is sandy in texture and is yellowish brown in colour. At many elevated places, sandy sediments are absent because of erosional activity and the lower deposits are exposed. The lower deposit comprises of laterite which lie above the bedrock (charnokite). The bedrock, Charnokite formed in Proterozoic in

dates and the later deposit of laterite from Kanchipuram are known to be formed Neogene Period. Within the lateritic deposit, calcrete in nodular form are present. The sandy deposits formed much later in geological time scale.

Present exploration

Systematic survey at this site has yielded lot of information on the evidence of human presence in the form of material remains. This survey has revealed that most of the evidence in the form of lithic was noticed on the west of the road and the density of lithics started appearing more as we walked towards the Ammanambakkam hill, which is 4 km west from the study area. There are many small elevated places where the uppermost layer i.e., sandy sediments are absent, due to erosional activity. Here at this raised surface, laterite are noticed and these laterite are very thin in thickness and most of the stone tools are found near the elevated areas and at some places these lithic artefacts are found within the laterite. From the contact zone between the lower laterite and uppermost sandy layer, microliths made on quartz and chert are noticed. To the west of district highway and 750 mts away from the road, broken piece of Neolithic polished axe and disturbed Megalithic burials with potsherds like Black- and-Red

Ware, Red Slipped Ware and Red Ware were noticed. To the east of burials two pieces (bottom portion) of conical jars were also noticed. Based on the exploration, this site has yielded a continuous cultural sequence from Palaeolithic to Early Historic period.

Lithic Assemblage from Eachankadu

Archaeological exploration at this site has revealed 257 Palaeolithic stone artefacts and 229 microliths. Out of 257 lithic artefacts, 3 are miniature handaxe (Figure 3), 1 cleaver, 2 bifacial choppers, 29 cores, 6 core scrapers, 3 denticulates, 2 notched tool, 2 borers, 1 awl and 4 hammerstone. From this site debitage were collected and the debitage comprises of 83 complete flake, 85 broken flake and 10 flake pieces. Out of 229 microliths assemblage, 24 are formed artefacts, 22 cores, and 181 debitage. From the 24 formed artefacts, 15 are microlithic blades, 1 end scrapers, 6 borers, 1 burin and 1 point. Out of 22 cores, 10 are multidirectional core, 8 bipolar core, 3 unidirectional cores and 1 core fragment. Debitage comprises of 181 microliths, out of these 181 microliths, 2 are bipolar complete flake, 37 complete flakes, 56 broken flakes and 86 are flake piece. Table 1. Categories of lithic assemblage with its raw material types from Eachankadu.

S.No.	Typology	Raw Materials	Total
1	Handaxe	Quartzite	3
2	Cleaver	Quartzite	1
3	Bifacial Choppers	Quartzite	2
4	Core scrapers	Quartzite	6
5	Side Scraper	Quartzite	24
6	Denticulate	Quartzite	3
7	Notched Tool	Quartzite	2
8	End Scraper	Quartzite	1
9	Burin	Quartzite	1
10	Borers	Quartzite	2
11	Awl	Quartzite	1
12	Cores	Quartzite	29
13	Complete Flakes	Quartzite	83
14	Broken Flakes	Quartzite	85
15	Flake pieces	Quartzite	10
16	Hammerstones	Quartzite	4
Total	257		

Palaeolithic artefacts from Eachankadu

Eachankadu has revealed formed artefacts like miniature handaxe, cleavers, scrapers, notched, denticulates, borer, burin and awl. Initial analysis has revealed, majority of formed tools comprised of scrapers, few notched tool, borers and awl with 3 miniature handaxe and cleavers (Figure 4). The occurrence of miniature handaxe and more number of scrapers (Figure 5) indicates that the lithic assemblage at this site could be dated to Early phase of Middle Palaeolithic (Korisettar *et. al.* 2003). Our ancestors at this site used multidirectional flaking technique in majority (n=10) to remove flakes from the core, apart from the multidirectional flaking technique levallois (Figure 6) and discoidal flaking techniques was also used for removing flakes. The most preferred raw material was quartzite for removing flakes and making formed artefacts at this site, though there are quartz exposures at this site our ancestors preferred quartzite. From this site apart from formed artefacts and cores, debitage were also collected in large quantity. The dorsal scar pattern of these flakes indicates that these flakes were removed by using multidirectional flaking technique. Occurrence of large number of debitage (Figure 7) with fresh edges at this site indicates the primary nature of this site and these lithic artefacts were manufactured at this site.

Microliths artefacts from Eachankadu

Eachankadu has revealed a total of 229 microliths (Figure 8) assemblage and these microliths were noticed from the surface of the laterite. Microlithic artefacts at this site were dominated by bladelets made from bipolar and unidirectional flaking technique. Other than bladelets, borers, burin, scraper and point were present in the microlithic assemblage. For removing microliths, multidirectional (n=10), bipolar (n=8) and unidirectional (n=3) flaking technique was used. The most preferred raw material to manufacture microliths was quartz, quartzite, crystal quartz and cryptocrystalline silica variety of stones like chert, chalcedony and agate. Evidence of the use of bipolar technique for removing flakes by our ancestors at this site and on a comparative basis from sites like

Watagal, and Sangankallu-Kupagal where the use of bipolar, and with the absence of microlithic tools like backed artefacts and other types the microlithic assemblage at this site could be dated to Neolithic period. The debitage comprises of 181 microliths, out of these 181 microliths, 2 are bipolar complete flake, 37 complete flakes, 56 broken flakes and 86 are flake piece indicates that the microliths at this site was manufactured at this site.

Neolithic axes from Eachankadu

Exploration at this site has yielded two broken Neolithic polished axe (Figure 8) and one axe in the 3rd stage of manufacturing where the axes have been given the shape and the surface has flake scar ridges, which would be removed by removing flakes invasively and with the help of pondering and polishing our ancestors made Neolithic polished axes. Very close to this site there are exposures of dolerite which was used by our ancestors for manufacturing Neolithic axes. Apart from these finished and unfinished axes few dolerite flakes were also found at this site (Figure 9).

Iron Age and Early Historic Period

From this site few cairn-circles of Megalithic culture in disturbed condition and potsherds like Black-and-Red Ware, All Black Ware, Red Slipped Ware and Coarse Red Ware were also noticed at this site. Very close to this site two pieces of bottom part of conical jar were noticed (Figure 10). Burials, potsherds and bottom portion of conical jars, indicate a date from Iron Age to Early Historical Period. More intensive and extensive exploration where the adjacent village is also included will throw more light on this period.

Conclusion

On the basis of exploration and initial analysis of material remains like stone tool, potsherds and burials, it is quite evident that this site was initially inhabited by Middle Palaeolithic period where our ancestors used flake tools and then was inhabited by Neolithic people where the inhabitants used not only Neolithic polished axe but also used microliths made from quartz. Evidence of calcrete in nodular form in the lateritic deposit indicates

that, during and after the formation of laterite there was ample amount of fresh water which could have supported our ancestors. Later on this site was inhabited by Iron Age and Early Historic period, but the evidence from Iron Age

and Early Historic period is meagre. More intensive and detailed analysis of lithic will help us in understanding the behavioural aspect of our ancestors from Palaeolithic period till Neolithic period.

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UNDERSTANDING THE FUNERAL CUSTOMS –A STUDY ON KATTUNAICKER TRIBE IN NILAMBUR AREA

T.P. Sivadasan

Kattunaicker are the aborigines of Nilambur area settled in interior forests and geographical isolated places. They have primitive traits, distinct culture, shyness of contact with other communities of the locality and economic backwardness. They are called by the local people as Nayikkar. They belong to Scheduled Tribe community of Kerala. In the Indian context the tribes are commonly designated as Adivasis, Girijans, Vanyajathis, Adimajathis and Anusuchit Janjathis. According to the 2011 census they represent 84,326,240 (8.60% of Indian population). About 80% of the tribal population is found in States such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chathisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand and West Bengal. According to the 2011 census the tribal population in Kerala is 4,84,839 (1.20%) of the total population of Kerala.

The Kattunaicker in Kerala are considered as the descendants of the Negrito race. They are believers in supernatural powers and their religion is basically animism. They worship their deities at all important occasions especially in the honey taking seasons and of their daily life. They began to worship Ganapathi, Siva and Vishnu. Their contacts with the outside world resulted in the adoption of Hindu deities and worship practices. In Kerala primitive tribes are Cholanaicker, Kadar, Kattunaicker, Kurumbas and Koragas. Similar tribes are settled in other parts of India and have distinct culture.

Local people settled in their areas. Once their original places and the worshiping centres were encroached by the new settlers and they planted rubber, teak and other items. New settlers became the landlords, merchants and dominated sections of the settled areas and exploited the tribes. The Hindu Landlords constructed Temples like., Vettakkorumakan, Veerapur in Nilambur area. Muslims constructed many mosques in this area. Christians from the Southern part of Kerala widely settled in Nilambur area and constructed Churches. These tribals are compelled to settle in the interior forest areas.

After the construction of Kovilakam the Hindu elites dominated on the Nilambur area. Dalits and Tribal were the victims of untouchability and distance pollution. Thus in order to satisfy the tribals the higher castes began to celebrate, local festival like Pooram, Vela and Pattulsav. In the Pattulsav of Nilambur all tribes are participated in the first week of January (Makaram) in every year before the Vettakkorumakan (hunting form of god) temple.

Tribes believed that Vettakkorumakan is their god. Local people believed that this deity is the hunting form of Siva. Higher castes called this god as Kirathamurthi. The Tribes of Nilambur are primitive and lived in small huts. Some Kattunaicker lived in caves called *Alas* they are known as Cholanaicker. Their past, hereditary beliefs, customs, culture can understand through their folk songs and folk

dance performances. They sang their songs during festivals of forests, especially during season of honey from the wild forests. They made a musical instrument by wild guard called *nooda*. They propitiate their gods and ancestors at nights by singing songs. Their feelings and sorrows we can understand from their songs. They offered animals to gods and ancestors. They believed that their god's grace can acquire through the offerings to gods. They placed their gods in baskets. This basket is called by them as *Vatti*. Gods have enough power to protect them from wild animal's attack. They hunted wild animals. Poisoned arrows were used by them to kill the enemies. "Sometimes poison is used as a substitute of weapon. Hunting by poisoning is especially found in the forest areas of Asia, Africa and America. As long distance shooting is difficult in the forest, the tribal people for success of hunting smear poison at the tip of the spear, harpoon or arrow."¹

They are the leaders of forests. "The term Kattunayakan etymologically means (katu – forests_ nayakan – chieftain) chieftain of the forests. They were a forest dwelling community till recently, their knowledge on forest flora and fauna of the area is astounding. According to the 1981, 1991, and 2001 censuses they numbered 8,803, 12,155 and 14,715 respectively. Of this 84.5% in Wynad district, Malappuram and Kozhikode districts have sparing distribution of Kattunayakan population."² They ate wild animals. T. Madhava Menon opined that "the flesh of the rat is a delicacy but they avoid beef. Rice and tapioca now form their staple food in Kerala, and coarse grains in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. They catch fish from the streams, and eat whatever vegetables and fruits they can get from the forests or afford to buy from the markets. They drink black coffee and tea, smoke beedis and chew betel leaves, arecanuts and tobacco. The men are addicted to alcohol."³ Their ancestors wore leaves and bark. A.A.D. Luiz admits that "in their primitive life they used the bark of trees, and carefully avoided all advanced groups. They are tall, long armed and black skinned tribe with curly or wavy hair. They are sturdy, have the external features of tribes, and present many interesting aspects of primitive life. Both sexes use ear rings and ornaments made of material found in the jungle. Naykathies or Mupathies (females) wear a long cloth and knot

that over the right shoulder. This form of dress is quite different to that of the urali kurumans. Kattukayakans treat the Paniyans as low and polluting and will not eat food cooked by them."⁴ Thus Kattunaicker believed that they are higher tribes and followed distance from the other tribes. They also considered the dalits (Scheduled castes communities) of the localities are untouchables.

They did not bother about to clean and decorate their huts. Nettur P. Damodaran opined that "They did not decorate their huts. It has length in size but height is very low. They built it on the floor without any foundation. Their walls are made of bamboo sticks. They roofed their houses by certain grass. Some Kattunaicker are lived in the holes of trees or rocks. Some roofs were made of leaves. Some Kattunaicker lived in forests without huts or particular centre for living."⁵ They are wanderers for food and settled according to the availability of food. They believed Muthans are high caste among the tribes and keep some distance from them. They believed in ghosts and ancestor worship. They believed in omens. When they started their travel they happened to see a black cat at first they returned. They had given high respect to the advice and words of elders particularly their Head (Mooppan). They believed the first person who met in the morning influence their life of that day. So they cunningly avoided ominous one and their presence for the auspicious ceremonies. They believed widows, oracles of other castes are ominous. They believed in the sounds of birds like owl, crow bat as a sign of ghosts. Their folk songs consisted many words of Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. Their dialect consists of words and phrases drawn from all the Dravidian languages and those in Kerala use more Malayalam words. Nettur P. Damodran stated that "their languages consists words of Dravidian languages. In Kerala they spoke many Malayalam words. Their population enumerated as four thousand."⁶ P.R.G. Mathur says that their language is more akin to Kannada than Malayalam."⁷ They used regional language, Malayalam, to converse with outsiders. They spoke their own language within their families. Their language is close to the Dravidian language Kannada. They are speaking tribal slang within the family, and the

regional language, Malayalam is used to converse with outsiders.

They paid less importance to education. A.A.D. Luiz stated that "the names Jenu Kurumbans and Shola Nayakans do not appear in the official list of Scheduled Tribes maintained by the Union, Kerala, Mysore and Madras Governments, but the name Kattunayakan does. They have been enumerated independently in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1941 as 1,478, 1,085, 2,486, 2,475, 4,017, 1,581 and 1,520 respectively. A rough estimate of their population in Kerala would be four thousand."⁸ Their attitudes to education is not much changed. K.S. Singh opined that "their attitude towards formal education is not very favourable. The few children who go to School after drop out the primary level because the Schools are not situated in the vicinity and some of them start earning their bread. The 1981 Census returns show that the literacy rate among them is 8.63% which is very low in comparison to the 31.79% literacy rate of the Scheduled Tribes of the State"⁹ There are so many problems to the tribes for education. "In earlier days, the government had no direct programme for their education. But in the subsequent years the reservation policy has made some changes. There are many reasons for low level of education among the tribal people, formal education is not considered necessary to discharge their social obligations. Superstitions and myths play an important role in rejecting education. Most of the tribes live in abject poverty. It is not easy for them to send their children to schools, as they are considered extra helping hands."¹⁰

Even after independence their children are subjected to do traditional occupations. K.S. Singh opined that "according to the 1981 Census, their population in Kerala is 8803, and nearly 98% of them are returned from rural areas. They speak in Kattunaickan dialect, which Malayalam, is used for writing. Thatoo marks and the attire of the females make the members of this community distinguishable. They are non- vegetarians and eat pork. Rice and ragi are their staple cereals. They consume roots and tubers. Coconut oil is their medium of cooking. They consume milk and milk products. Men occasionally consume alcoholic drinks,

beedis, cigarettes and loose tobacco smoking, tobacco and betel leaf chewing and the use of snuff are common"¹¹.

Funeral Customs

They buried the dead body. Colony members told me that they believed in ghosts and would have a life after death. Nettur P. Damodaran opined that "they buried the dead near their huts. After the death of a person in a family they abandoned their house. They were not permitted to visit that place. They dug a separate hole inside the grave. They buried dead body in a seated position. Some of the Kattunaicker were more primitive and they had no custom to bury the dead body. They placed the dead boy on rock or under a tree for the animals and birds to feed. Sometime they put a mat or leaves on the body. They did not visit that place. It is doubt that they had the custom observing pollution. They did not bother about the re-birth, or the existence of soul. They believed that one male who died before marriage would harm them and causes dangers."¹²

Velayudhan, a Kattunaickan, Appankappu Colony told me that "after bathing of the dead body they put an anklet and a ring on a piece of cotton cloth and exorcise the body and placed the soul of the dead near the place (tharas) of their gods. Adiyanthiram ceremonies started only at nights. On the seventh day at night they beat drums and sang songs. They used a reed in order to make sound. Mooppan took a thread and tied a ring and put it into the basket and on the seventh day he takes that thread from the ring. They placed a bamboo stick near grave and tied it by a wild creeper ('kayyuna') towards left. They went round the grave for seven times and showed at seven times to the grave. Then Mooppan took the rope made of wild creeper from the bamboo and made nine holes on the bamboo sticks. They placed a mat on the dead body and turned to back side and filled the grave. Mooppan first took a handful of soil and put it into the grave. Then he took a sickle and a shovel and went round the grave for three times. Then he took the leaves of a wild plant (irool) and blew on all the males who attended in the funeral ceremony of filling the graves. Then he placed the leaves on the graves and returned to the hut. After bath they taken a

grass called *arippapullu* and planted it at courtyard. Then seven relatives cooked rice. They poured oil into the holes of bamboos and one grass (tharippa) taken and dipped in the holes of bamboo. This was considered as one of the important funeral ceremonies known as 'ennabali.'

They believed that if the oil and water poured in the holes of bamboo equally dead soul was satisfied and his soul became a god. If his soul was not satisfied the oracle would revealed what was their failure in observing funeral ceremony. On the 15th day of funeral (adiyanthram) ceremony the oracled Mooppan imitate the style of dialect, and walking style of the dead and the desires of the deceased revealed by him. In order to propitiate the soul of the dead they arranged betel leaves, tobacco, lime and areca nut, beedi, toddy etc. His favourite meat and fish curry was also prepared by them. A.A.D. Luiz opined that "Kattunayakans bury the dead in a solemn manner near their habitation, and thereafter it is customary to desert that locality and even

carefully avoid visiting. They dig a deep grave and make a cellar on the side at the bottom of the grave. The corpse is lowered into the grave and pushed into the cellar and the grave is filled with earth. Very primitive groups wrap the corpse in mats or leaves and leave it leaning against a rock or tree to be eaten by birds and animals. They are generally unconcerned about the dead, and it is not certain whether they observe any pollution connected with death. They are very vague about their beliefs in the existence of the soul after death and re birth. An adult male, who dies before marriage, is described a *virika*, and his spirit is considered to be very mischievous."¹³ They observed puberty ceremonies and girls are not permitted to enter huts for 15 days. Nettur P. Damodaran opined that "they observed pollution on girl for 15 days".¹⁴ These girls are not permitted to participate in the marriage ceremonies of their huts. Their ancestors permitted to marry from their own community and preferred lineage in order to keep the purity of blood. "The notion of racial purity has little significance in physical anthropology."¹⁵

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A NEW NOTE ON TYAGARAJA IMAGE FOUND AT THIRUVARUR IN TAMILNADU

N. Sivaraman

The famous temple complex at Thiruvavarur is named after Tyagaraja. The image Tyagaraja is enshrined in a separate structure on the southern side of the Vanmikanatha Shrine. The moral image of Thyagaraja in fact comprises

the Somaskantha group, but only the faces of the god, goddess and the divine child are exposed, the rest being completely covered. The legendry story relating to the installation of the Image at Thiruvavarur is an interesting one.

Vishnu to redeem himself from a curse by Parvathi, whom he had failed to salute on one occasion, made a composite image of siva, uma and Subramanya and had the curse obviated by offering worship to it. Since then he was keeping the image, which came to be known as Tyagaraja, on his chest. As Vishnu inhaled and exhaled, Thyagaraja was Performing the ajapa dance. Subsequently the image was Presented by Vishnu to Indra.

Muchukunda the great chola monarch installed the Tyagaraja image at Thiruvavur in a separate shrine by the side of vanmikanathar. The ajapa dance of siva signifies the control and manseure of breathing.¹ This association of Tyagaraja cincept with breath control methods of the psychophysical exercises seems to be very ancient as Appar, is found to refer to the theme of this daily resting on Vishnus chest.² Thirumular also speakes of the importance of the agapa dance and stresses the significance of the mantras which is not actually chanted.³ Tyagaraja who is reffered to as Vidividankan in the Thevaram Hymms and in the medieval inscription⁴ must have seen in worship at Thiruvavur from very early times. The image must originally have served as the Utsavamurthi of Vanmiganatha for the latter is invariably referred to as mulattana mudaiyar in the Thevaram Hymms and as Mulasthan Mudaiyar in the,⁵ Thevaram Hymms and as Mulasthanamudiar in the inscriptions.⁶

Appar refers to vidivitankan as being taken out in procession. The Devaram Hymms seem to distinguish between Arunai and Thirumulattannar⁷. And the verses referring to the former name can be taken as address to Vidividankan and those mentioning the latter, to Vanmikinatha. Again it is only in those hymms in which the deity is addressed as Arunan,

names and attributes peculiar to Thiyagaraja are mentioned by Appar.⁸ In one Verse Appar actually sings of Aruvaran alias Vidividankan.⁹ It is only in the inscriptions and religious Literature that date ffrom the 16th century, that the name Thiyagaraja occurs.¹⁰ With the advent of the name Thiyagaraja many symbolic attributes were added. They are Sceptere, throne garland, sword, Five faced drum, Elephant and Chariot.

It seems propale, from all the available evidences, that from the nucleus of an ancient mystic concept, the Vidankan theory has grown in to the Thiyagaraja, during the period between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 18th century. It may be remembered that during this period many of the Sthalapuranas for Vrious Temples of the Tamil Country were written are took their final shape. A substratum of Saiva religions literature, comprising many books in both Tamil and Sanskrit, devoted mainly to legends and traditions thus came to being. Thiruvavur alone form that theme for 25 Tamil books and 16 Sanskrit books of that zener. Simple spiritual truths, both clear and profound in the import, are buried under Pediantic prentensim in this works.

The Thiyagaraja Images found in the rest of this Saptha Vidanka Sthalas. (The important places where Muchukunta the Chola ruled is said to have installed the image brought from Indira) are also attributed as with their own names and dances, and with an equally Opague Veil of secreacy wrapped around them like the Thiruvavur Vidakar. However, Vidividankar stands unique and supreme among them, attracting the devotion of multitudes of devotees, even as he had attracted, long ago, the great saints.

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ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSEUMS MOVEMENT IN INDIA

J. Soundararajan

Archaeology is defined as the study of the ancient past. It mainly deals with the material relics left behind by the humans. Archaeology categorises the ancient historical relics as belonging to the prehistoric, proto historic and the historical periods. Archaeological relics of our great nation, more so even those of any country in the world, are the real, authentic and original source material of the Annals of its ancient history, the contemporaneous witness of the culture, events and of the men whose deeds and achievements they hand down to us¹.

Their authenticity renders the most valuable for the reconstruction of our ancient history and hence deserve careful, scientific discovery, retrieval, recording and preservation². They supply important data bearing on the culture, chronology, geography, industry, customs, practices, manners, religious beliefs, affiliations of families, dynasties, organization of societies etc. of the ancient times. Hence the great need for discovering and studying them, with the aid of modern techniques and scholarship that our present world can supply³. The pioneers of India archaeology fully recognized this and laid a strong foundation for antiquarian researches of our country. The growth of archaeology in India was essentially the product of corresponding developments in Europe, in the beginning concealed in the swaddling cloths of the antiquarianism and the dilettantism of the last quarter of the 19th century CE⁴, which witnessed the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 CE and its scholarly publication known as Asiatic Researches. Archaeology gained formal official recognition in 1861 CE⁵, when Alexander Cunningham was appointed to undertake a systematic survey of the archaeological relics and vestiges in India. His reports in 23 volumes constitute a valuable mine of information on Indian archaeology⁶.

Men like Robert Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey of India discovered a genuine palaeolith from a small ballast – pit at Pallavaram in Chennai. Many antiquarian researches and more and more discoveries

followed with the result in strong foundation was laid for the establishment of more archaeological offices in many parts of India⁷. Savants like James Burgess⁸, Colin Mackenzie⁹, James Prinsep¹⁰ followed the footsteps of Cunningham and extended their activities in all branches of archaeology including architectural surveys and epigraphical studies. By the end of the 19th century CE¹¹, Indian archaeology had come to occupy a proper place in the scheme of knowledge. Sir John Marshall¹², Mortimer Wheeler¹³ etc. have taken the archaeological researches into greater heights.

In the post independent period, the tempo of the archaeological researches increased phenomenally and covered all aspects of Indian culture¹⁴. Archaeological investigation adopted new approaches with interdisciplinary studies on geology, paleontology, paleobotany, paleo-climatology etc¹⁵, in order to establish the ecological relationship between human settlements and their environmental context¹⁶. At the present time, the ASI holds practically a monopoly of the archaeological researches in India¹⁷. But this spirit of monopoly is not narrow and oppressive as we find parallel archaeological departments in all states, in many universities, independent freelance, who are so eagerly grasped by the liberal patronage given by the Dept. What is really needed now is trained persons, who can work with definite plans to fill up the blanks in our history¹⁸. The ASI has celebrated its sesquicentennial recently. A devoted and dedicated band of distinguished archaeologists, by their systematic hardworks, carried on steadily, year after year for the past 150 years have brought to light many aspects of our ancient heritage and illustrious glory and rendered possible the writing of an authentic history of our country, its glory, and its contribution to the world civilization. The nation overan indebtedness to all of them¹⁹.

India is a great nation. Through it has a history, which date back to remote antiquity; we had till about the middle of the 19th century, little information of authentic nature. What even was known at that time as history of India was based mainly on literature, which condiment

lengthy legends, traditions, stories of miracles etc²⁰. Learned scholars know nothing about the real history of various dynasties that ruled India, the number of kings their chronology, their contributions etc. The establishment of the epigraphy branch of the ASI in 1886 CE laid a strong foundation for writing the authentic history of India. Thousands of inscriptions on stone and metal have been discovered, intensive study of these epigraphs gave to the society the names of many dynasties, new kings, feudatory families, administrative setup, society, religion, economy, art and architectural edits, language, script etc. In which areas the country reached heights of excellence which we cherish as our glorious inheritance and legacy²¹. The exploration and excavation works, conservation of ancient monuments in the country has resulted in the retrieval of a wealth of antiquities of great historical significance, artistic merit etc²². Researches made on them and their publication have generated great admiration among the scholars, researches and a keen desire among the common public to see such objects. Therefore, the Government thought it fit to protect them from vandalism, decay, antique pirates etc. For our ancient Indian culture, tradition and history lay embedded and fossilized in these antiquities, and therefore exhibit such important antiquities in Museums²³.

The establishment of museums in India is as old as the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. William Jones²⁴, who collected and exhibited many antiquities in the society. Since then many museums were established in various parts of the Empire. The Indian museum, Calcutta²⁵, the Prince of Wales museum, Bombay, The Government museum, Egmore (1851 CE), the Lahore museum etc. are the contributions of the Britishers. National Museum, New Delhi 12th May, 1955 CE²⁶ and the new building where works of art were displayed elegantly on scientific lines was handed over to Museum authorities in June, 1960 CE. The Museum was formally thrown open to the public on December 18, 1960. And it is now within the administrative control and fully financed by the Department of Culture, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. The Museum has in its possession approximately 2,00,000 works of exquisite art of diverse nature, both Indian and foreign and its holdings cover a of more than

five thousand years of our cultural heritage. The art exhibitions sent abroad from the National Museum have further enhanced the image of Indian art and culture throughout the world²⁷.

These museums had in their objective to be a place where one can see the outstanding historical objects of ancient period so as to educate the public about the history and other achievements of a particular area. Following this, many princely states also set up their own museums like the Salarjung museum, Hyderabad. The ASI set up museums as site museums, dedicated to highlight the history of a particular site²⁸. The growth of museums in India is a fascination subject. In India there is an apex museum called the National museum, under the Government of India similarly almost every state in India is having a museum dedicated to highlight the glorious heritage of that state. The ASI and other state archaeological department have their own site museum. There are museum for every subject of knowledge²⁹. The museum movement took a shape in the 1950s and now in India over 750 museums are present, which are of various categories like National Museum, Regional Museum, State Museums, District Museums, University Museums, Local Authority Museums, College and School Museums, Private Museums depending upon the agencies which run the museum. Depending upon the activities of the museums, they are classified as Multidisciplinary Museums, Archaeological Museums, Transport Museums, Personal Museums etc³⁰. There are also museums dedicated to some illustrious personalities. There are science museums, Industrial museums, textile museums, handicrafts museum etc in our country. There is also a museum of man.

The University of Madras with a view to popularize the cultural heritage of the past, proudly set up an Archaeological Museum in the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology in the year 1960 under the leadership of the Late Professor T.V. Mahalingam, the Museum began to procure artifacts, coins, sculptures and models of sculptures from Government and non-Governmental agencies. As Archaeological Explorations and Excavations formed part of the post-graduate study in the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, a large

number of antiquities, potteries etc., unearthed from different sites, came to be displayed in the Museum. Private individuals also began to donate some objects from their collections³¹. National Museum at New Delhi, had also kindly provided plaster-cast models of Mauryan, Kushan, Hoysala and Pallava sculptures, models of some Indus valley seals, terracotta objects and samples of Harappan pottery. All these specimens and the important antiquities recovered from the annual excavations conducted by the department are displayed in the specially designed showcases³².

At present, there are 20 showcases containing selective antiquities like terracotta objects, coin-moulds, bone objects, beads of various materials, bangles, copper and iron objects, stone objects, inscribed sherds, different varieties of potteries in different shapes etc., from the excavated sites like Tirukkampuliyur, Alagarai, Uraiyur, Kanchipuram, Kallerimalai, Appukallu, Mallappadi, Adiyamankottai, kudikadu, Tiruverkadu and Palur. Fine specimens of Palaeolithic tools from Attirambakkam, Vadamadurai, Gudiyam and Amirthamangalam; microlithic tools from Sawyerpuram, Maanadu and Godavari basin and Neolithic celts from Salem and Dharmapuri districts are displayed in three show cases³³.

Special iron racks accommodate sun dried bricks from Tirukkampuliyur; huge size bricks of the early centuries of the Christian era unearthed from Kanchipuram, Uraiyur and Arikamedu. Moreover, a large number of conical jars used for fermentation of intoxicating liquors in ancient times, also from Kanchipuram excavations, are arranged in some wooden racks³⁴.

Professor Lockwood of Madras Christian College, Tambaram had kindly donated 28 small modern bronze images representing Hindu deities to the Museum and these adorn the displays in big showcase made specially for this purpose. Miniature bronze models of Rama

and Sita from Paruttiyur purchased from the Government Museum, Egmore, are displayed in such a way as to attract the attention the visitors to the Museum³⁵.

A spectacular stone sculpture of Durga as Mrigavahini, exhibiting the 8th century style of the Pallavas's acquired from Periyavenmani, Kanchipuram district, by two of the Faculty members lures the art historians often. Fine plaster-cast models of sculptures depicting secular theme and two figures of Buddha in dhyana and bhuspasa posture from Kanchipuram, models of excavated trenches revealing a brick structure of dyeing vat from Uraiyur prepared by the Artist of this Department are of special attraction to the visitors. Reserve collection of antiquities, potteries etc., from all the sites, excavated by the Department, are kept under safe custody in the Museum³⁶.

While there are ever so many museums in India, the faculty vize archaeology plays a guiding role in the organization of a museum. All museums invariably trace the history, of the subject for which the museum is dedicated if it is a museum for medicine, then the ancient medical system, herbs, their references in the literature, archaeology, epigraphy etc. are traced and then the progress achieved over the centuries is illustrated³⁷. If is an industrial museum, than the primitive industrial establishment are highlighted and the achievements are displayed later. similar is the case with textile museums, museum of man etc. It is here, when they trace the origin, growth and development of each faculty, scholars in the particular field seek the help, guidance, material etc³⁸. Of that particular field from the archaeologists, who in turn search for such material and supply to the subject experts, who in turn use them in setting up of a separate gallery for the history of that faculty of knowledge³⁹. Thus the role of archaeology in the museum movement in India is very significant.

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CULTURAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS GLEANED THROUGH THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAYAS OF VIJAYANAGARA

E. Sreedhar

Cultural ethnography is the science which deals with names of people occurring in the inscriptions along with their Gotras, Religion. Caste. Profession and Designation. The study of personal names gives the religious, social conditions of the time which had influenced the names and sociological structure prevailing in that age.

The Cultural Ethnography which we have selected to study is limited to the names of people recorded in the inscriptions from the Telugu Linguistic area of the Vijayanagara Empire, which has not so far received due attention. The data is collected from about 550

inscriptions published by ASL ICHR, GOVT OF A.P. S.V.U Tirupati.

The names of the person consists usually of two pares the name proper and the upapadha that is the suffix. In this paper an attempt is made to classify and explain the proper names according to their Meaning and Etymology which brings out to a certain extent, the religious and social conditions of the time which had influenced the personal names, and to Analyse the suffixes of the persons to know the sociological structure and social stratification.

I. CLASSIFICATION OF PROPER NAMES: In view of the varied qualitative feature of the data, a wider classification is necessary. Classification is made on the basis of etymological meaning of the personal names and hence no real or exact sense is to be expected in every case.

1. NAMES AFTER DEITIES: 335 personal names are after deities. It shows that religion was the major factor which usually determined the name of the person. These names after deities further classified in to following categories.

A. Names after Deities in general: The common names of God used in Telugu inscriptional person names are Abba, Appa. Deva and Sura. The names prefixed with Divine names are 18 in number. Most of the names of 'God' in general contain the word 'deva. Deva or sura is Sanskrit words, compounded sometimes with a Dravidian suffix Amma, Ayya, Nayudu, Nayaka. Appa¹, Abba² are non Sanskrit words with Dravidian suffix like aya. raju, ayya. some titles with Sanskrit suffixes like Appaya Deva.

B. Name after Vishnu: Considerable number of names (178 names) seems to be Vaishnavite. 18 records of the Sangama period give us the epithets of Vishnu as Kesava. Tirumala, Rama, A vubala, Gopi, Narasa, Ranga, Krishna and Gopala. These show that the worship of Rama, Krishna, Ranga, and Narasimha has become popular during the Sangama period. There are only two instances of this type of names from Salua records.¹³⁴ Tuluva records give is new epithets of Vishnu which are not founded in earlier inscriptions as Achuta, Anania, Govinda, Lakshmikanta, Madhava, Narayana, Purushottama. Raghava, Varada, Vengala, Vittala, Murari, Padmanabha and Venkata. The name of Vitala shows worship of Viithoba, which has become the most popular form of Vismu worship in Maharastra in Tuluva times. Names after Vishnu appear in greater number. The epithets of Vishnu mentioned in 24 Aravidu records existed earlier to this period.

These various epithets and the great number of names may be indicative of increasing popularity of Vishnu cult in study area under Vijayanagara rule.

C. Name after Shiva: 46 records present a Saivate names. Epithets of Siva, which mentioned in the Sangama records, are Bhava³ Malia, Bhairava and Virupaskhsa. Siva with some suffixes seems to have been popular Eg: Sivacharya. Tuluva records added Sarva⁴, Bhutanatha, Rudra. Aravidu records added Sankara to the earlier existing epithets of Shiva. It shows that next to vaishnavism, the worship of Siva in the form of Rudra. Bhairava, Virupasksha has become popular during this period. Linga, Ganapathi Basava and Nandi shows the saiva influence.

D. Names after Brahma: There are only a 7 names after Brahma. Except one Name i.e. Brahma Jyoyisa all names are after Bomma, which may be a corrupt form of Brahma.

E. Names after Hanuma: 35 Records are after Hanuma. The records mention the following names. Only one epithet of Hanuman as Timma occurs in most of the names. We get two names after Hanuma with direct name. Existence of considerable number of names after Hanuma shows that the cult of Hanuma was popular during the study period.

F. Name after Madana: There are only 7 names after Madana. Most of the records mention Mara, an epithet of Madana. Only three names after Kama, which is other name of ivladana referred. The name Madan a itself is not found in any of the records.

G. Names after Naga: There are only 12 names after Naga. It seems that Naga worship was prevalent during the period of Sangama, Tuluva and Aravidu in Andhra. Its impact was marginal on the personal names personal names after snakes are common in Andhra.

H. Name after Yama: A solitary instance of the name after Yama, the God of Death is found from Tuluva record dt: 1554 as Sangamanayaka⁵ in the name of the Donor.

I. Name after Surya: 6 names are after Surya, which might imply of the worship of the sun. the names of Bhaskara, Surya and Aruna are in Vogue in Andhra under the Vijayanagara rule.

J. Name after Chandra: There are only a 5 names after Chandra. only one epithet of Chandra as Soma occurs in most of the names.

We get only one name after Chandra directly with the name.

K. Name after Goddess: A considerable number of names (21 names) are after Goddesses i.e. Durga, Lakshmi, and village deities like Ankamma, Yellamma suggests that worship of Devi was prevalent. The occurrence of the personal names after goddess in the names of donor reveals the influence of these goddess even among the Elite of the society. All the names after Lakshmi begin with Sri or Siri. The name Devinayuclu suggests the worship of devi. Durga seems to have been worshipped in the form of Uma, Reva, Anka (Village deity).

Most of the personal names after deities suggest gradual development of the cult of personal gods. The worship of Brahma, Naga, Sun, and Moon was prevalent. but it does not seem to have become as popular, as it is now. The old taboo of not using the names of deities directly, which stated by manavya grihya sutra had been completely given up.

2. Names after Hills, Mountains, Rocks etc: 24 personal names denote important land marks such as mountains, hills, stones etc. most of the names are after mountain, hills and a few names are after stones or rock. Konda and Parvata are the more widely used words to denote a hill or mountain. The terms like Giri, Malia and Banda are rarely used.

3. Name after Various kinds of Animals and Birds: 33 personal names denote various kinds of Animals and Birds. the names of animals that figure in inscriptional personal names are hawk, monkey, pig, a hog, lion. Horse, elephant, buffalo, crow, tiger. snake and a fish. These may indicate Zoological surroundings of Andhra under Vijayanagara rule.

4. Name after Trees and Flowers: 12 names of trees and plants have exerted an influence on the person names. Six varieties of trees like Poka, Nali, Mranga, Kadiri. Bhadri, Jinna. Trees having edible fruits such as Tati (palm tree), Nimma (lime tree) and one kind of flower i.e. Lotus are found from the personal names..

5. Names relating to Nearness of Water: There are only 10 personal names after water

sources. We find 5 names after rivers namely Ganga, Kaveri and 5 names after a stone faced tank with steps. Reference of a few names after water resource may indicate the dry region of Andhra under Vijayanagara rule.

6. Names after Colour: 9 persons. One from sangama and 8 from Tulava records seem to have been named after two colours i.e Red and Black. Red seems to be most popular.

7. Names after Metal: Only two personal names one from saluva and other from tuluva record seem to be after only the metal is Gold. ex. Honnappa nayaka, Panna Reddy.

8. Names after Great Men: 7 names are after a few great personalities Such as Lakshmana from Ramayana and Bhima from Mahabaratha. The names of Siddha are found which may be the name of a disciple of a socioreligious reformer of the study period, Yeera brahmendra Swami in Rayalaseema.

9. Names after Designation: 11 names are after designation. 3 are after king (Bhupati, Chakravarthy) 5 are after secretary (Raya⁶), one is after a chief (Dora) two are after tax collector. (Sunkana)

10. Names Signifying Collection: 11 names contain the words Tippa, Gana which means in Telugu heap, group, respectively. Ex. Tippi nayaka, Ganamba.

11. Names after Relation: 15 names have their first part denoting some relation. Some of the personal names give the relation of Alia (mother in sanskrit) Boppa (father in prakrit), Appa (father in kannada). Tata (Grandfather) Peddayya (elder father) Kumara (son) These terms except Alia and Boppa are found even in modern Andhra

12. Names denoting Size: 13 names have their first part denoting size as small or big. containing the Telugu words Pinna, Chinna, Salaka⁷ signify a small size. While names with Telugu word Pedda denote a bigger size.

13. Descriptive Personal Names: There are 68 names which suggest some quality or speciality or give some general information. Prefix of personal names that denote beauty are Cheluvas, Chennu⁸. Personal names that indicate the courage are Veera, Pratapa. Those indicating excellence are Rachi¹⁰, Chokka.

Which indicate Charming is Desiya¹¹ in contrast to this kind of Personal names there exists some inauspicious personal names like Tamma,¹² Tita(itching), Bodi and Papi(sin) and choudu¹³

14. Names after Sky or Light: Personal names after sky or light seem to be very scarce. The name contain the first part as Jyothi meaning light, mega means sky. Names after sky or light found only in the name of the Sangama records.

Analysis of prefixes: The detailed analysis of personal names has revealed that the names of the Donors have dominated our epigraphical data. Amongst them, majority are after the names of some deity. The tradition of naming all the members of the family after a particular deity is continued during the period also, which was started earlier. This signifies that the family followed a certain cult or worship. But sometimes father had a Saivaite name and a son Vaishnavite Eg: Rudrayya his son was Govindayya¹⁴ The old tradition about naming, which was stated in Vedas, Sutras is not observed during the study period in Andhra. There does not appear any gender differentiation of names. The names of Rama and Sriranga were given both, to men and women. Eg: Ramayamma, Srirangayamma. such names like Arunayya, Yellayya are also observed.

II. SUFFIXES OF THE NAMES OF DONORS AND DONEES

Inscriptional personal names usually consist of two parts. the proper name and the second part, called as padanta (that is suffix) perhaps used to embellish the proper name.

A consideration of the suffixes brought out to a certain extent the naming pattern of a society and to what extent the people of that age in question adhered to the ancient tradition of using upapada. Social stratification also is gleaned through the study of suffixes. From the data the following 38 suffixes of the names of donors and donees are found.

Acharya: The suffix Acharya means a teacher, a learned person. This suffix occurs twice in the Saluva, 5 times in Tuluva and once in Aravidu records.

Adri: The suffix 'Adri' means mountain. It occurs only once in a Tuluva record dt 1537. Amatya: The suffix Amatya means a 'king's minister' solitary instance of this suffix is found in the name of the Donor as in a Sangama record of 1423 A.D

Amba: The Sanskrit word 'amba' meaning an elderly person. This suffix is found with only one name of the parents of the Donor from Tuluva record dt. 1509.

Amma / Ama: The word amma, ama seems to be a Dravidian word, which may have been derived from, Sanskrit 'amba' meaning an elderly person. 16 records mentions this suffix. Anna / Ana: Just as amma, anna also seems to be a Telugu suffix, "hich also signifies an elderly person or brother 14 records mention this suffix.

Appa: The suffix, appa seems to be an Indo-Aryan loan word in Telugu or tiom amba or atma. It is used usually as an honorific suffix. 13 records mention this suffix

Aradhya: It is the suffix used by Saiva Brahmins. Aradhya means Saiva Brahmin Teacher who wears linga. This suffix is found only once in Sangama record belongs to Harhara. Arya: Arya is a Sanskrit word and is used usually as an honorific suffix. It occurs twice from Sangama records.

Arsa: The word 'Arsa' is a Kannada word, which means a king. We have noticed that this suffix was applied to the names of the kings. But strangely, it was used by the Donors and Donee with this suffix. 12 records mention this suffix.

Avve: Avve is the Kannada form of Amba in Sanskrit, which signifies mother. It occurs twice in the names of parents of the donor from sangama record i.e. Bujavvc

Ayya / Aya: The suffix ayya / aya seem to have been derived from tiom arya. Might have been used as honorific suffix like arya. Except those of the Saluva, all other records mention a large number of names, with this suffix. The suffix seems to have been popular.

Ayyangaru: The suffix Ayyangaru is a title of the Srivaishnavas. It occurs once in the name of Donor from Sangama record and once from Tuluva records viz. Thirumalayyanganaru.

Bhatta: Bhatta is a Sanskrit word meaning a learned person. Except Aravidu, all other 5 records of Vijayanagara empire mention the names with this suffix.

Bhupala: The suffix Bhupala means a king. This suffix is found only in one name of the Donor from a Sangama Record.

Bhupati: The suffix 'Bhupati' means a king. Solitary instance of this suffix is found in the name of the Donor as Vijaya Bhupati in Sangama record of dt. 1410 A.D..

Dasu: The suffix is attached to the name after Deity. Hence this suffix here may suggest that the bearer was a follower of a particular deity. It occurs once from Tuluva record.

Deva /Devi: Deva is Sanskrit word and is used usually as an honorific suffix. 9 Records mention this suffix. We find this suffix more in the names of donor or parents of the donor.

Dikshita: The suffix Dikshita signifies one who has performed a yajnya (sacrifice). The suffix occurs only from 4 Tuluva records.

Eswara: Eswara as a suffix is used in one name of the Donor from Sangama record and one name of the donor from Tuluva record. Eswara here may simply signify a lord.

Gouda: The suffix Gouda is a title borne by any man of the caste of liquor sellers. It occurs twice in the names of the Donee from Tuluva record dt: 1551 A.D.

Jetti: The suffix Jetti means a prize fighter, a wrestler. It occurs twice in the names of the Donors from Aravidu records.

Jiyya: The suffix jiyya means a Vaishnava abbot or spiritual guru who has become a sanyasin. This suffix occurs 4 times from the sangama records and twice from tuluva records. **Jyosha:** The suffix 'Jyosha' meaning an astrologer. It occurs once in Tuluva record.

Natha: The suffix 'Natha' means lord, protector. It occurs once from Sangama record and 4 times in Tuluva records.

Nayaka: The suffix Nayani < Nayudu < Nayaka is a title usually borne by any man of the Baliya caste or velama caste.

Odeya: The suffix Odeya means ruler, lord, master. It is the title used by the Sangama

princes as Viceroys. The suffix occurs thrice from Sangama records.

Oju: The suffix Oju means a tutor or master. It occurs 4 times in all the records except Saluva. **Pati:** The suffix pati means a Lord or Master. It occurs from a Tuluva record dt: 1550 A.D. **Pandita:** The suffix Pandita means a learned. It occurs twice in Tuluva and once in Aravidu record.

Raja: The suffix Raja means royal, belonging to a king or eminent. This suffix occurs thrice in the name of the donors from Tuluva records.

Raju: The suffix raju is a title of the caste. This suffix is found only in the names of donors and parents of the donor.

Raya: The suffix Raya < Rayudu. It seems that final sound 'de' is dropped due to the phonological change. The suffix Raya is used usually as an honorific suffix.

Reddy: Reddy is a title of the caste. Generally the suffix is appended to the names of the caste of Kapu who were the cultivators. In usage a person who acts as a Headman of a village and his family members, irrespective of the caste are also known as Reddy.

Sani: The suffix Sani means a lady, a woman of rank. It is a suffix denoting respectability. A termination denoting wife as 'dorasani'.

Setty: This is the title assumed by the all members of the Beri, Komati, or Baliya who are merchants. The merchant community seems to have been called Sreshti. Sreshti is changed into Setty..

Somayaji: It is the title assumed by Brahmins who have celebrated a sacrifice. This suffix occurs thrice in the names of donees from Saluva record dt. 1485 A.D.

Varma: Varma is an old Kshatriya suffix which means Armour. Only a Tuluva records dt. 1509 A.D. refers to the name of Donee as Madhavarma,

Analysis of the Suffixes:

A number of suffixes are found during this period. Kshatriya type of suffixes such as Arsa, Bhupala, Bhupati, Raju, Varma; Brahmin suffixes like Acharya, Aradya, Ayyangaru, Deva, Dikshita, Jiyya, Pandita, Somayaji, Vyasa, Vyasula like Setty; chaturda kula suffixes like Nayani,

Nayudu, Reddy; Honorable suffixes like Arya, Amma, Amba, Ayya, Appa, Anna; professional suffixes like Jetty, Jyosha. Gowda. Amatya, Oju are found. Thus it is known that most of the suffixes are a title of the caste. These suffixes show that non observance of the traditional dictum that the suffix signifying happiness blessing etc., should be applied to the names of Brahmanas.

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11. Desiya- Manoharam, Charming- Suraya Andhra Nigantuvu-Vol- IV, p.341
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14. SII VOL XVI NO 209 from Anantapur district.

Widely used suffix is Ayya / Aya. 107 names had with this suffix followed by Nayaka / Nayudu With 78 names and Raju in 60 names. The suffixes Raja. Raya, Nayaka were used to show their authority in their respective capacities. The sumxes like Ayya, Appa, Amma, Anna, Nayudu, Raju, Reddy. Setty are continuing in Andhra even today.

PERUMAL TEMPLES IN DIFFERENT NAMES IN DINDIGL DISTRICT – A STUDY

D. Sri Veni Devi

The Lord Vishnu has thousand names called Sahasranama. In 108 Divyadesas (sacred places) some temples have the same name such as Sri Srinivasa perumal, Soundararajaperumal and Varatharajaperumal. In Dindigul district there are 41 Perumal temples with different names.¹ Some names are not found in the Prabhandas but very particular for a particular place. For example, Chenrayaperumal temple on the top of a hill near Bathlagundu is famous for its construction and its history. Even during festivals, it has distinct events. The priest hails from traditional Thottiyathu Naicker sect.

Here under the different names of the Vaishnava temples are listed

Name of the temple

1. Thathakattiperumal temple – Vakkampatty
2. Malaiperumal – A.Vellodu
3. Santhamalaiperumal – Balakrishnapuram
4. SanjeevirayaPerumal – Madur
5. MulaniPerumal – Athoor
6. Kuttathuperumal – Sirakkadu
7. ThottarayaPerumal – Kothapulli
8. Devarmalaiperumal – Pudukkottai
9. SolaimalaiAlagarPerumal – Sevuganpatti
10. RamaAlagar – Chinnalapatti
11. VatthappachettiarVaigundaPerumal – Bathlagundu
12. KondarayaPerumal – Eluvanampatti
13. MatharamPerumal – Viralipatti
14. Thimmaraya Perumal – Viralimayampatti
15. VirumalaiPerumal – Viruveedu
16. SthalamPerumal – Kottur
17. KannaPerumal – Ethilodu
18. AhobilaPerumal – Pappampatti
19. KathirnarayanaPerumal – Kalanchipatti (Natham)
20. Veera Narayana perumal - Muthu nayakkan patti
21. MottamalaiPerumal – PeriyaAravankurchi
22. Veera HanumantharayaPerumal – NatthamKoilpatti
23. KaliyugaPerumal – Odukkampatti
24. HarinarayanaPerumal – Ayarkkudi
25. SundaresaPerumal – Vakkampatti
26. Kaliyaperumal – Sirukkudi
27. Muthu Perumal – Thoppampatti
28. AlamPerumal – Kalinganayakkanpatti
29. Alaguperumal – Perumalpudur
30. Alaguperumal – Ethilodu
31. Alanjiperumal – Ethilodu

32. CholittaPerumal – Podivaundanpatti
33. KadavahuKurinjiPerumal – Podivaundanpatti
34. SthambaPerumal – Mhavanoothu
35. Chenruvalliperumal – NagaiyyanKottai
36. MattakaraduPerumal – Vadugapatti (palayam)
37. VairavaPerumal – Palayam
38. KarumalErugundaPerumal – Kuttam (koilur)
39. AlagiyaPerumal – Kulathupatti
40. Karattukottaiperumal – Karikari (koyilur)
41. Chenrayaperumal temple- Batlagundu.²

Hindu temples were and are built in accordance with the agamic rules. The Agamas are a collection of scriptures of several Hindu devotional schools. The term literally means tradition or that which has come down from the Agamas. These texts describe cosmology, epistemology, philosophical precepts on meditation and practice.

The rituals prescribed in the agamic religions are differ from the Vedic form, while the Vedic form of yajna requires no idol and shrine. The agamic religion is based on idols with pujas as means of worship, symbols, icons and temples are a necessary part of the agamic practice. Each agama consists of four parts. They are Gnanapada, Yoga pada, Kriyapada and Charyapada. The Kriyapada consists of rules for rituals, construction of temples, design principles for sculpting, carving and consecration of idols of deities for worship in temples.³

Elaborate rules are laid in the Agamas for silpa (the art of sculpture) describing the quality requirement of places where temples are to be built, the kind of images to be installed, the materials from which they are to be made, their dimensions and proportions.

Temples in Thadikombu, Balasamudram (Palani), Vadamadurai and Narasimha Perumal temples in Dindigul district are constructed and consecrated in accordance with agamic principles. Many temples in Dindigul district are not constructed with Agamic principles. Such deviation is common in the temple history. In Divyaprapanda the great saint Poigaiavar has sanctified this change.

"According to their nature and each according to his understanding

*They all worship their chosen deity,
placed on a pedestal or drawn On the wall, as
their god*

*Yet the Lord who measured the earth is the First
cause Lord and foremost of all" (2095).⁴*

This is the doctrine which has the divine blessings for the construction and named the temples with different names and forms.

Always had immense belief in the icons.⁵ They obviously seemed to have discerned the difference between paintings on the wall and idols and the icons which are installed according to Vedic and Agama knowledge. It is the most accessible form of worship which is pure through divine descent. The form of God as revealed to the inner vision of the seer is thought to be eminently suitable for worship and the transition to the installation of the icon form of God. As instructed the intensive consciousness is a natural process, and the Agamas specialized in the art. The icons were not merely a symbol but a presence in the transcendent sense, under certain conditions, and it may deteriorate in to a kind of ideology. When the conditions of worship or installation are not fully implemented God's love is not conditioned by any Lords.

In Dindigul district there are six perumal temples situated on the hill or rock with a name having 'malai' as prefix or otherwise. Malaiperumal (A.Vellodu), Devarmalaiperumal (Puthukkotai), Motta malaiperumal (Periya Aravanaguruchi), Mettukkuradu perumal (Vadugapatty), and Karattukottai perumal (Karikkalai-Koyilur) are situated on the hills or rocks. Gopinatha temple (Reddiyarchathram), Srinivasa perumal (Renganathapram) are on the rocks with the traditional name. Generally, hills or rocks are one of the favorite dociles of Lord Vishnu. Here, their places are called as malai, kuntru, karadu and kuttu. These places are barren small rock without green cover. The shrines are in different structure.

Malaiperumal shrine in A.Vellodu is in a 10'x10' mandapa with a stone pillar.⁶ At the bottom of the pillar, changu, chakkara and the holy namam are chiseled. The premises of the shrine are in an area of 40'x40' with trees without fence. In the mandapa, a peedam with the symbol of namam is drawn on the wall. In Tamil month Purattasi this shrine gets

significance among the local Telugu speaking people. This area has considerable Christian population in Vellodu and Kombai. In Narasingapuram, Devalagarpaty, Telugu speaking people are in large number. Hence this shrine gets predominance among them. The priest of this shrine is from Nayakar community. But Kuyavas (Potters) have equal importance in festivals. The stone pillar is decorated with flowers, garlands and special pujas are conducted for this stone.

The name Mottamalai depicts the nature of the hill. A rock hill of 800 feet height is called as Mottamalai. A shrine called Mottamalai perumal is situated on the top of the hill in an area of 6'x6'. The perumal idol is 2½ feet height on a pedestal. It is one of the oldest shrines in this area. The local priest says that the shrine has been there for the past thousand years. But the factual evidence is not enough for it. It might exist for the past 500 years.

Mettukottaiperumal (Vadugapatti) Karattukkottaiperumal (Kovilur) are the two prominent hill perumal temples. Vadugapatti is a small village in Vadamadurai taluk in Dindigul district. It comes under Sithuvarpatty Panchayat. It is surrounded by Kadavur (North), Vaiyampatty (East), Vedachandur (West) and Gujiliyamparai (South). As Vadamadurai has the famous temple of Sri Soundararajaperumal, the surrounding villages have its influence. This region has large stretch of pastoral lands and have large number of live stocks. It is said to protect the cattles from the natural calamities and the robbers, their ancestors had constructed small forts (kottai).⁷

To protect the whole structure, perumal shrine was constructed inside the forts. Once this shrine had royal patronage from the Poligars. The temple is situated in an area of 100'x 60' with sanctum sanctorum in 8'x8' area with 15 feet height "Egathala Vimana". The sanganu, chakkara and garuda mortar statues are decorated on the four sides. In the sanctum panchaloga metal urchavamoorthy with Sri Devi and Boodevi are kept on a pedam. The main deity Perumal is 3 feet high with four hands. The mahamandapa is in an area of 16'x20' with eight stone pillars. The relief of Narasimha, Hanuman, Seetharama and cattles are chiseled on the pillars.⁸

Now most of the temple structures are in depleted condition. The main shrine is kept in sanctified condition. The local devotees have conducted the annual traditional rituals in a dignified manner. It is said after the two poligar wars in this region (1798-1810) perhaps all the forts in this area are dismantled by the British company. This temple had witnessed the historical events. It is said that the term "uchiyninravan" (he who stands on the summit) refers to Sri Vengatesaperumal.⁹

The Agamas give a broad classification in three main types, the standing, the sitting and the reposing or lying posture. Each of these is again divided into four classes depending on the physical and manual attribute of the idol. They are yogam, bhogam, veeram and Aabhicharikam. The environments and the purpose for which a moorthi is installed decide the kind of idol. A Yoga moorthi would be selected if the worshippers prefer to follow yoga maarga. Such a moorthi should be installed outside a village, in the midst of forests on mountain or hill tops, at the confluence of rivers and on river tanks. A Bhogamoorthi should invariably be installed in the hearts of a village or town. A veeramoorthy should be on the outskirts of a village. An Aabhicharikamoorthy at the outer limits of a country and facing the enemy country.¹⁰

The features of moorthy (idol) for each situation and type are also prescribed in the Agamas. There are three grades of temples depending on the complementary deities. These are called Utthama, Madyama and Adhama (Best - middling and low or mean type). In the Utthama temple the moorthy would be associated with the complementary deities. The Mathima type would have praharamoorthies. In the Adhama type, the principal deity alone would be installed.¹¹

Culture has three dimensions. First, it is a normative system, by which there is social control in the form of sanctions, which make people follow generally accepted moral/ethical norms. Secondly, there is the expressive system: music, dance, art, literature and so on are the cultural expressions of people. Thirdly, it is a system of ideas which enable members of a society to interpret the world meaningfully and the process through which culture influences a

social system called institutionalization.¹² So, its aptly adapted by the rules made by Saint PoigaiAlvar and each according to his understanding worship their chosen deity.

Puja or pooja is the act of showing reverence to a god, a spirit or another aspect of the divine through invocation, prayers, songs and rituals. An essential part puja for the divine. It may honor or celebrate an event.¹³ Pooja means reverence, honor, homage, adoration and worship.¹⁴ Puja the loving offering of light, flowers and water or food to the divine, is the essential part of the ritual.

Puja is done on a variety of occasions, frequency and setting. It may include daily puja in the temple or monthly or annual ceremonies. Puja is not mandatory in Hinduism. Puja may vary by region, occasion and place.

In the study area puja are done daily in very few temples. In most of the temple in different namAs traditional rituals conducted not properly. In some temples celebration are alone annually. For example, Mottamalaiperumal has

annual events Puratasi and Marzhali month festivals are celebrated in most of the temples. A few temples have Saturday bajans. Flower offering, Tulasi offering and Pongal as the prasadam are the common offering. In certain temple in Vaishnava symbol namam is the only symbol of identification. Almost in all the temples the local community people are performed the pujas. In temples is the devotees are performing the offering or pujas. Through these temples are not adhere to the traditional customs and rituals strictly the have deep rooted sentiments and faith among the local devotees.¹⁵ So these temples are playing vital role to rekindle the spiritual thirst, believes and faith. These are the fundamental principles of the small temples. In the study area, Dindigul, Palani, Natham, Vedachandur, Ottanchatram, Gopalpatti, Chinnalapatti, Ammaianayakanur, Thadicombu, Athoor, Kovilur, Kannivadi and Nilakkottai are some of the towns which have observed this tradition. In modern time almost all the Hindu temples have adopted this tradition.

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FOURTEEN DREAMS OF TRISALA AS GLEANED FROM THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF KALPA-SUTRA IN SALAR JUNG MUSEUM

M.V. Subrahmanyeswara Sarma

Salar Jung Museum houses a number of illustrated Manuscripts in its collection including Jaina art. Jainism with mainly *Digambara* and *Swetambara* sects has a rich Indian cultural value. The *Kalpusutra* is one among the important texts of *Svetambara* tradition. It is

known as the sutra of 1200 slokas. Written in prose, the work consists of three parts; the *Jina Charita*, the *Sthaviravali* and the *Sadhu Samachari*. *Kalpa-Sutra* tells the life stories of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, their birth, childhood, young, and age of Jina etc.

Of the six major events in the life of Lord Mahavira, five occurred when the moon was in conjunction with the *Uttaraphalguni* constellation. It was during this conjunction that he a) descended into the womb of a Brahman woman, Devananda; b) was transferred to that of the *Kshatriya* lady Trisala; (c) was born; (d) pulled out his hair, and became a homeless mendicant and e) attained supreme knowledge. The sixth and last event, which was *moksha*, occurred when the moon was in conjunction with the *svati* constellation.

On the sixty day of the bright half of the month of Ashadha, after completing his life of twenty *sagaropamas* in the celestial abode Puspottara, Lord Mahavira descended on earth. At that time he was in possession of three out of the five types of knowledge *mati-jnana*, *sruta-jnana* and *avadhi-jnana*. He was conceived at midnight in the womb of Devananda, the wife of Brahmana Rishabhadatta, who lived in the Brahmana quarter in the town of Kundagrama in Magadha. At this time the cosmic cycle was in its downward course and nearing the end of this fourth phase. Twenty-three Tirthankaras had preceded Mahavira and foretold about his coming.

On the night when Lord Mahavira descended into the womb of Devananda, and as she lay half asleep on her bed, she had fourteen wondrous and lucky dreams auspicious and sublime. She saw an elephant, a bull, a lion, the lustration of goddess Sri, a garland the moon, the sun, a flag, an urn, a lotus pond, the sea, a celestial vehicle, a heap of jewels and a burning fire. Devananda awoke, filled with joy and deep contentment, and the hair on her body stood erect like the petals of the fragrant Kadamba flower at the touch of raindrops. She rose from her bed, and with the unhurried gait of a graceful swan walked to where her husband Rishabhadatta lay sleeping. She then recounted her lucky dreams and asked him what they indicated. These noble dreams foretell a happy enjoyable future and also indicate the birth of a son, a beautiful child. He will possess a flawless physique and an alert and intelligent mind. His body will bear auspicious signs. After infancy and childhood, when he becomes a youth, he will be learned in many disciplines and sacred lore. Indeed you have witnessed dreams that augur good future.

This interpretation gladdened Devananda's heart.

Indra was, however, deeply concerned. He reflected, 'it has never been, nor will it ever be that either an Arhata or Cakravarti is born in a minor clan or in families of humble origin or the priestly Brahmana caste. They are always born in powerful, princely and affluent clans belonging to the warrior Kshatriya caste'. So Indra thought of transferring the embryo of the Arhata to the womb of a Kshatriya woman. Accordingly, Indra resolved to have the embryo of Mahavira transferred from the womb of the Brahmani Devananda to that of the Kshatriyani Trisala who lived in the Kshatriya sector of the same town, and to have the embryo in the womb of Trisala inserted into that of Devananda. He summoned the commander of his infantry, Harinaigamesi, and instructed him to carry out the exchange of the embryos. After performing the ritual of obeisance to the embryo of the Tirthankara, Harinaigamesi cast a spell which threw Devananda and her attendants into a deep slumber. Then with the words, 'May, the Venerable One graciously permit me', he gently took the embryo of Mahavira in his palm and carried it to Trisala in the palace of her husband, king Siddhartha. There after casting a similar spell on Trisala and her attendants, he exchanged the embryos and carried the embryo from Trisala's womb to that of Devananda. His task accomplished, he returned to Indra's court.

On the night that Mahavira was placed into the womb of Kshatriyani Trisala, she saw the same fourteen auspicious dreams that Devananda had witnessed at the time of Mahavira's conception.

Trisala saw in her dreams the following wonderful 14 events:

- 1) a loudly trumpeting four tusked elephant, whiter than a heap of white lotus pearls, with ichor streaming from its temples;
- 2) a resplendent, majestic white bull, whiter than a heap of white lotus petals;
- 3) a magnificent lion with the sheen of moonbeams and sharp teeth and claws;
- 4) the bejeweled goddess Sri (Lakshmi), her face like the full moon, seated at the top of

the Himvat mountain on a lotus in a lotus lake;

- 5) a fragrant garland of white coloured flowers floating down from the firmament;
- 6) the full moon shining white like milk foam and bright like a polished mirror;
- 7) the rising sun, red and refulgent, dispelling darkness;
- 8) a large fluttering flag, fastened to a staff of pure gold and crested with iridescent peacock feathers;
- 9) a silver urn filled to the brim with crystal-clear water, adorned with a wreath of scented flowers that bloom in the different seasons of the year;
- 10) a lotus lake with thousand-petalled lotuses, playful fish and cranes and ducks;
- 11) the Ocean of Milk, its waters surging in waves in all directions, flecked with camphor-coloured foam;
- 12) a magnificent celestial vehicle of 1,008 columns made of gold, in-laid with gems and festooned with pearls;
- 13) a heap of jewels as high as Mount Meru, illuminating the sky with their brilliance;
- 14) a blazing fire with flames leaping and fusing with one another, lighting up the firmament.

A thrill of happiness coursed through Trisala's body and she awoke with a gladdened spirit. Contemplating her dreams, she walked the gait of a regal swan to the couch where Siddhartha slept. Very gently she awakened him and, after talking his permission, narrated the dreams that had come to her that night. He joyfully reflected upon them and addressed Trisala, "The dreams augur long life, prosperity and happiness. They predict the birth of a son who will bring fame and glory to the family and will be the crowning ornament of the clan. He will have perfect health and will bear auspicious marks. When he grows up, our son will be a mighty warrior and ruler over a large kingdom".

Trisala returned to her bedchamber with delight. She did not sleep that night but spent it listening to moral and virtuous tales of gods and great men. Thereafter Siddhartha instructed

his attendants to fetch the dream diviners who were well-versed in the science of prognostics. The sooth-sayers discussed the meaning of the dreams among themselves and informed King Siddhartha that the science of dreams speaks of seventy-two dreams, thirty of which are major and the remaining forty-two minor. The fourteen dreams that described are from the group of thirty and appear to moths of religious leaders of world conquerors at the moment of conception. They presage good fortune and foretell the birth of a son who will become a hero and a great lord. He will be *Cakravarti* with dominions extending in all four directions. But, it may also happen that he will become a great religious leader, a Tirthankara. Thereafter felicitating the sooth-sayers, went to Trisala and repeated the prophesies of sooth-sayers and she acknowledged the divinations with folded palm. The family flourished in every way and therefore Mahavira's parents decided, "when he is born we shall name our son Vardhaman". Trisala offered prayers to the family deities, performed the rites of protection and ate nourishing food so that the child in her womb be healthy in body and mind. Then the moment has come.

Mahavira was born at midnight on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra. Countless gods and goddesses glided up and down creating divine lustre everywhere and hosts of flying gods showered silver, gold, jewels and ornaments, leaves, flowers and fruits, colours and powdered perfumes were showered on King Siddhartha's palace. Indra came down to earth and took the newly born Mahavira and made himself five-fold; one-self held the child, the second-self held a parasol over Mahavira and the third and fourth-selves stood nearby waving flywhisks. The fifth-self danced for the child, holding a thunderbolt. After the nativity celebrations, Indra returned the holy infant to its mother went to his abode back. On the twelfth day the boy was named Vardhaman because the name is worthy of him and is appropriate to the qualities he has manifested. Later he became Mahavira.

Mahavira was born in the superb of Vaisali, called Kundugrama (now called Basukunda) to Siddhartha, a wealthy noble man and Trisala, the sister of Chetaka, an eminent prince of Licchavi clan of Vaisali. The

'Venerable ascetic Mahavira' (BC.27-3-598 to 15-10-527) is called by several names like *Vardhaman*, *Nayaputta* (son of Naya clan), *Kasava* on account of his *gotra*, *Vesaliya* after the place of his birth, *Vedehadinna* after his native country and *Vira*. He was called Mahavira because he forcibly sent away the *Karmas*. He had become a 'worthy' (*Arhant*) and a 'conqueror' (Jina). Mahavira married to Yasodha, the daughter of Mahasavanta Samaravira. They had a daughter called Anojja or Priyadarsana. After the death of his parents' death, Mahavira became a monk who wandered naked and later attained nirvana. He attained enlightenment under the *kevala* tree, *Sala*. His *sasanadevatas* are Matanga (or Matulinga, citron as per *Digambara* tradition) and Siddhyayika (or Siddhayim).

Bhagavati Sutra tells that Gosala Marikhaliputta of the Ajivaka sect was a disciple of Mahavira. The Jaina tradition mentions no meeting between Mahavir and the Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion in this

contemporary period, but Pali Sutras suggest that Mahavira, indeed sometimes met the Buddha. Like Buddhism, Jainism too received royal patronage from the very early days. In Jainism, there are two sects, the first one *Svetambaras* (white robed) and secondly *Digambaras* (spaced/sky-clad or naked). Parsvanatha, allowed using a white garment by the monks (*Swetambaras*), while Mahavira forbade even this (*Digambaras*).

Mahavira's father was known by three names—Siddhartha, Sreyamsa and Yasamsa. His mother also known by three names—Trisala, Videhadatta and Priyakarini. His elder brother was Nandivardhana; his sister, Sudarsana and his wife Yasoda. Mahavira's daughter had two names—Anavadya and Priyadarsana.

The scene of Trisala's dreams has been meaningfully and colorfully illustrated on a paper of the Manuscript according to the story, which attempted here to describe it.

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REVATHI PATTATHANAM - ANTIQUE AND MODERN

G. Suhani

Introduction

Revathi Pattathanam occupied a place of importance in the cultural history of Kerala. Revathi Pattathanam was suspended and renewed due to various reasons and on various occasions. At present attempts are being made to revive and modify Revathi Pattathanam. This can be taken as a case study for understanding the sublime culture of medieval Kerala. This study is an attempt to understand the nature and methods of Revathi Pattathanam in the original form and the major changes and innovations applied to modify the centuries old cultural activities initiated by the Zamorins of Calicut.

Legends behind Pattathanam

One of the most popular legends related to Pattathanam is that the trustee (Uralar) of Tali temple was the dwellers of Tali itself. They were the supporters of Poralathiri and his relative Kolathiri. As Poralathiri had been deported by the Zamorin, the former decided to take revenge against the Zamorin. So Uralar of the Tali temple intrigued with the Raja of Kolothunadu and a prince of Koluthunadu managed to enter into the Kovilakam of Zamorin. The trustees made all arrangements for the plot. The prince of Kolothunadu who was a scholar was able to robe the heart of a princess of Zamorins. That was a rude shock to the Zamorin as the

princess eloped with the prince of his enemy kingdom. Soon the Zamorin realised that the Uralars were pulling the string behind the curtain for this elopement. Infuriated Zamorin took away the power of the Uralars of the Tali temple. The Uralars protested by performing fast unto death. But the Zamorin was stubborn. The outcome was the Uralars began to die one after the other. This incident was 'Brahmahathya' as per the astrologers of the Zamorin's court. As a mark of repentance the Zamorin assisted by Kolkunnathu Sivangal arranged a function providing food for Brahmins of the land.

Yet another story relating to the genesis of the Pattathanam says that one of the princes of the royal family committed the crime of infanticides and as a remedy for this sin, the Zamorin started the practice of Pattathanam. It is significant that the practice of giving away of alms was a usual practice followed by the Zamorin on various occasions. Usually the venue was Tali temple. Thiruvonadanam or the alms given on Thiruvonam festival was one among them.

The other version of Pattathanam was that the same was participated in the prolonged Kurumatsaram (competition) between the Panniyur and Chovaram faction.

Revathi Pattathanam

Revathi Pattathanam is the test of scholarship conducted in the month of Thulam between the stars of Revathi and Thiruvathira at the Tali temple at Calicut. Erstwhile Zamorin began this assembly of scholars in the 15th century has advised by Kolkunnath Siangal a famous Saivaite saint to remedy some grave sin. Even though Pattathanam began as a repentance ritual it has grown as a consortium of eminent scholars under the patronage of efficient Kings of Zamorin dynasty. Scholars from remote places thronged to the Pattathanam camp and their scholarly potentials were put to strict observation, vigorous evaluation and testing. Winners selected only after undergoing hair splitting experimentations with knowledge to test their intellectual calibre. Those who won in the competition were conferred with the degree of 'Bhattar'. The degree of Bhattar was reverently deemed to be the highest recognition of scholar could attain

in those times. The patronage given to the poets and scholars did not confine to the annual cultural meeting called Revathi Pattathanam. Manavikrarama varma's period also witnessed an outburst of genius in literature and philosophy similar to that of the Elizabethan age in modern England. Appan Tampuran praised the greatness of Zamorin and their scholarship patronage to scholars, administrators etc.

The scholarly debate

The venue of Pattathanam was the western tower of the temple of Tali. It was on the plot adjacent to the western entrance, the cultural festival called Pattathanam was staged. Discussions were carried out by scholars during Pattathanam on the southern end of the Tali temple was called as Prabhakara Mimamsa. On the northern end was conducted the Bhatta Mimamsa and to extreme north discourses on Vyakarana were conducted. A unique lamp called Naluvilaku was used during these ceremonies. Besides a lamp is kept on the south western corner of the temple (Niranjancon) meant for god Ganapathy.

There are two types of Mimamsa called Bhatta and Prabhakara. Payyur pateris were the authorities of Mimamsa. The term Pattathanam can be defined either as presenting the title of Bhatta (Bhattasthanam) or as giving away of Dhanams (alms) to the Brahmins. The term Bhatta was given to the persons who were proficient in Mimamsa as the remembrance of Kumarila Bhatta, who was the exponent of the Mimamsa. The scholars who obtained the palace Bhatta will participate in Pattathanam. The word Bhattasthanam means the status of Bhatta.

Accompanied by ministers, Peroor Namboothiri used to converge at Perakkathu Kovilakam and brought forth the holy lamp from the locker and lit the lamp from the southern tower called Prabhakaram. The Naluvilakku (four lamp) is placed on the spot where it is meant for, the event formally begins to be followed by the meeting of the scholars selected for the Pattathanam. The first phase of Pattathanam consisted of sessions of arguments and debates. The right of announcing the commencement of Pattathanam is vested with Koyilamma or the elderly women of the royal family. Usually Koyilamma was

accompanied by ministers. The first ritual of Pattathanam, is to bring out the holy lamp from the locker and to lit the lamp from the southern tower called Prabhakam. Before the commencement of the intellectual debate, four lamps called Naluvilaku were lighted by Koyilamma. Beside, a lamp is kept burning on the south western corner called Niranjana, meant for lord Ganapathy. The main item of Revathi Pattathanam was presenting a purse to the winner of the literary and logic oriented debate. The main items prepared for Pattathanam was :-

- (1) The gold coins and 84 betel leaves.
- (2) 50 dressed raw arecanuts.
- (3) 50 bunches of jasmine wrapped in silk made in Kozhikode and sandals applied.

The participants were given the bundles and one of them was kept for veneration. The members of Bhattamana of Payyannur were the prominent judges evaluating the performance of the competitors of Pattathanam. All the participants of pattathanam had to undergo a preliminary screening test before the competition. Those who came out successful were called Bhattathiris. When the competition was over, the list of successful candidates was handed over to Mangattachan the chief advisor to Zamorin. Afterwards Mangattachan standing besides the Zamorin who was seated on Pallippalaka used to read out the list of successful candidates of these competitions. Then the participants were led one by one by Elayidath Namboothiri to the seats arranged which are already decorated. The Zamorin gets the betel leaf rolls, raw arecanut, sandal, pack, jasmine flowers, and the purse containing gold coins from Thevari Namboodiri standing beside him and the way were given way to the winners. This practice is called Charulakodukkal. The recipient of the title Bhatta used to bless the Zamorin before going back to his seat. The practice of the Zamorins bowing the scholarly Bhattas was called Vechu Namaskaaram.

Throughout the Pattathanam days 'Shastra Sadasu' was conducted. It was conducted at Valiyambalam(Vathilmadam) for seven days. People were invited from north Cheriyannur Yogam and south Kothamangalam yogam.

These yogams received the invitation cards with respect and send a Sanskrit scholar to attend the Pattathanam. The sadasu started early in the morning (6 and a half nazhika). Four Naluvilakku were lighted on the both side of the north and south Vathilmadam. These Naluvilakku represented the four Vedas – Bhatta mimamsa, Prabhakara Mimamsa, Vyakarana, and Vedantha. Fifth lamp was lighted for the lord Ganapathy on the Southern Vathilmadam. The person who lighted the lamp was called 'Mullapally Patteri'. After Ganapathy pooja all scholars sat in their respective places; their places were determined by the lamp which represented the Vedas. Thus starts the scholarly debate.

Chathurvedha feast followed the debates. Feast was given to Namboothiris and Tamil Brahmins. First leaf was supplied to Thanas, and then to Namboothiris and Brahmins. The feast was supplied from agrashalas. Kizhi was presented on 'Thiruvathira Sradham' day, which was the seventh day of Pattathanam. Kizhis were given by Sampoothirpadu. In the absence of Sampoothiri, kizhi was given by other minor chiefs like Elamkur, Munaalpad, Nedutharalpadu, Payyurbhattathiripadu. While giving kizhi Sampoothiri sat facing east and Mangattachan announces the winners. Winners of north and south were given prices from their respective directions. The winner will sit on Avanapalaka facing the west. Prices include one kizhi, one betel leaf, one piece of arecanut. After this Sampoothiri blesses the person who won the competitions. 'Vachunamaskaram' was done by all pundits. The Royal family of Cochin is also used to invite the Brahmins and provided them food and a heavy purse as a part of the ritual of giving redemption to the soul of the deceased members of the family.

There was a similar practice at the Padhbanabha swami temple at Trivandrum, inviting 108 Brahmins for feast and giving away a purse containing 101 panam. This was also known as Pattathanam. This function was also followed by an intellectual debate also. Sumptuous food was served for the Brahmins and scholars. Gradually the intellectual debate organised during the month of Thulam, attracted the scholars of the entire south.

There were rare instance of Pattathanam which is expected to be complete within a week prolonged to twelve days. The main items of Revathi Pattathanam were presenting a purse to the winner of the literary and logic oriented debate. Apart from the participants the students were also given presents on successful completion of their course. K.V.Krishna Iyer is of the opinion that Munnalpaadu used to preside over the Pattathanam. Ulloor is of the opinion that a seat was occupied by Payyur Patteries. Pattathanam was as we have seen earlier, was not an innovation of the Zamorins of Kozhikode. The same was practiced long ago by the rulers of the Kulashekara kingdom. In the Kulashekara age Pattathanam was not hereditary. This is clear from the Thrikkodithanam inscription of 922. A.D which objects the collection and renewal tax. It also speaks about the renewal of the posts of prists.

The Granthavari of Kozhikode gives us a details about the arrangement made to the Pattathanam of 850.A.D. The preliminary work of Pattathanam begins with sending of invitations to the Namboothiri factions of Cheriyanur and Kothamangalam. The commencement of Pattathanam is when Koyilamma (elderly woman of the family) announces it. The next phase is giving away of gold coins wrapped in silk called 'Kizhi'. Each of them sometimes, consists of 51 gold coins or it will be if 75 gold coins. Usually 40 to 46 and sometimes, more such Kizhies were given. No scholars who had approached the Zamorin for obtaining the title of Bhatta through back door. Instead the king used to invite them and give due respect to them by presenting a purse to them.

Various historians have offered eloquent description about the scholarly debate called Pattathanam. The criticism on the errors of the scholars participated were the main source of information to the historians for understanding Pattathanam. It was only in 1938 historians came to understand the practice of Pattathanam when K.V.Krishna Iyer started searching for the source materials in order to write a history of the Zamorin in that year.

Revival of Pattathanam

By 1026 AD Pattathanam was revived at Tali temple. The preliminary procedures for the

revival by Pattathanam might have started in 1024. Kozhikode Granthavari takes about the revival of Pattathanam and also the new reforms introduced to for the conduct of Pattathanam. With the inclusion of non-Brahmin scholars to the Pattathanam debate it has got a new dimension of popular participation while maintaining its age old character of a cultural fete.

It was during the reign of K.C.Marumakan Thampuran, Pattathanam was revived. It was with the whole hearted co-operation of N.K.Vellodi, K.P.Ravunni Menon, Rama Krishna Menon, Dr. K.Madhavan Kutty , the forgotten cultural festival revived in recent years. At present the functions of Pattathanam are reduced compared to the early periods. At present Murajapam and Pushpanjali are being performed in Tali temple regularly. The shift of the term of scholars is now shifted to the near by Zamorin High School. In spite of the loss of power the family of the Zamorins of Calicut were continuing the practice of Revathi Pattathanam with great zeal.

Scholars are being led to the venue of Guruvayoorappan hall in procession accompanied by artist playing the traditional temple musical instruments and the lamps lighted from the temple. With the inclusion of non-Brahmin scholars to the Pattathanam debate it has got a new dimension of popular participation while maintaining its age old character of the cultural fete. The linguistic debate on poetic compositions, spiritual discourses; humorous performances accompanied by traditional arts forms like Koodiyattam, Koothu, Thullal etc are being included. In the present Pattathanam is performed for two days.

The second revival of Revathi Pattathanam was in 1980. K.H.Namboodiripad I.A.S, presided over its first meeting of the committee. P.Ramakrishana menon was its secretary. As before, it is conducted in the month of Thulam, on the star of Revathi. In ancient times Patathanam was conducted from the temple. After its revival, it is now conducted from the Tali Guruvayoorappan hall.

On the day of Pattathanam, the program starts before 9:00 am. Zamorin and the other guests are received with 'Poornakumbha'

accompanied with Veda chanting. After entering the Guruvayoorappan hall the first program is the Vedic recitation. Earlier only Yajur Vedas recited, but now all the four Vedas are recited. Vedas are chanted in three orders. First one is Karmam. This is the ordinary chanting of Vedas. Second type is the Ratha order. It is the changing of the pitch while singing. The third is Jatta order. It is the backward and forward chanting of Vedas. These three orders are known as Prayogas. After the Vedas recitation Zamorin gives away Kizhi.

Apart from Vedas other Shastras like Jyothisha and Ayurveda are also discussed. Seminars are also conducted on six Darshanas, art forms and Upanishads. After the first talks snacks are supplied. When the first session ends sumptuous feast is given to all. The feast is given to all those who attend the function. The second session begins with Aksharasloka Sadasu. It is followed by Vyakarana Sadasu. Here a scholar talks on a subject and others asks questions on it. The subjects may be like Jyothisha, Vedantha, Vyakarana. The medium of communication is strictly in Sanskrit. The second session ends by the end of the day. In the evening dance forms like Kaikottikali, Ottanthullal and Kathakali are also performed. After this dinner is given to all those who attended the function.

The second day begins with Kavusamellanam (poetic discourse). It goes on till afternoon. In the afternoon session there will be the cultural meet. Paadakam, a form of Kooth in Malayalam is performed at night. Last year Paadakam was conducted by P.C. Ettanunni Raja. This was his first attempt after 15 years. After this classical music competition is conducted. Then Krishnanattam is performed till

dawn. Earlier the whole programme was over by seven days, but at present it is only for two days. But in 2008 it was over after one day due to the death of a family member of the Zamorin.

From 1984 onwards Revathi Pattathanam award was given to the best poet and poetess. The award was given not only for poems but also for other folk arts. In category an award was given to a person of Kanni Tribe. This is a tribe of Agasthya hill. The award was given for presenting their Kettubasha. Earlier there was a custom of Mangattachan and Darmothachan accompanying the Zamorin on the first day to the temple. Later on this custom was stopped and was revived in 2005. This was revived by K.P.Manavedana Raja. It was he who brought back the heirs of Managattachan and Darmottachan. This custom was renewed without any change.

Conclusion

In 2008 Zamorin started a cultural museum in Zamorin's higher secondary school. For this purpose a new building is being constructed near Guruvayoorappan College. Now scholars from other states also started participating in it. People from north India also attended the public meeting organized in connection with Revathi Pattathanam. Two types of invitation cards are given, one in Sanskrit and the other in English. Many students of Sanskrit college are also attending the function. The purpose and objective of performing such customs even today is to preserve this for future generations to come. But no custom is immune from the impact of changes. So an extra care should be taken, while reviving the old customs and practices. The remake and modification of Revathi Pattathanam should be evaluated in this respect.

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KOLANUPAKA JAIN TEMPLE- A BEAUTY IN ARCHITECTURE

T. Uma Joseph & Radhika Pallod

This paper focuses on the influence of Jainism on architecture especially the Kolanupaka temple in Nalgonda. We find great examples of Jain temples in Mount Abu in Rajasthan and also at Shravanabelagola. The Jain temples at Mount Abu were built by Vimal Shah and designed by Vastupala-Tejpal around 11th and 13th centuries AD. These temples are famous for extensive use of marble and its carvings¹

Shravanabelagola is also a renowned Jain pilgrimage in South India. This place is one of the eminent heritage sites in Karnataka. It is famous for its Gomateshwara Temple also known as Bahubali Temple. The 58 feet tall monolithic statue of Bahubali is located on Vindhyagiri Hill.² The Bahubali statue is magnificent. The Gomateshwara Statue can be viewed at a distance of 30 km.

The Kolanupaka temple

The ancient svetambara Jain temple of kulpakji is situated in the Nalgonda district of Telangana. It is 80 kilometers away from the city of Hyderabad. A visit to the temple and a conversation with the Manager of the temple reveals that this temple was built around 1300 years ago by King Shankara of Kalyanpur.

According to the legend the idol of Manikyaswami was worshipped by the devas and devis in Indralok. But when mandodari, the wife of Ravana came to know about it, she asked her husband to get the idol off from the devtas. This idol was worshipped by mandodari for many years. However, Goddess Padmavati appeared in the in mandodari's dream and ordered her saying that the golden city of Lanka, will be reduced to ruins soon and that she should immerse the idol in the ocean.

Many years later, during the time of king, Shankara, the town was hit by a drought and the kingdom incurred heavy losses of both land and life. Goddess Padmavati appeared in the dream to the king and informed him about the idol, and said that it can save his kingdom. However the King had to fulfill three conditions.

- The king had to carry the idol on his back
- He should not have any doubt

- He should not look back even once

The king agreed to the conditions put forth by the lord and set out in search of the idol which he found on the seashore. On his way to kalyanpura, he arrived at kolanupaka and felt the burden on his back lighten. When the king turned back to look if the idol was safe, he noticed that the idol had established itself in kulpakji. And since then kulpakji had become an important pilgrimage site for svetambara jains.

There are many idols in the temple, but the main attractions are the idols of Vardhamana, Rishabhanatha and Neminatha. There is also an idol of Goddess Padmavati, in the temple. This temple was destroyed by Aurangzeb, the famous Mughal ruler. Surprisingly, the son of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah-I made attempts to restore the glory of this temple and renovation work was carried out during his rule. There is an inscription about the greatness of Bahadur shah I. We hear about the flourishing state of Jainism at Kulpak as late as 18th century from a Nagari inscription dated 1711 A.D. It is a record engraved in Nagari script and Sanskrit language. It belongs to the period of Mughal ruler, Bahadur shah-I describing him as "Dilisvara Patasha Sri Orangazeba Alamagira Putra Sri Bahadur Shaha". The object of the record was to register the consecration of the illustrious image of "Bhagvata-Adivasa" alias Manikyaswami and a Prakaram³ was raised around the temple.

The Jain Temple received patronage during the reign of Vikramaditya -VI (1076-1125). Many Jain establishments in south India received patronage from the Chalukyan Princes and their vassals. For example- Bodhan, vardhamanpura, Jogarkunta and kolanupaka.⁴

The temple is managed by the "Svetambara Murti Puja Jain Trust" consisting of 10 members. There are residential quarters, with 200 rooms for the pilgrims who come to this sacred place. It also houses an Aradhana Bhavan which is prayer room. Where the saints who come to kulpakji he meditate.

There is also a conference hall to conduct the meetings of the Trust. It also has a bhojanshala serves meals to the devotees twice a day. The temple premises also house a beautiful garden.

There are two museums in the town, one is behind the kulpakji temple and the other museum is located half kilometer away from the temple in the town of kolanapaku. The kulpakji museum displays destroyed pillars of the temple, and idols of jain tirthankaras. Most of these idols belong to the kakatiya period and are ancient. There are also slabs of stones with inscriptions engraved on them in the museum. It is believed that Rajaraja Chola and Rajendra Chola destroyed this temple. The second museum which is situated in the town of Kolanapaku is Government Archaeological Museum and is maintained by the government. It displays plethora of idols of hindu and Jain deities, but there is no proper information provided as to when were the idols retrieved, or as to which century do they belong to. There is also an ancient shiva temple located behind the Government museum and is said to be more than 1 000 years old. The population of the town is approximately 10000 people, and there is only one svetambara jain family in the town.

According to the temple authorities, not only Jains but many non- Jains visit the sacred temple of Kulpakji every day. More than 1000 people visit the temple every week, but during Sunday's, around 300-500 people visit the temple to meditate and rest in the serene atmosphere of the temple. According to the temple authorities 3000-3500 people visit the temple every month;but- the number of foreign tourists visiting the temple is very less. Around 4-5 foreigners visit kulpakji every

month. When they visit Hyderabad to witness the majestic architecture of the Nizams and the Qutub Shahis, on the advice of the local guides few of them visit Kulpakji.

Few years ago, many professional artisans, skilled in the art of stone carving, from Pindwara, a small town in the district of Sirohi in Rajasthan were invited to carry out renovation works in the temple. These artisans are called Sompura, Chandrakant from Ahmedabad, and Rakesh Nayar from Odisha were the chief architects who were assigned to carry out the renovation works.

The temple is beautiful and pleasant from inside, and there are idols of 8 Tirthankaras inside the temple. All the idols are adorned with pearls. There is also a dadawadi on the left side of the temple where there are images of four important Jain gurus. The Dadawadi⁵ was constructed in 2004. At the Jain temple they cook food everyday and do not store the food. However meals are served before the sunset, after which the kitchen will be closed. Around 15 chefs work in the kulpakji temple and make sure that the pilgrims are well fed by their delicious food, and no one leaves the temple empty stomach. All the chefs and their assistants are from the Nagore region of Rajasthan.

There are also 15 security guards at the Kulpakji temple to maintain order and efficiency and also to make sure the pilgrims refrain from doing anything that violates the rules and regulation of the Kulpakji Jain temple.

On the full moon day pilgrims come in huge numbers to chant mantras and bhajans from not only Hyderabad but many parts of South India. The Kolanupaka temple is truly a delight to visit and study.

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PAMPA SAROVARA

Vasudev Badiger & Gangadhar Daivajnya

The River, Streams, fertile lands, huge rocky hills, minerals and other geographical features in and around Hampi Proves that the life and its activities began during prehistoric period. These natural advantages helped man to have his progress continuously. His life during Neolithic stage saw a revolutionary change, which the use of Iron from the beginning of Iron Age Megalithic culture. This led him to have concept of god and goddesses, which began to progress the religious and made Pampa Sorovara a holy place, later became Pampa Kshetra. This also paved his way of progress in social, economical, political and cultural activities. With the establishment of Vijayanagar Empire Hampi become one of the biggest administrative centre's in South India. The first phase of the history of mankind was between the pre-historic period and 13th century and the lind phase after 14th century took its shape.

Pampa Sarovara

When we observe Pampa Sarovara in the background of the Archaeological studies, we can obtain so many traces of objects, which were used by man between Paleolithic age to the beginning of history. A systematic way of life had begun during the stages of Neolithic and Iron age-Megalithic culture. It broadened his scope of activities in different ways. In this stage, it seems, he began to have his concept of god and deities. Overcoming the natural calamities lead him to see a power in all the natural elements. As he had great importance to the mother, he began to have the concept of god in female deities. So many idols made of clay are found in different sites.

As the Ash mound give evidence of the pro less ion animal husbandry of those men, the concept of Pashupathi (Shiva) also came into existence. Nadi (bull) become the vehicle for

Shiva and this proves the importance of Animal husbandry in them Worshipping of female deities extended its scope in the concept of motherhood and its importance. On the other hand, male god also began to take equal importance in the general name of God.

According to mythology, the first goddess that took the Place of Worship in Pampa Sarovara was Pampanbika. Pampakhetra might have a center of worship of Shakti. The Skamda Purana mentions as a Pampa, it means 'Pam' amruta, 'Pa' Swarna, 'Aa' Grovelling. She is giving best prosperity to her devotees. The copper plate inscription of Badami chalukyas Vinayaditya in 686 A.D., refers Pampatatamadhivasti Vijayaskandhavare about this place.' This tell that Chalukyas made their camp of triumph on the banks of Pampa river. Because of her penance and its result, male god also took his place of worship, rather more. This became a Shaiva Kshetra, which took its fullest form during 10th century. We cannot see the name Virupaksha in any inscription before this century. Usually Bairava will be the protector the place as same as in case of Hampi which was Pampatirtha. An inscription in Gonahal of 1014 A.D. reads the matter of giving charity to Mahakala of Pampatirtha²

Local myth of Hampi environment refers to the river, hills, seers etc., Skandapurana explains the 'Pampa Mahatme'.' This depicts the environment of Hampi and its greatness, in detail. This mentions that Pampadevi did rigorous penance on the banks of a lake, Pampa Sarovara which is near Viprakoota and Ardhakrosha away from Hemakuta, to get Shiva in marriage. Shiva who appreciates her marriage her and will become Pampapathi. Hence the place got the name Pampa Kshetra and the lake on the bank of which she did penance will be called Pampa Sarovara at the

blessings of Shiva. The 13th century copper plate inscription of Anegundi explains story about their marriage 'The story tells, Devi to set on right side of Siva, Vishvamisra and Vashishta after performing the Homa by reciting Shvaha verse request the Devi to change her place from right to left and completes the marriage. there built Pampa and Pampapati temples on pampatirtha. The two temples gives symbolic representation of before marriage as engagement. Because Pampati temple built the left side of Pampambika.

According to records, Hampi gets so many names like Pampadevi, Pampapati, Pampakshetra, Pampa Sarovara, Pampapura etc. The three crore tirthas in this place along with river Tungabhadra gives this the name Dakshinagange, the water of which is considered equal to that of 'Ganga' river in Kashi. This place being a land of penance for Shiva, there are so many hermitages here. Hemakuta is centre of Pampapathi or Virupaksha, Kinnareshwara in the East, Jambavanthaswara in the South, Somanath in the west, Manibhadreswara in the North are considered as Panchalingas and the give faces of Shiva who blesses salvation to his devotees.

The local mythology tell us about the sanctity of Jambanatha hill, where Jambuvantha of Ramayana period did penance here. Gudi-Oblapura is also said to be the place of Shiva's penance. Hosuramma of Hosur, Kalikadevi of Gollarahalli, Hampamma of Thimmalapur are some other important places and daties that justify the original mythologies.

Hampi, having so great mythological importance because significant religiously, socially and culturally paved its way to political importance. This was popular with the name Pampasarovara during Chalukyas of Badami. Udyaditya of Nolamba Pallava dynasty ruled the area through Kampli⁵ This was given in charity to Kalideva of Bagali, by washing the feet of

Somasingha Bhalara, at Pampatirtha. This was done before the local prominent by pergade Narasingaiah on the orders of Udyadityadeva bringing Kalamukha Pandita Somasingha Bhalara to Pampatirtha. According to Morageri inscription of 1046 A.D.

'Trailokyamaii-Nanni Nolamba Pallava Permadideva's commander of Army Tikkanna and Lenka Sasirvas donated this to God Nolambeshwara to look after the education and other advantages, in front of virupaksha.⁶

With the permission of the king, the commander of Belavala region and vatseya region, donated Edeyahalli to God Mallikarjuna of Kukanur in 1163 A.D. when Bijjala of Kalachuri king was giving endowment before the God Yirupaksha.'

In the above three contexts we can notice that whatever the endowments that were given, were given in front of God Virupaksha or Pampatirtha. So Hampi was considered a prominent-and sacred place by the people around. An inscription of 1199A.D. refers this place as Pampakshetra, Pampavarakshetra, Virupaksha tirtha and Pampa tirtha and this was considered as sacred as Kashi, having so many temple complexes and also place of so many ascetics.' Madenayaka who was a Samanta to the king was safe guarding Pampatirtha through Matanga Parvatha. His brother-in-law Chowdaiah who was subordinate to him had donated so many articles for worship to Yirupaksha, Pampadevi and Bhairaveshwara. He also had given endowments for the offerings in daily worship and to feed 10 Brahmins and Arc unt and beetle leaf for the devotees at Pampatirtha.

So many temple complexes were built during the period between Chalukyas of Badami and Kalachuri's. Durga temple complex is having temples of architecture ofRashtrakuta style. Though Hampi is not having any inscriptions belong to Rastrakuta.

Kumaraswamy hill near Sandur, Kudatini, Kolagal etc. are having not only inscriptions but also temples of Rashtrakuta styles. Kalabhairava, Yirupaksha and Pampadevi temples are built during the Rastrakuta period at Hampi. This has been proved by studies of the scholars. Yirupaksha temple continuously being renovated and expanded during periods of Chalukyas of Kalyana and Kalachuri's. During the reign of Chalukyas of Kalyana many temples were constructed at Hemakuta. In the inscription mention that though Yirupaksha himself in the Lord of Hampi and he is the ruler of that place.

By 12th century, Hampi became a prominent religious center and the Lord Yirupaksha was appraised by so many poets. Harihara and Raghavanka have written epical poetry on him. Harihara's Mahakavya depicts the marriage of Shiva and Parvathi.⁹ It begins with salutations and ends with salutations to the Lord. In so many verses Yirupaksha is addressed as the ruler of Hampi and the Lord of Hampi. In another work 'Raksha Shatakam' every Stanza ends with the request 'protect me Lord of Hampi'.¹⁰

Raghavank's Harischandra Kavya begins with the appraisal of Virupaksha.¹¹

After the downfall of Kalachuri's and Chalukyas of Kalyan, Sevunas and Hoysalas came into power in Karnataka. Hampi was also added to Hoysala kingdom which was spread up to Tungabhadra River. Someswara of Hoysala dynasty has given a village in endowment to Yirupaksha, in 1236 A.D. In an inscription of Yalleshwara in Hassan district dated 1238 A.D.¹² calls Bheemanna as a servant at the feet of Virupaksha of Hemakuta.¹³ Kummata Nayakas being subordinates to Hoysalas looks after the administration at Kummata durga. An inscription on one of the pillars of Kamilaraya temple on Hemakuta mentions that Veera Kampiladeva son of Singenayaka Illrd

constructed a Shiva temple and established three Shiva Lingas. When Muslims attacked Hoysalas and vanished them they take shelter and refuge at Hampi. Gubbi inscription tells that Ballala Illrd was ruling Hampi by calling it Yirupaksha Hosadurga in 1331 A.D.¹⁴

His son was Virupaksha Ballala. His coronation ceremony takes place at Hampi.¹⁵ Hampi, which was the administrative center of Hoysalas in the beginning, became a capital city of Vijayanagar kings in 1336 and got its popularity in South Indian history.

Kishkindha Kshetra

Kishkindha which is very near to Hampi took its deep root in the minds of the people having so many myths and legends. Wide publicity was given by expressing close comparison between the man in the pre-historic period and the events in Ramayana. In later course this became a historical event and got its place in inscriptions also. So many events of mythology were depicted on the walls of the temples of Vijayanagar rulers.

This area is having number of Ashmounds which were made to believe that are the remaining after burning great demons and giants. Even today the Ash mound of Yenkatapur is believed to be the place where Vali was cremated and Ash mound at Kudatini is of a Demon killed by Rama. The paintings of pre-historic period, in which tailed men are drawn, give its way for the concept of the Yanaras(monkeys) who were residing at Kishkindhapura. Owing to the remaining and stories, we can find innumerable idols and temples of Hanuman, around Hampi, Malyavantha, Kishkindha, Hemakuta Yirupaksha, Gandharavagiri, Jambunathagiri, Manibhadreswara hill etc., are the place of Ramayana period and also described in Pampa Mahatme. The place of Kartikeya penance which is described

in Ramayana is now in Kudathini. This area became a production center of Iron equipments from early historic to Hoysala period. Kudathini and Kumaraswamy hill become popular as a pilgrimage centre.

On the banks of Tungabhadra we can find Pampavana, Manasa Sarovara, cave of Shabari, Anjanadri, Yali Bhandara, Cave of Sugriva, Seetha's Seragu, Mathanga Parvatha, Hemkuta Ratnakuta etc.

An inscription in the Kalika temple at sirasangi (Belgaum District) supports the above names and facts.¹⁶ In this inscription "himavtpar batavind yasailapati kiskindhadri yimuru bhudharam purvapara vardhiyanke nija vistara kkenalu niidava himavand vindyadha rangalera dakkam tane meladed)dudu)ttama kiskindha girindrave(vu)ttama Janaugham tammoloppu ttiralu]] avararene]] taradim balimarutsutangada dinesapatyataramanohari viprarsi matanga hamsa kapila sn saunakagstya sccaritodbhasi vibhandka priyasuta sn risyasringa bratisvara rgayitasrayavantadenbenariyem kiskindhamam bannisal" kishkindha is described that Kishkindha parvatha is in no way smaller and lesser than the Himalaya and the Vindhya Parvatha. This was city with dense of population. This had given shelter to Vali, Marutsa, Angada, Dinesha, Mathanga, Hamsa, Kapil a, Agastya, Rishasrunga son of Vi bhandka etc.

An inscription of devighata which is 10 K.M. away from Ham pi, refers "Tungabhadra tatada badaga kiskindhami parvatam" the name of Kishkindha on the northern bank ofTungabhadra,¹⁷ This Kishkindha light have been noted since 500 years, as inscriptions of I 0-12 century calls Ham pi as Kishkindha. Every event will be having a base of inscriptions. The poetic works spread from mouth to mouth

which lead for its vast scope. It also helped the Great poetics like Bhavabhoothi, Bhasa, Kalidasa and also sculptors and painters to make use of these events in their works. The scholars like Ramdas, Sardar, Kaib, Ramdas Hirai, Paramashiva Iyer, U.P. Shah, Sankalia etc. who have deep study of Ramayana and other works argues that the places and events of Ramayana like Ayodya, Chitrakoota, Panchavati, Mareechashram, Kishkindha, Matangashrama, Rishyamukha etc. are the place lie in the north of Narmada river which is surrounded by forests and mountains and also tribals like Savaras, Ghoudas. They also argue that Lanka of Ramayana period is just 20 K.M. away from Jabal pur." Shorea Rolusta which tree is referred as being grown only in this Kishkindha area. This area itself is considered as Dandakaranya as this is having all the salient features of the area described in Ramayana. They tell that the Kishkindha is mistaken to be the area of Hampi and Anegundi and Ceylon as Lanka.

Dr.A.Sundar discusses that by having a close observance of the features of geography and the names used in Ramayana and also the Pre-historic antiquities and inscriptions that have been found along with the stories spread in the area proves that Hampi itself was Kishkindha and nowhere else." Keeping every statements and studies of the scholars, looking at the references and criticisms and supportive informations, a deep and impartial study over the matter is necessary. So it exposes that how Ancient Ham pi being a place of settlement of the primitive man, which went on having its transformation in the form ofKishkindha, Pampakshetra and Capital of so many kingdoms.

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POTTAPI CHOLAS

N. Velu

The Telugu Cholas who ruled over portions of Cuddapah and Nellore Districts with Pottapi as the capital were known as the Cholas of Pottapi. Pottapi was situated in the Rajampet Taluk of the Cuddapah District. In tracing their origin, early habitat, and the circumstances that necessitated their drift to this region, one is handicapped by the paucity of epigraphical and literary evidences. Their genealogy and chronology are also uncertain.

The Udayendiram Plates of Prithivipati II and Vira Chola give us an account of the genealogy of the Cholas, tracing the descent from the navel of Vishnu, where from sprang Brahman whose offspring was Marichi. Marichi's descendant was Kasyapa, from whom emerged the Sun. Manu was the son of the Sun and the first accredited ruler of men on this earth according to the Puranas and Epics. Manu's descendants ruled the earth as the members of the solar race. The Pottapi Cholas also claimed in their inscriptions¹ that they belonged to the solar race.

The literary works of the Later Cholas, such as Kalingattuparani and Vikrama Cholanula also contain similar accounts of the origin of the Cholas of Kaveri basin. This indicates the link between the Pottapi Cholas and the Cholas of Kaveri basin.

Inscriptions of the Pottapi Cholas mention three kings who constitute the link between Manu and the first Chola ruler of the

Pottapi country. The first of them, born in the lineage of Manu was Kalikala (Karikala) who constructed the banks of the river Cauvery. Mahimana Chola, the son of Kalikala begot three sons viz., Karikala II, Dasavarman and Tondaman. Dasavarman, according to the inscriptions, conquered the Pottapi region and became the first ruler of Pottapi. The date of the conquest of Pottapi by Dasavarman is not known. The descendants of Dasavarman must have continued their rule in that region for quite a long time.

It is likely that the Renandu Cholas, due to the chaos caused by the struggle between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas during the seventh century A.D.² were forced to leave Renandu and occupy Pottapi. Since then they were known as Pottapi Cholas. From that date till the accession of Madurantaka Pottapi Chola, the history of Pottapi is obscure. Perhaps it was due to the invasion of the Rashtrakutas and their domination over this region.

Madurantaka Pottapi Chola I (C. 900 A.D. - 925 A.D.)

The genealogy of the later Pottapi Chola rulers starts with two shadowy figures. The first of them was Madurantaka Pottapi chola who revived the Pottapi Chola rule³. According to an inscription, he was called Madurantaka because of his conquest of Madurai. But it is highly probable that, as a feudatory of Parantaka I (Madurantaka), he called himself Madurantaka

Pottapi An inscription in Tamil issued by Parantaka I found in Cuddapah District also strengthens this view.⁴

Telugu Vidya (C. 925 A.D. - 950 A.D.)

Madurantaka Pottapi Chola was succeeded by Telugu Vidya. (Viccaya of the Tamil Chola inscriptions) He erected a pillar of victory with the image of Garuda at its top at Ujjapuri. Ujjapuri may be identified with Ujjini in Kudligi Taluk of the Bellary District⁵ although Sewell identifies this place with the modern Ujjapuram of Coimbatore District.⁶ No details of the martial exploits of Telugu Vidya are available.

Venkayya Chola Maharaja (C. 950 A.D. - C. 1000 A.D.)

We have ample information regarding the history of this dynasty from the tenth century A.D. seven inscriptions⁷ of the Pottapi Cholas were secured from the siddhavattam Taluk and one from the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Cuddapah District. The earliest⁸ among them is engraved in characters assignable to the tenth century A.D. and refers itself to the 41st regnal year of a king named Venkayya Chola Maharaja.⁹ The inscription commences with the prasasti, swasti charana saroruhavihita vilochana etc. and ends with a verse which attributes to the chief, the epithet, Tenkanaditya indicating the Telugu Chola lineage of the king.¹⁰

He could be considered as the ancestor of the dynasty of the later Telugu Cholas of Pottapi and the Telugu Cholas of Nellore. He was probably an ancestor of Venkabhupala, who is referred to as the grandfather of Balli Choda in an inscription dated Saka 1067 (1145 A.D.) found at Darsi in Nellore District.¹¹

Bijjideva Chola Maharaja (C. 1077 A.D. - C. 1118 A.D.)

The next known member of this family was 'Bijjideva Chola Maharaja.¹² He figures as an independent ruler in an inscription from Tuduru of the Cuddapah District, dated saka 999 (1077 A.D.)¹³ A study of the epigraphs of the Telugu Cholas reveals that the chiefs were subjugated at different periods by the successive ruling dynasties of the Deccan. The Pottapi Cholas attempted to throw off their yoke

of subjection whenever the central or the ruling authority showed signs of weakness or decay.

It was on one such occasion, i.e., during the reign of Vikramaditya VI, Bijjideva tried to assert his independence. But the Sangamesvaram Inscription¹⁴ of Vikramaditya VI issued in his third regnal year (1079 A.D.) mentions one Bijjana Chola Maharaja as his subordinate. Bijjana or Bijjideva must have been again subjugated after ruling as an independent king for some time. The inscription mentions that Bijjideva was ruling Kanne Three Hundred, Pedakal Eight Hundred and Naravadi Five Hundred.

Madurantaka Pottapi Chola II and his successors (C.1118 A.D.-1160 A.D.)

Bijjideva Chola Maharaja was succeeded by Madurantaka Pottapi Chola. He was a contemporary of Vikrama Chola. The Chola King Vikrama became the heir apparent in 1118 A.D. and succeeded his father two years later.¹⁵ He began his efforts for the reconquest of the lost Telugu territory after his accession. One of his inscriptions¹⁶ from Nandaluru of Rajampet Taluk in the Cuddapah District, 3rd regnal year (i.e. 1121 A.D.) records a grant for the success of the king's (i.e. Vikrama's) arms. Another epigraph¹⁷ dated the 8th regnal year (i.e. 1126 A.D.) mentions a similar gift. This indicates that the Chola-Chalukya conflict must have continued for a fairly long time. In this war, he was ably supported by Madurantaka Pottapi Chola Siddharasa, his son, Mahamandaleswara Vimaladitya and his grandson Somesvara.

The subsequent history of the rulers of Pottapi can be gleaned from a dozen inscriptions of Vikrama Chola, found at Nandalur in the Cuddapah District. One inscription¹⁸ refers to the rule of Mahamandaleswara Bettarasa over Pottapi Nadu, ¹⁹ when Era Siddharasa seems to have founded an agrahara and settled twenty Brahmana families therein, for securing strength of arms to the reigning king and this was confirmed by the latter's son Vimaraditya.

In another inscription²⁰ (1125 A.D.), the same chief, Vimaladitya, who calls himself the son of Siddharasa and is also referred to as Madurantaka Pottapi Cho1a and is stated to

have founded an agrahara at Mannur, called Vikrama Chola Chaturvedimangalam, for securing strength of arms to the king and divided it into 70 shares among the learned Brahmanas. This Siddharasa, the father of Vimaladitya was different from Era Siddha the father of Nalla Siddha of the Nellore line.

Somesvara and Mallideva (C. 1160 A.D. - C. 1173 A.D.)

Mahamandaleswara Vimaladitya had two sons viz., Somesvara and Mallideva. A trilingual inscription²¹ from Dongalasani, belonging to a member of Nellore Cholas, reveals the strained relationship that existed between the members of the Nellore and Pottapi branches during the days of Somesvara and Mallideva. The records are dated Saka 1082 (i.e. 1160 A.D.). According to these records, during the reign of Mahamandaleswara Bhujabalavira Nalla Siddharasadeva Chola Maharaja, an expedition was undertaken by his generals, Ravana Heggade and Potana Heggade against Mallideva and Somesvara, the lords of Pottapi. The forces met at Dongalasani to the west of the confluence of the rivers Cheyyaru and Pennaiyaru. Nalla Siddha's general Mahapradani Sandhivigrahi Ravana Heggade mounted on horseback, routed Mallideva, killed twelve princes including Somesvara along with a thousand of their men and disabled many others, and was himself killed finally in the encounter. The Ravana's brother Potana, collected a large force and after securing victory for his overlord Nalla Siddharasa, made endowments of perpetual lamps... in the temple of Mallikarjuna at Sripurvata and on its four gateways.

The Tamil version of the inscription²² which refers itself to the reign of Kulottunga Choladeva informs in addition, that Mallideva and Somesvara were the sons of Vimaladitya. The date given in the record (i.e. 1160 A.D.) falls within the reign of Rajaraja II (1146 A.D. - 1163 A.D.) and the context would show that it was the date when the battle was fought.²³

As the date of this record is fixed as 1160 A.D. Kulottunga of this inscription could be identified with Kulottunga II and not with Kulottunga III. Similarly Nalla Siddharasa of this record must certainly be a different person from the two other Nalla siddharasas who were

contemporaries of Kulottunga III.²⁴ He was probably identical with the brother and predecessor of Erasiddha.²⁵ Therefore he could not have been a contemporary of Kulottunga III. Further, Somesvara of the record was a younger contemporary of Vikrama Chola. As such the battle referred to in the inscription must have taken place in the reign of Kulottunga Choladeva II. After this battle, Nallasiddha seems to have marched upto Kanchipuram and reduced it to subjection. What happened to the Cholas of Pottapi after the completion of Nalla Siddha's digvijaya is not known. The Pottapi Cholas must have become the vassals of the kakatiya rulers. It appears that a branch of the Pottapi Cholas migrated to Guntur region and started ruling the Konidena region.

Opili Siddhi (C. 1210 A.D. - C. 1235 A.D.)

He could be considered as the last ruler of the Pottapi line. He was a feudatory of the Kakatiya king Ganapathi. During his time, Mallideva, the Telugu Chola ruler of Konidena defied Ganapathi's authority and declared his independence. Opili Siddhi was commissioned by Ganapathi to put down the revolt and to bring the entire district of Kammanadu under his sway. Opili Siddhi accomplished the task and as a reward, he was given the governorship of the Six Thousand Country.

According to inscription²⁶ the Konidena region was first ruled over by one Tribhuvanamalla Chola also called Tribhuvanamalladeva Pottapi Chola Maharaja (C. 1135 A.D. - C. 1153 A.D.). He was a feudatory of Kulottunga Chola II.²⁷ He had two sons viz. Nanni Chola (C. 1141 A.D. - C. 1151 A.D.) and Kannara Chola (C. 1151 A.D. - C. 1159 A.D.). Nothing is known about their political activities. Thirukalideva Chola Maharaja, son of Thirukalideva, who succeeded Nanni Chola ruled Konidena for sometime according to his own inscriptions.²⁸

Bhimadeva Kuadeva Chola Maharaja, son of Choladeva Maharaja and a vassal of Ganapathi was the last ruler of Guntur region. Around Saka 1157 (1235 A.D.)²⁹ he granted a village to the temple of Yeleswara.³⁰ Apart from this, nothing is known about his political career.

The struggle between Ganapathi Kakatiya and Jatavarman Sundarapandya I resulted in

the conquest of the Pottapi Telugu Chola territory by the Pandya. The provenance of Pandya records in the Nandalur region confirms that the territory was brought under the direct rule of the Pandiyas.³¹

In the heyday of their glory, they exercised authority over the entire Cuddapah District. Not much is known about the administration of the Cholas of Pottapi. There were ministers, samantas and generals. The territory was divided into mandalam, valanadu or nadu.

The villages were ruled by a body of village officials collectively called the ayagars. Their designations varied from locality to

locality. The karnam kept the accounts. The talari was the police man. It was his duty to protect the life and property of the villagers. The purohit was the village priest who performed the religious rites in the households of the village. It may be noted in passing that after conquering the Tamil Country the Vijayanagar rulers introduced the Ayagar system in the south.

The Pottapi Cholas were tolerant in religious matters and extended their support to all sects of Hinduism. The records, in general, show that they were liberal in making grants to the Siva temples in their territory.

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ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS OF MOSQUES IN HYDERABAD: A SELECTED STUDY

S. Venkata Ratnam

Introduction

Architecturally the buildings of the period Qutb Shahis may be divided into three categories (i) Civil Architecture comprising royal places and buildings of the common folk (ii) Military architecture like forts and (iii) Religious architecture like buildings of religious importance like the mosques. Many mosques located at Hyderabad in Telangana are the works of the Qutb Shahis.

The Literal meaning of the mosque is 'a place of prostration' and through the ages it was the centre of religious life of the Islamic world. Jama means gathering, the Jama Masjid wherever they are found are intended for the general public to offer prayers. Sometimes it is the Masjid for the Friday prayers, some authors believed that the proto type of the mosque was in the shape of prophet Mohammad's house in Madina. It might be that the plan of the earliest Arab type mosques gained general acceptance

but in the later periods the architecture of the mosque was dictated by the traditional domestic countries were enriched by local architectural designs, derived from pre-Islamic architecture.

Mosques have single arched or three arched openings, the central arch being bigger than the other two. There are mosques with five arched openings and seven arched openings. My paper to cover the Architectural designs of mosque in Hyderabad. Here some selected mosques in Hyderabad as given below:

Hayat Nagar Mosque

Hayat Nagar Mosque is the biggest and it was founded by 'Abdulla's mother, Hayat Bakshi Begum was the virtual ruler of the kingdom at heart during the minority of the Sultan, and it was here that the ceremony of the Sultan's coming of age was performed at the instance of Queen mother in Rajab on 1632. All that remains of the palace consists of two large mounds one entombing the palace proper and the other the Tal-makan or Subterranean residence which was perhaps occupied in summer as a refuge from the heat outside.

The Hayat Nagar mosque is situated in Hayat Nagar about 15 kms. from Hyderabad by the side of the National Highway a little to the north. East of the palace mound the Khasbagh or 'Private Garden' of the king. The best preserved and almost intact part of Abdulla's buildings in the locality is the great mosque which was been constructed on a terrace 150 feet square. It was five beautiful arches heading to a double prayer chamber with five other beautiful arched dividing the hall in to two equal parts. This terrace is reached by five steps from the revised courtyard of the mosque, 450 by 400 or a total area of 20,000 square yards, with a comparatively small ablution cistern in the middle, Just 17 long and 11'3 broad. The Facade of the mosque is ornamented by small pillars enclosing five cusped arches between each large arch, and these in turn are surmounted by a broad parapet wall incised by intertwined arches of the most pleasing variety. The space between each of the pillars supporting the main arches is decorated by two medallions and half a decagon in stucco. The rooms were intended for the students studying Islamic classics in the great mosque as believed

by some scholars, but it is still popular as 'Maa Sheba Sarai'.

Kulthum Begam's Mosque

Kulthum Begum Mosque is situated in a side street branching from the main road to Golconda in the part of the city called *Kulthumpura*. It is a large mosque in the middle of a very large compound which is entered by a domed entrance. The platform on which the mosque has been erected on a plinth three feet higher are full of stucco decorations. There are two small pavilions further decorating the parapet wall which has a number of arches for decorative purposes. There is no inscription except the names of god, the prophet and Hayarat Ali at the entrance to the compound. Kulthumpura was once the centre of commerce, and one still finds a Qutb Shahi Caravansarai, hammam and houses once occupied by leading tradesmen from Far and near the whole locality dates back to 'Abdullah Qutb Shah's time.

Toli Masjid

The other important mosque on the road to Golconda is the Toli Masjid, constructed 1671 by Mir Musakhan, who played an important role in accession of Abul Hassan Tana Shah the last king to throne of Golconda the planner of Musa Burj in Golconda fort. The mosque is remarkable in many ways, namely its size, its once flourishing gardens and importantly, its blending of the best in the Hindu temple architecture and the Muslim mosque architecture almost without any mental break. Thus the circular earthen pot, so common a theme in Hindu architectural ornamentation, is largely adopted here. The minarets seem to rise from such earthen pots, the facade is ornamented with a number of such pots cut in black basalt and there are brackets similar to elephant tusks supporting the chhajja, which is unusual in a mosque. While the scheme of the support of the roof is based on the arch, quite a number of niches are set in the pillar and lintel style. The space between the two all minarets is filled by extremely five arches may probably represent the Panjatan, Mohammad, Ali Fatima, Hasan and Hussain. The above arches is a row of black basalt bank with beaded design.

Pemamati's Mosque

Pemamati's Mosque was opposite of Taramatis Baradari which is likewise erected on an eminence about 150 ft high. There are no steps but the visitor has to go up a gentle slope to reach a very large square platform supported by twelve arches. The mosque appears to be incomplete and is without minarets. But if the staircases on both sides of the facade has been projected upwards, they would have taken the form of two minarets. There are five shapely arches. The chhajja in front is supported by brackets of the Hindu pattern. Although incomplete, the mosque leaves on our minds the impression of piety as well as of the fine taste of the builder, are embellished by intricate flowery patterns in stucco. The Facade is planked by two tall minarets which are visible for miles round based on huge Kalasa – like pedestal, while the solitary arched opening in the centre is capped by a beautiful lotus like construction, itself topped by a solid Qutb Shahi dome.

One of the main features of the mosque is that it is surrounded by a huge quadrangle with 145 independent rooms, verandahs attached, which were no doubt meant for the students studying Islamic classics in the great mosque. The rooms and the verandahs are all uniform, the former measuring 8'9 square, while the latter 12'7 by 15'9. There are three gateways to the quadrangle facing north, south and east.

Jami Masjid

Jami Masjid built in 1518 during Sultan Quli Qutb Shah at Golconda. He is the founder of the dynasty. The construction of thousands of mosques there is only one solitary mosque which is certain to have been built by him in the capital and that is the small Masjid-i-Safa, later called Jami Masjid, just outside the Balahissar-Darwaza of Golconda fort. The mosque is a very handsome structure constructed according to the approved Bahamani pattern with a single dome in the centre and another small dome crowning the gateway, reminding one of the much larger structure which serves as the gateway to the Shah Bazar Masjid at Gulbarga. Sultan Quli has absolutely no reference to the shiite creed. But the roofed prayer chamber of the mosque, which is itself divided in to four lateral aisles, opens out into the courtyard by

five beautiful, well proportioned arches reminiscent, perhaps, of the five pillars of the shiite religion namely, the prophet, Ali, Fatims, Hasan and Hussain. The roof has a Parapet of over lapping arches flanked by dwarfish minarets at the corners which grew to enormous sizes and flying heights in the later buildings.

Mecca Masjid

Sultan Mohammed was more a lover of literature and architecture, only a few specimen of his architectural design. The most important building which was planned in the capital was what was later known as the Mecca Masjid. The construction of the mosque was commenced in 1614, the work was continued right through the reign of the last two Qutb Shahis.

The mosque is a comparatively sombre structure with few pretensions of embellishment. But its dimensions are almost staggering. Its roofed prayer hall is 225 ft long 180 ft broad and reaches a height of 75 ft. It is divided into fifteen bays supported by huge arched pillars. The three compartments into which the roofed portion is divided measure 195 feet by 22 feet by 126 feet 8 inches each. The domes supporting the roof are flat and are not visible from outside. There are five huge openings in front crowned by graceful arches. The six pillars supporting, these arches are 30 feet in height and 7 ½ feet in width, and the remarkable thing about them is that they are all monolithic, hewn of solid rock. The Mihrab also monolithic. Tavernier says about this mosque: About fifty years since they began to build a magnificent pagod in the city which would have been the finest in India had it been finished. Where in the niche is made where they say their prayer is an entire rock of such prodigious bulk that it was five years before five or six thousand men, continuously employed, could have it out of its place. It was rolled on an engine with wheels upon which they brought it to the pagod, and several affirmed to me that there were fourteen hundred oxen to draw it. It is related that as many as 2000 stone cutters, 2000 masons and 4000 labourers worked at the building project. In spite of this the mosque could not be completed in Sultan Muhammad's time, and the finishing touches had to be deferred till five years after Mughal conquest.

Khairatabad Mosque

Khairatabad mosque was constructed by Khairatunnisa Begum, she was Sultan Muhammad's daughter the mosque was intended for her tutor, mulla Abdul Malik. It has a comparatively small prayer hall, 50 by 30 pierced by three well proportioned stilted arches, with an open compound in front and an ablution tank in its centre. There is a very large plot of land, in the middle of which the mosque has been constructed, which was probably a garden. The total land enclosed by all is about 70,000 square yards. The peculiarity of the mosque is that its frontage is marked with profuse stucco work of a high order, consisting of geometrical figures, emblems of the lotus and flowers and leaves of various character. This stucco work covers not merely the arched openings and the pillars but reaches the domed portion of the two tall minarets in front and two short minarets at the back. While the roof is reached it is flat at the top according to the Qutb Shah pattern.

Mulla Khyali Mosque

The Mulla Khyali Mosque situated inside the Naya Qila towards east of the Golconda fort near the famous Hatiyan-tree was constructed in 1570 A.D. by Mulla Khyali. He was one of the earliest Deccani poets of Telangana. The mosque was constructed over a 3 feet high platform entered through a gateway from the south. There is an adjoining platform in front of the mosque with arched openings. The prayer hall is provided with three arched openings. Beautiful stucco medallions are found on the upper surface of the arches. The prayer hall which is 9.7 x 4.5 mtrs has a continuous vaulted roof unlike domical roofs in other mosques. The roof is provided with a parapet of intersecting arches with intervening minarets. There is a second parapet over the raised portion of the vaulted roof having similar arches. The gradual blossoming of the two mans minarets is noticeable here. The mehrab which is 25.0 ft high and 1.65 mtrs wide, has a black basalt frame. A cusped alcove above the mehrab has the names of the panjatan inscribed in five Tughra-style.

Sultan Nagar Mosque

The mosque is situated in Sultan Nagar about a kilometre west of the newly laid ring road. Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah, son-in-law of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah, started a great structural project of developing a satellite town on the outskirts of Hyderabad towards east. The proposal of a satellite town was unfortunately abandoned before completion. It was very near to the highway between Hyderabad and Machilipatnam. The motive behind the project was similar to the motive for the founding of the city of Hyderabad. With the rapid increase in population of the capital the space around the palace must have been too congested even by that time. The great mosque which is one of the finest architectural edifices of the period. The mosque consists of seven arched openings, the central arch being the biggest. The arches are embossed with a frame work of false cusped arches of stucco. The two minars at the two flanks are built over octagonal columns and rise to more than 30 feet height. The lotus shaped capitals over the octagonal column support to arched circular galleries one above the other topped by domes set in lotus cups. The prayer hall consists of two dalans separated by a row of six massive columns with intervening arches. The trabeate mehrab is about 14 feet high and is unframed by a pointed arch. The roof is damaged. The roof is provided with a flight of steps from the north east.

Conclusion

There are many numbers of small mosques in the Hyderabad with as well as on the road from Puranapul to Golconda. Which were constructed during the Qutb Shahi period. But they are more or less of a uniform type. There are few numbers of mosque datable to the pre-Qutb Shahi period and there are no mosques of independent architectural of the post Qutb Shahi period. The religious works of the Asaf Jahi dynasty do not differ in architectural trends left by the Qutb Shahis. Thus the contribution of the Qutb Shahis for the cultural uplift of the country in the fields of art and architecture and literature in the firm establishment of Islam significant.

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LAMBADAS AND DHAVALO¹: THE PICTURESQUE TRIBE AND UNIQUE CULTURE OF TELANGANA

Venkateswara Rao Telluri & Gattigunde Venkaiah

Lambadas are of North-west Indian origin, which lived primarily by their earnings from transportation on the pack bullocks. There is evidence to show that they supplied food grains etc. to the Moghuls when they invaded the Deccan. However, there is some dispute about the nature of their Moghul connection. Whether they accompanied the Moghuls as an ordinance corps in the conquest of the Deccan and some of them later stayed back to continue trade or whether they were already present as traders, having come in an earlier period, and assisted the Moghuls when the latter came south.

The Lambadas are known by 27 names all over the country. These include Banjara or Banjari, Boipari, Laman, Lambani, Sugali, Sukali and Lambadi, which is said to have originated from another name Laman or Labhan.

Lambada is declared as a scheduled tribe in Andhra area according to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes lists modification order, 1956 as "Sugali" and as de-notified Tribe in Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh. They are also found in other states like Bihar, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka and Orissa where they are called as Banjaras. The Lambadas of Telangana region call themselves as Banjara and they believe that Banjara, Lambada and Sugali are one and the same, rather they are synonyms, where as many Lambadas of Chittoor,

Ananthapur and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh are not aware of the name Banjara and the existence of their counterparts in other parts of India. In the districts like Chittoor, Ananthapur and Kurnool, they call themselves as "Sugali" and are well aware of the name "Lambada."²

Traditionally, the Lambadas is a semi-nomadic pastoral tribe about whom the present study is concerned. The Lambada seems to have been one of ancient tribes of India since their name is found in old Sanskrit work like 'Dasakumara Charitha' written by "Dandi", who live between 11th and 12th centuries³. We found same cultural traits among Lambadas, Gurjaras, Marwadas and Rajputs and come to a conclusion that all these races had their origin from one common race. These are having lot of similarities among these races. Culturally Rathods, Chowhans and Paramaras were very close to Marwadas, Gurjaras and Lambadas. There is no doubt to lie that all these tribes originated from one race.

The Lambadas of Telangana were always in the picture even during the time of Nizam armies and they were more known in Telangana due to their criminal activities. It must have been a boon to those who availed their services to have a band of mobile merchants especially when the roads were not developed and the other modern means of transport were altogether unknown. The Lambadas used the bullocks as pack animals to transport the supplier, which might have been a lucrative occupation. As times changed and conditions became normal during the British period, the Lambadas, who were for some centuries moving from place to place had to give up their nomadic habits. Till late 20th Century in Telangana, it is reported that, they were moving along with Nizam's armies. When their services were discontinued due to the development of road transport and railways, the Nizam took many welfare measures to rehabilitate and wear them away from criminal activities⁴.

Lambadas have a unique culture of their own. Their customs, traditions, language, food and dress habits, in short, their life style is unique which does not have anything in common either with the population of plain areas or with the local tribes who are popular as Lambadi or Banjara or Sugali in different parts of Deccan. The Lambadas have their own Language as "*Gorer -wath*" or "*Gor -boli*" and it closely resembles the North Indian languages like Marwari, Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarathi, Rajasthani, and Sanskrit in both accent and words. However, due to cultural contact with the surrounding Telugu people, they have become bilingual and can speak Telugu fluently⁵.

The settlements i.e., Thandas or Bidikis, of the Lambadas are a cluster of rude huts and are isolated at some distance from the main village. The settlements are mostly pitched on high ground affording vantage for renaissance in predatory excursions. The hills settlements of the Lambada provide a peculiar setting from the point view of natural vegetation and topography⁶.

In the past they were nomads moving from one place to another, and naturally used to settle outside the main village where they could find plenty of space to keep their cattle and exclusiveness to carry on their activities without any hindrance from outsiders. Even after, they had properly settled leaving behind their settlements outside the main villages.

Dress pattern and Ornaments

The traditional dress pattern of Lambadas is supposed to be one of the distinctive identify mark of the community. The women wear a peculiar dress, consisting of a red gown with numerous glass pieces and couries stitched on it. They wear coloured blouse or jacket called *Kanchidi* which covers the upper part of their body leaving the back part exposed. The skirt that the Lambadi women wear is short and reaches only upto the ankles. It exposes all the ornaments of the leg. Sometimes they cover their back with a red coloured cotton cloth called *Choutia*⁷.

The men usually wear a mill-made shirt or handloom cloth, a dhoti and a turban on their head. Though they prefer to wear red turbans,

they also adhere to wear black or white stripe turbans. They wear dhoti above their knees. They believe that red colour is very auspicious for them. During special visits elderly men wear an over- coat. Most of the men wear footwear made locally by a cobbler, which are cheap and durable⁸.

Their ornaments are so singularly chosen that the women who have had eight or ten pounds weight in metal or ivory round their arms and legs. The favorite ornaments appear to be rings of ivory from the wrist to the shoulder, regularly increasing in size, so that the ring near the shoulder will be immoderately large, sixteen or eighteen inches, or more perhaps in circumference. These rings are sometimes dyed red. Silver, lead, copper or brass, in ponderous bars, encircled their shins, sometimes round, others in the form of festoons. A kind of stomacher, with holes for the arms, and tied behind at the bottom, covers their breast, and has some strings of cowries, depending behind, dangling at their backs. They wear likewise earrings, necklaces, rings on the fingers and toes. The hair is worn in ringlets or plaits hanging down each side of the face, and decorated with shells and terminating in tassels. The Lambada women use various ornaments to decorate their hair. They commonly used *ghugri*, a silver ornament, is used by all Lambada women. It is an ornament hanging from a silver lace, which is clipped on two sides of the hair. The silver beads hang from ghugri touch their cheek. This ornament is exclusively meant for married women and it indicates their material status. The women use both *Bhuria* and *Phlula* as their nose ornaments. *Bhuria* is a ring shaped ornament worn on right side of the nose. It is very popular among Lambada women. *Phlula* is a small pin like ornament worn on right side of the nose. *Wanke*, it is made up of silver or brass with various designs, Only married women are allowed to wear this one, *Har* is a necklace made of coins of different denominations, *Hasla*, a typical necklace kind of ornament with no restrictions to wear among married and un married, *Moterabalia* is another ornament to wear by women on their wrists and it is made of horns and *Khas*, *Ghode*, *Wankado*, *Toering*, *Kunica*, *Gazera* and *Kusotia* are the various forms of anklets worn by Lambada women. They wear heavy cumbersome ornaments and the jewels are

numerous which include glass, beads and mirror bits. In addition to these the married women wear horn or ivory bangles between the elbow and wrists. They prefer red, green and yellow coloured cloth for their gown. They pay little attention to cleanliness, their hair, once plaited, is not combed or opened perhaps for a month, their bodies or clothes are seldom washed, their arms are indeed so encased with irony that it would be no easy matter to clean them⁹.

Lambadi ornaments are too heavy and are well designed. Lambadi women do not hesitate to wear and they never look tired by wearing these heavy and varied ornaments.

Religious practices

The Lambadas celebrate some Hindu festivals such as Sankranthi, Sivarathri, Ugadi, Sri Ramanavami, Deepavali, Rakhi, Dassera and Vinayakashavithi. The important traditional festivals are Teej, Seethals and Tulja Bhavani and they regularly celebrate them. Tulja Bhavani is another female deity propitiated annually by the Lambadas for their child protection. Unlike other festivals, Tulja is festival of sacrifices for the Lambadas. Silver image of a female representing the Tulja Bhavani and seated in 'Tailor fashion' fix any Tuesday in the month of Karthika according to their convenience. The head of the family who perform the rites has to observe certain taboos. He should not eat food and should not even drink water till sun-set on the festival day¹⁰.

One more colourful ritual of Lambadas is Teej, celebrating in the cool month of Sravana (July). When the monsoon rains drench the parched earth the Lambadas celebrates the fertility festival of Teej. The elaborate ritual is performed with utmost religiously spread over nine days with vigorous ritual dances performed to the tune of melodious religious songs. D.R. Pratap writes that 'this festival of fertility is exclusively the festival of maidens, who are considered to be free from pollutions of birth and other unclean sexual activities. The married men, women and widows are tabooed from performing rites during the celebration of Teej¹¹.

Seetla is another important female deity whose ceremony performed in the month of

Ashada (June). This festival may also be called 'festival of sacrifices and free flow of blood'. The Lambadas believe that Seetala, the eldest of the alignment seven sister deities like Tulja, Jalpa, Hingla, Masuri, Amba and Daullamgar, who is believed to control endemic diseases, alone protects their cattle. In addition to these non-traditional festivals, they also celebrate their favourite festival of Holi (Kamuni Panduga) with much pomp and joy. For better enjoyment of the festival the Lambadi women go to neighbouring villages and towns and collect money by display of their traditional dances and singing carols. The amount they collect spent for the exclusive celebration of the festival¹².

Dhavallo

On occasions like marriage and death Lambada women give vent to their emotion through wailing. This is a systematic science of weeping that is being followed by Lambadas from time immemorial, but unknown among other people. This is very interesting and outstanding. In Lambada language, it is called 'Dhavallo', which means a kind of training given at the time of marriage to a Lambada Navaleri (bride). She is taught special modes of weeping to be followed on different occasions during her married life. Some elderly women of Lambadas impart this training¹³.

'Dhavallo' are three modes of expressing pathos. They are, Expression of Sorrow, Expression of Prayer and Expression of brides vow.

1. Expression of Sorrow:

YE YA KOONA PAALO, KOONA PASOO,

KOONA BHOGA SAKARAJ- HI-YA!

YEYA YADI PALI BAPA POSO

SASU BHOGA SAKARAI ETC.

Meaning: Oh mother, tell me who nursed me, who protected me and who is enjoying my services? Oh mother, my mother nursed me, my father protected me and my mother-in-law will enjoy happy reign...! This wailing is done on the occasion of the bride departing from her parents¹⁴.

2. Expression of Prayer:

This prayer forms part of the 'Dhavallo' course. It starts with 'Haveli'. Haveli means a system of weeping by a lonely bride who recites prayers conveying good wishes for the well being of her parents, relatives and people of Thanda, at the of her departure to the house of the bridegroom.

The following illustrate the significance of the occasion,

'HAVELI- YE, HI YA-YA-YA!
DMA, ACHO, KHADI, ACHOJA PEEDI
YE MARE NAYAK BAPOOREE HAVELI
WADALASUVADES,
GHULARASU PHELES,
LIMBADASU LERES,
HARIYALI- SUR HARI RES
MARE NAYAK BAPURI NANGRI'

Meaning: Oh my revered Thanda, I ate well, I drank well when I lived in you, Oh my fatherly Nayak's Thanda, and be it your privilege to grow like a Banian tree. Spread like the Ghular tree, move like Neem tree. Grow green always life green grass, Oh my fatherly Nayak's Thanda¹⁵.

'TOO CHHOOTEJCHALI- YE MARE
NAYAK NASABI BAPURJ NANGRI
ACHO KHAYES ACHO PEEYES
HARI BHARI REYES YE
MARE NAYAK BAPURI NANGRI
HAVELI, IYE HIYA-A-A'

Meaning: Oh my fatherly and judicious Nayak's Thanda, you are getting rid of me! I pray God, you get good food, good water and prosperous, Oh my fatherly Nayak's Thanda¹⁶.....

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3. Expression of Bride's vow:

This type of wailing by the bride is meant for the Thandas and with the expression of her vow to her parents. The following illustrates the aspect of 'Dhavallo',

'RANGO JU- NAVA, JU- NAVIYUU,
ROOPO JU- TAPA, JU- TAPIYO,
SUIRE NAKE MAYIN NIKALAYU,
TOBHI TAMAN OLAMO AYE KONI DU
MARA NAYAKA BAPU, HI-YA-A-'

Meaning: I will be soft like lead and obey all my elders in my husband's house. I will withstand the hard life a silver withstands heat. I will be as obedient as thread in the needle. Even then, I will not give any room for bad name to you and our Thanda¹⁷.

At time of mourning, the dead among their kith and kin, the Lambada women recites special 'Dhavallo'. They are known as, Dad or Dada and Mundo- Mand. These are so pathetic that those who hear them can easily understand that the mourner has lost his kith and kin. Since this is one of the most interesting features of the Lambada life out team made special efforts to get these Dhavalos by women of Lambada in number of states.

Conclusion

The Lambada culture indicates that they hail from Northern India. Their folklore depicts that they are the descendants of the Rajput stock. They are gradually losing their traditional way of living and passing through a period of transition. They are migrated in a large numbers in cities which has resulted in their occupational mobility. A notable feature of Lambada migration is that unlike other tribes they prefer a settled life to nomadic life.

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PARSIS' RELIGION AND THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

Wabangienla

The Parsi community is one of the communities in India who had developed and continues to contribute in the Indian economy, including charities and philanthropies. The Parsis have worked with the foreign companies as brokers and mediators, between the foreign trading companies and the natives. The Parsis practice Zoroastrianism but today the population of this community has dropped at an alarming rate due to their desire to maintain the Parsis' pure bloodline. This paper will focus on the migration of the Parsis to India from Persia because of religious persecution, their religious ethics which have bound the Parsi community together and the institution of marriage which define their community.

Religious Ethics of the Parsis

The Parsis are a small community in India who emigrated from Persia around the eighth century. The reason for this mass departure from Persia to India was due to the decline of their influence in the political and social life in Persia. In the eighth century, Persia underwent a political upheaval after it was invaded by the Arabs and their subsequent subjugation. The suzerainty of the Arabs over Persia imposed a dramatic change in the law and order, and cultural practices of the natives. The clash of cultures produced ruptures especially in the religious practices of the people. This was primarily due to the religious intolerance of the Arabs which sanctioned persecution of the people if they did not convert into Islam.¹ The new order of things under the new sovereign made Persia a hostile zone for the natives to assert their religion which was an integral part of their identity. The fear of losing their religion forced a group of people to flee from Persia to protect their religion. This group of people over

the course of years came to be known as Parsis. The Parsis were categorized as 'Parsis' because they had come from Fars, a province in southwest Persia. In their initial stage of settlement they were known as Farsi but over the years they came to be credited as the Parsis.

The history of the Parsi migration to India is recorded in Parsi literature. The Persian poem *Qissah-i- Sanjan*, compiled by Behman Kaikoband Sanjana in Nausari in 1600 historicizes the Parsis' escape from Persia, and how they settled from one place to another. The Parsis were said to have first taken refuge in the mountainous regions of Khurasan and remained there for over a thousand of years. They later moved to the city of Hormuz at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, where they stayed for fifteen years before sailing to Sanjan in Gujarat around 785 AD.² Upon their arrival at Sanjan, the Parsis sent out one of their distinguished Dasturs³ to request the king of Sanjan for refuge. They presented their grievances to Jadi Rana, the king of Sanjan, and requested for his grant to settle in Sanjan.⁴ The king accepted their request but on the ground that they follow certain regulations. The regulations were that the Parsis were to give up their weapons and become peaceful subjects of the king, they were to hold their wedding processions only after sunset or follow their ceremonies according to the locals, the Parsis were to explain their religion to the king and his subjects, the Parsis were to adopt the language and dress of the native people.⁵ The Parsis agreed to the conditions of the ruler, and settled peacefully in the new land for their utmost reason for immigration to the new place which was to safeguard their Zoroastrian religion.

Occupation of the Parsis

The Parsis when they first arrived in India, they were engaged in agriculture related trades in Surat and Navsari before moving to Bombay during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bombay became a lucrative site for trade as a developing port city and a commercial centre. Their relocation to Bombay was also due to volatile political conditions because of the breakdown of the political authority in Surat.⁶ A majority of the Parsi migrants in Bombay were previously working as weavers, carpenters, artisans, toddy trapper, and also as mediators. They achieved their upward mobility in the social ladder with their entrepreneur zeal, intelligence, knowledge of the land and most importantly their communication skills to engage with the Europeans, unlike the rest of the people in the subcontinent. The Parsis known for their trustworthiness in their occupations moved up from dealing in husbandry to brokers and middlemen for Europeans and native traders in India.⁷ By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Parsis presence in the commercial scene in Bombay became visible. The Parsis such as the Wadias were gaining ground in shipbuilding, the Jeejeebhoy and the other Parsis started to dominate the opium trade with the British, after the British engaged into the opium trade with Western India and China. And by the late nineteenth century, the Parsis were also active in cotton mill industry

The Parsis known for their flair in their works were employed as chief brokers in the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and the English factories.⁸ Their positions as chief brokers consolidated their success in the business industry since they had the opportunity to learn the dealings of business from the European organizations within close parameter. The Parsi craftsmen and shopkeepers also provided supplies to the Europeans.⁹ The Parsi community received a boost in trade with the English East India Company when Bombay was handed over to the English by the Portuguese as part of the dowry of Charles II marrying the Portuguese queen Catherine in 1662. Within few years, Bombay was transferred to the Company which eventually led to commercial contracts with the Parsis,

who were found to be competent for the works.¹⁰

Zoroastrianism

The Parsis religion, Zoroastrianism is named after the ancient Iranian Prophet Zoroaster.¹¹ The religion is also known as Zartosht in Persian, and the followers are known as Zartoshtis. Zoroastrianism is also called Mazdaism because of its central deity Ahura Mazda.¹² It stands on Righteousness, of Good Thoughts, Good Words and Good Deeds (Humata, Hukhta and Hvarshta).¹³ These three terms have a crucial role in the Zoroastrian religion since the whole structure of the Zend Avesta is built on them. The scriptures or the texts of the Parsis are called Zend Avesta which is composed in the Avestan Language.¹⁴ Zoroastrianism is originally a monotheist religion. Ahura Mazda or the Wise Lord is believed to be an absolute and omnipotent God, apart from the innumerable gods and demons called as Daevas.¹⁵ The religion has a contrasting view on both the present and after world, material and spiritual existence where *Ahura Mazda* will supposedly judge on the Judgment Day. Here, *Ahura Mazda* is seen as the good spirit known as *Spenta Mainyu*, which is also created by him nevertheless with the presence of an opponent evil spirit or the *Angra Mainyu*. Though it is not clear and it is debated whether both *Ahura Mazda* and *Spenta Mainyu* are part of the world or as twin, both created by *Ahura Mazda*. Thus, the contention between the good and the evil spirits leaving the humans to choose between the two in their conflict, the good will of course, prove its supremacy during the course of life by complete mobilization of all the powers of the world. In the writings of later Avesta, the older form of monotheism of Zoroastrianism develops into dualism as the Wise Lord combines with the *Spenta Mainyu* to become *Ohrmazd* and *Ohrmazd* against the personified evil, *Ahriman*. However, the development of dualism in the later Avesta has left the present Parsis in India in some critical juncture in contesting with the other religions like Christianity, to prove of its own monotheistic order by going back to its older Avesta form.¹⁶

For Zoroaster the world passes through a 12,000-year-long history of salvation, which is subdivided into four epochs of 3,000 years each. In the first epoch spiritual life is created, and next the material world. After the first two epochs, *Ahriman*, the personified evil spirit enters the sphere of the good creation, where upon the battle between the good and the evil begins. And after 3,000 years, the Zoroaster appears and with his teachings strengthens the good. Eventually, the final battle is won by *Ohrmazd* in the year 12,000 which makes possible for the salvation of the world.¹⁷ In accordance with this theology, a good Zoroastrian is to align his/her thoughts, words, and actions to honest conduct and not to dissemble, and to have integrity and to keep promises. Zoroastrian ethics also encouraged moderation and charity, and rejected asceticism.¹⁸

The Zoroastrians follow their religion by practicing certain rites and rituals from the Zend Avesta. However, the only available sections of Zent Avesta consist of four sections. The sections are the Yasna, the book of ritual and ritual sacrifices; the Yasts, songs and hymns of praise; the Vendidad, a priestly book of law containing the codes of purification; and the Visperad, a small collection of prayers and liturgy.¹⁹

Fire Worship

The fire plays an integral part of worship for the Zoroastrian followers. Tradition holds that as a measure of their safe arrival and settlement in Sanjan, the Parsis in order to honour their god they consecrated the first Atash Bahram or sacred fire with ritualistic objects which was brought from Persia. The use of the ritual objects from Persia was to signify the spiritual and physical tie to the sacred fires of Persia. The Atash Bahram in Sanjan remained the only sacred fire until the eighteenth century when the second sacred fire and temple was consecrated in Navsari.²⁰ The sacred fire was known as the King of Iran, "Iran Shah" in exile.²¹ The sacred fire is kept burning inside a fire temple, no rites or ceremony is done without the fire. The fire is the central element of the rituals and worship. The fire temples of the Parsis are divided into three grades according to the importance of the fire.

The first grade is the Atash Bahram, it is collected and consecrated from sixteen kinds of fire and is attended throughout by the high priests. The second grade, is the Atash Adaran, it is consecrated from four kinds of fire and looked after by priests but with lesser elaborate rituals. And lastly, the Atash Dadgah, it is the fire of the household. The Atash Dadgah does not need any special ritual or consecration unlike the Atash Adaran and Atash Dadgah.²² Each of the temples is important and houses eternal flames, the fire is kept as a reminder of the Ahura Mazda and not for worship. Dosabhai Framji Karaka in 'The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs and Religion' talks extensively about the significance of fire to the Parsi religion and the misunderstanding surrounding it. He writes, "we are not fire worshippers, but God worshippers. Fire is a symbol of Divinity in our eyes and nothing more."²³ Maintaining of temples and performance of religious rites are officiated by the Parsi priest called the Mobad, and the high priest called the Dastur. The position of the priest is hereditary in nature.²⁴ The hereditary privilege is not extended for the females and it is passed down along the male lines.

According to the Zoroastrians, fire was chosen by Zoroaster simply as an object in whose presence men should pray, in order to leave out bad thoughts and concentrate their thoughts on righteousness. For the Zoroastrians fire was the creation of *Ardevahist*, the hypostasis of all that is right and just.²⁵ Fire temple is not a necessity to use for marriage, Navjote or for devotional practices. But nevertheless the fire has a role especially in marriage rituals of the community. Since it is considered as a symbol of purity and plenty among the Parsis, the relevance of fire to marriage rituals is evident. This is documented by Modi Jivanji Jamshedji in 'The Marriage Ceremony of the Parsees',

*"On the stands near the bride and the bridegroom there burn two candles. There stands a servant holding in one hand a censer with a burning fire and in another a little frankincense,"*²⁶

The given narration is about the uses of fire in marriages and how it symbolizes the purity and plenty for the bride and groom for

their life journey together. It is also one of the four elements which the Parsis deemed it to be kept pure, the other three being earth, air and water. The fire temple of the Parsis being a sacred temple for their community and only the 'Parsis' can enter the fire temple. The architectures of the fire temples are also constructed in such a way to block out accidental viewing of the sacred fire by the non Parsis.

Tower of Silence

The Parsi community venerates the four elements: fire, earth, air and water so much that they refrain from burning or cremating the death body as it would mean defiling the elements of nature. According to the Parsis, when a person dies his body decays but his soul is left for the Judgment Day to be judged by the *Ahura Mazda* based on his worldly deeds. Rewards and punishments will be awarded based on the conduct of a person. Apart from living in harmony with nature, they also believe in giving back to the nature. For instance the Dakhma or the Tower of Silence is used as the final resting place of the dead. The first Dakhma in India was built at Broach before 1300. The second was built in 1309 for the uses of the Parsis living in Broach and its neighboring areas. However, the structures were quite different from their land of origin which was usually built on the top of the mountains away from the human settlements. The Dakhmas of Parsis in India are also built at remote places away from the populated areas. Dakhmas are roofless towers with a walled circular opening, enclosing a central well (bhandar), and corpse are laid on the open space of the Dakhmas as a sign of giving back to the nature and also not to defile the elements of nature. The bodies are then devoured by vultures and crows or dried out by the sun.²⁷ The floors of the opening being elevated compared to the centre well has three concentric rings, the outer ring for men corpses, the middle for women and the inner circle for children. The Dakhmas are meant only for the Parsis.

Corpse Bearers

Carrying of corpse to the Dakhmas and performing the necessary rituals of the death is done by the Nasasalars. The Nasasalars occupation is hereditary and in some instance

voluntary but this rarely happens. When a person die, they take care of the corpse, they clean and dress the death body according to the rituals and set it ready for the funeral rites. After the elaborate funeral rites, the Nasasalars take the corpse up to the Dakhma. Only the Nasasalars has the right to do the funeral rites and going inside the Dakhma. The Parsis believed that, once a person is dead he/she becomes impure and so it defiles the nature if proper care is not taken in disposing off the corpse. They assume that, if one comes into contact with a dead body, no matter what the relation is with the departed soul, they become impure. And to cleanse from it, they have to go through several purification rituals.

All occupations are open to the Parsis but the occupations of the Priest and the Nasasalar are the only two hereditary bound occupations among the Parsis. However, the son of a priest can give up the job of being a priest and choose any other occupation of his choice apart from a Nasasalar. But the children of the Nasasalars, they do not have the liberty to choose other profession and they have to carry on their hereditary occupation. The Nasasalars occupation is deemed lowly and they are often treated as untouchables since they are given the task to dispose corpse which is considered as impure.²⁸ So if anyone comes in contact with a Nasasalar, they have to go through cleansing ceremonies. Especially for a priest, if he comes into contact with a Nasasalar, he has to go through numerous purification ceremonies and repeat it to purify and resume his priestly duties.²⁹ Though the Nasasalars nature of work is the most noble and humane job, they are treated so indifferently both in social and religious matters.

Navjote Ceremony

The Parsis is a monogamous community living in a patriarchal extended family.³⁰ The Navjote ceremony or the initiation ceremony of the Parsis is one of the most important ceremonies of a Parsi. It is a symbolism of being a 'Parsi'. The Navjote ceremony comprises of conferring a white muslin vest called 'sudreh' over which is tied a girdle, the 'kusti' mostly made of lamb's wool.³¹ After the Navjote ceremony, a Zoroastrian is supposed to wear sudreh and tie the kusti in a specific way. It is a

symbol and a reminder to be used while offering prayers. This ceremony takes place when the child is of six years and three months old. To be eligible for Navjote, a child must be born to Parsi parents or at least to a Parsi father.³² It is a strict rule that the Parsis do not accept converts and children of females marrying outside the community. That is, they can also no longer enter the fire temples which are restricted for the outsiders.

Even though the Parsis have contributed immensely to the Indian economy through charities and philanthropies acts by building educational institutions and hospitals, the Parsis population is on a decline for many reasons. The reason for the decline in the population is due to their cultural practice to maintain a pure Parsi bloodline. As discussed earlier, the Parsis have a strict rule of who can be a Parsi? Apart from a child to attend the Navjote ceremony born to Parsi parents or at least to a Parsi father, even the Iranian Zoroastrians are counted out. The Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936, gives a strong stand on being a Parsi. The Act asserts that "the expression 'Parsi' has no religious connotations. It carries a more territorial (sic) connotation. Doubtless, the religion of every 'Parsi' is Zoroastrian but every Zoroastrian is not a 'Parsi'. For example, an Iranian who is registered as a foreigner and who is not domiciled in India but follows the Zoroastrian religion is not a 'Parsi' within the meaning of the Act. He cannot be married under the provision of the Act and the Parsi Matrimonial court has no jurisdiction over him. 'Parsi' is defined in Section 2, clause 7 of this Act as Parsi Zoroastrian. A Zoroastrian is a person who professes the Zoroastrian religion. The word 'Parsi' has only a racial significance

and has nothing whatever to do with his religious professions. The Parsi Community consists of Parsis who are born of Zoroastrian parents, and who profess the Zoroastrian religion, the Iranees from Persia professing the Zoroastrian religion who came to India either temporarily or permanently, and the children of Parsi fathers by alien mothers who have been duly and properly admitted into the religion."³³

The Parsis had acculturated well in the subcontinent with the new land apart from keeping aside their Zoroastrian religion. While they succeeded in their business endeavors, the religious ethics kept them grounded through charitable and doing philanthropic works. A religion which was the main reason for their migration has sustained and it is preserved with utmost reverence till today. And it has acted as a binding force for the community to stand out among the other communities of India. But by keeping their religion intact, their determination to preserve the identity got more profound by restricting non Parsis to be included within their community and not allowing the children of female Parsis marrying outside the community to be called Parsis. The orthodox Parsis conception of not admitting the children of rich Parsi men marrying foreigners made the worst of the dwindling population with rules and regulations getting more rigid in maintaining the authenticity of the community through religious practices. Today, the decreasing number of Parsis in India is alarming. The Parsi community is in population crisis which is caused by late marriages, females marrying outside the Parsi community, and young Parsis choosing to live an independent life without the obligation of a married life.

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RECENT RESEARCHES IN ROCK ART OF SOUTHWEST ANDHRA PRADESH: AN ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

Yadava Raghu

The tradition of painting has hoary past. The socio-cultural profile of the early man and his communicative ability is being reflected by his material remains in general and by painting activity in particular. The rock art of that particular site presents an evidence for understanding the creativity of the early humans inhabiting that region, their cultural activities and thought process (Kumar and Pradhan 2016: p. 87). It is known that there are two categories of rock art viz., Pictographs and Petro-glyphs. Petro-glyphs' are depicted by removing particles from the rock and are exists in various forms depending on the technique of execution such as pecking, bruising and engravings.

Historicity of Petro-glyphs in India

The earliest discovery of petro-glyphs (bruising) on the Kupgallu hill in Bellary district was made by Fawcett (1892); Bruce Foote later discovered some more bruising and engravings at the same site (Foote 1916: 87-88). Fawcett also discovered rock carvings in Edakal cave in the Khozikode district of Kerala (1901: 409-21). Gordon (1951, 1958) discovered engravings at Kupgallu and Kannehalli village near Bangalore. Mahadevan(1941) and Paddayya (1968)

reported a few bruising from the sites such as Mallur, Naradgi-Karikal, Vitragal, Hebbaljuburg and Kuppall in the Gulbarga district of Karnataka. (Chandramouli, pp. 4-7)

Historicity of Prehistoric Archaeology and Petro-glyphs in Southwest Andhra Pradesh

The Southwest Andhra Pradesh i.e. Rayalaseema region includes four Districts namely Kurnool, Ananthapur, Kadapa and Chittoor. This is an enriched region for the evidence of Stone Age culture and cultural continuity as Geological formations in this area was very favorable for the primitive man. Pre history of Andhra Pradesh begins from Kurnool District as the earliest evidences of early man and his activities are found in this district. The first authentic piece of evidence for the existence of man in the peninsular occurred in 1844 in the form of some animal bone and a human tooth of late Pleistocene times in the Billasurgam Caves near Betamcharla of Kurnool District, due to the efforts of Captain Newbold. Subsequent contribution by Robert Bruce Foote, C.J. Pelly, Captain Meadows Taylor, Francis, Cammiate and Burkitt, Soundara Rajan and more recently by Issac, Murthy, Rao, Rami Reddy, Thimma Reddy and

some others demonstrated the appearance of early man and his activities. Anyway pre historic culture in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh has a long research history.

The livelihood, flora and fauna of primitive man were recorded in the form of rock paintings which are the foundations of longest sequences of prehistoric art. (Tacon et al. 2010:335). After the world fame archaeologists like Robert Bruce Foote and Erwin Neumayer, the current archaeologists like Chandramouli and the Michael Petraglia; Ravi Korisetar and their group documented number of pictographic sites within the Kurnool District. The first comprehensive study of rock art sites in Andhra Pradesh was done by Prof. N. Chandramouli (2002). As far as my knowledge no petro-glyph site is found in Kurnool District till now. In my recent researches I explored two Petro-glyph sites viz., Kandanathi of Yemmiganur Mandal and Mekala Benchi of Aspari situated in Southwest of Andhra Pradesh i.e. particularly in the Kurnool District which is noted for the highly prominent for Neolithic and Megalithic deposits. The present exploration proved once again that the Kurnool District is one of the richest zones of the pre historic centers in the world.

The author visited and surveyed at these unknown sites and brought into light. And various types of stone tools (formed by the basaltic and dolerite intrusions) and potsherds way back to the Neolithic period (BC 2900 – BC 1000) were collected from Mekala Benchi. Rock art sites in general, rock shelters in particular in Southwest Andhra Pradesh had names ending with suffixes like '*Banda*' and '*Gundu*', e.g., Puli Gundu (Kandanathi), Lanja Banda, Pedda Chittari Gundu and Chinna Chittari Gundu (Kethavaram) (Kurnool district), Diviti Mallanna Banda, Dongalu Rasina Banda, Maremma Gundu and Yeddula Aavula Gundu (Kadapa District). In a view of an Ethno-Archaeological study an attempt is made in this paper to expose the rock-art depicted on stone slabs of the same sites.

Discussion on both sites

KANDANATHI (15° 42'05.03"N 77° 28' 25.52"E) and **MEKALA BENCHI (15° 28'47.589"N 77° 24'6.916"E)**

Demographic Setting

Kandanathi, a small village situated about 5 km towards south from Yemmiganur, the mandal headquarters in Kurnool district. The village and present study site both are surrounded by brooks namely *Banavasi Vanka*, *Eerlalah Sami Vanka*, *Giddaiah Vanka* and *Yenkanna Vaagu* finally all these brooks join *Handri River* (A Tributary of River Tungabhadra) through *Kappala Vaagu* and *Mallela Vaagu* of Kadivella, a neighbour village.

'Mekala Benchi' is situated 2 km towards East from Aspari Town, the Mandal head quarter, at the bank of Nallajeruvu vanka which joins finally Handri River, and very near to the northern side of K-B road (Kurnool-Bellary Road) in Kurnool District.

Geomorphology

In these both sites the Neolithic people settled on leveled terraces on granitoid hillsides. Both are the hillocks of hummocky masses varies from large blocks to boulders in size (ranges from 0.5m to 3m) on which Petro-glyphs were depicted. These hummocky masses are in hog-back structure (the structure which is having steep sided nature). These hillocks are locally called *Nalla konda* (black coloured hill) in Kandanathi village and *Boodida konda* (Ash coloured hill) in Mekala Benchi.

Petro-glyphs at both sites

Petro-glyphs make their appearance from the Neolithic phase in Seemandhra /Andhra Pradesh. In this phase, the rock art is predominantly those of humped bulls, either alone or in association with human figures (N. Chandramouli).

Nearly 200 engravings/bruising were depicted at Kandanathi whereas about to 80 depictions are explored at Mekala Benchi. The author has surveyed these little known petro-glyphs and bringing to light. In these sites the depictions include Hunting scenes with bow and arrow, sword and dagger; human figures alone and with the association of bull mainly; animals both herbivores and carnivores (Tiger, streak of tigers, Leopard, Camel, Bull, Elephant Goat, monkeys, a dog with card, and Horse); bullock-drawn carriage, bullocks tagged, yoke

of oxen, riding scenes mounted on bulls and horse; tridents, nandipada symbols, cupules (cup marks) etc. Maximum depictions are outlined and a few are flat wash. Anyhow here an interesting thing regarding the depictions is nearly half of them are pertaining to humped bulls as above said that the rock art in Neolithic phase is predominantly those of humped bulls.

Among the depictions of Kandanathi site the uncanny and unique one is a beautiful and robust Bull in flat wash measures 50 cm height and 50 cm length with high hump and stretched sexual organ in erection by which it is understood that the bull is ready to penetrate.

One another unique depiction from Kandanathi is 'a Tiger (south faced) engraved on the surface of a boulder opening to the east, measures 180 cm Length and 80 cm height. The tail is spire into three rings. Here it is understood by observing its opened mouth and position; it appears as it is ready to hit the object.

A war scene is observed at Kandanathi site in which the warrior is in fighting pose equipped with bow and arrow. A dagger is hanging on his waist and same type of dagger is using by the current rural folk of the same village and surrounding villages as the author observed during his field work. A dead body was depicted at the foot of the warrior is also observed.

Alike the bull depiction at Kandanathi, one of the depictions at Mekala Benchi is 'a bull with an erected sexual organ and lifted tail was engraved by which it is understood that the bull was grownup and fit for the cow'. And a unique depiction at Mekala Benchi is a yoke of oxen; each ox measures 23cm height and the total depiction covers an area of 23cm height and 60cm width.

Tools and ceramics (Mekala Benchi)

We know that the Neolithic people produced and used polished stone axes for their livelihood. The author explored one beautifully polished and finished triangular stone axe measures 12cm length; 6cm width at the fringe and about 2 cm thicknesses.

Two un finished stone axes; one broken stone axe; grinding stones; milling place on a

stone slab of *Boodida konda* and potsherds predominantly handmade red, black, grey and buff ware are explored. It is come to know that legged pots or jars were also used as it is confirmed by finding a broken leg of the same. A unique explored one is a small pointed stone tool seems to be Awl, may be used for piercing holes, especially in leather.

Ethno-Archaeological view

The Neolithic people settled either on the top of granitoid hills or on leveled terraces on hillsides or on valley floors. In the southern part of the Deccan plateau, where granite hills rise from the black cotton soils, the Neolithic villages were generally located on hillsides and plateaux, sometimes along minor streams, and occasionally along the banks of major rivers. (Upinder Singh, 2016:123) Settled village life, domestication of cattle, goats and sheep and using of finished stone axes were the salient features of the Neolithic age. The stone axes finished by grinding and polishing were evolved to meet the cutting of vegetation in large areas and to till a field for cultivation (Bhattacharya, 2015:182-184).

In this connection it is come to known that the chief economic activity of Neolithic people was the cattle pastoralism along with farming which is also the main dependable activity for the Gollas, Kurubas and Boyas in Rayalaseema of Andhra Pradesh. So it may be predicted that the lifestyle of the Gollas, Kurubas and the Boyas enumerates to understand the life and culture of the Neolithic folk.

What I came to know during the field work is the agricultural lands in the vicinity of the Mekala Benchi site belong to Golla Caste people whereas the Boya Caste people are living in the surroundings of the Kandanathi site.

Mekala Benchi, a Telugu word which means a pond of Goats (*Mekalu* means Goats and *Benchi* means a pond). The appearance of pond near to the site indicates that this pond was used by the pastoral community to quench the thirst of Goats during the Neolithic times. Even now a day's also this pond is useful for the cattle, flock of sheep and drove of goats of the pastoralists i.e. the Gollas. And the beautifully finished axes made of bronze/iron

using by the Gollas while grazing a flock of sheep are alike the polished and beautifully finished stone axes used by the Neolithic people.

The significant feature regarding the oxen images with long horns drawn by the Neolithic man at Mekala Benchi is that the same type of oxen are using in the agriculture even by the present peasant community. And this type of oxen is locally called 'Desaveddulu', a corruption of *Desavali Eddulu* which means native oxen.

Generally the Boyas are also being called Kirita which means Hunter. And the Boya community at Kandanaathi is subdivided into so many exogamous groups such as Mandla (herdsmen), Yenubothula (buffalomen).

In connection with this information it is understood that, the faunal remains of the rock art of both Kandanaathi and Mekala Benchi indicate that the Neolithic activities were not much different from the practices of Gollas and Boyas. So the Gollas and Boyas are the living parallels or the survivors of the Neolithic pastoral and agricultural folk. It is also determined by the archaeologists.

Conservation

What is the current condition of these sites is, some of the stone slabs, on which the figures are depicted, were cracked due to the nature's effect that too in a systematic way. And the Rock bruising here are going to be eroded due

to the effect of natural corrosion. But the rock art is still flawless condition except natural corrosion. If the negligence by the both Central and State Governments or the Dept. of Archaeology continues, the archaeological site may disappear from the scene within a short period. A very need of the hour is that these prehistoric monuments in the Rayalaseema region are to be protected which the main source is to reconstruct the prehistory of India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular.

Conclusion

The important feature at Kandanaathi site is, petro-glyphs depicted side by side on the boulders as one is the light mode and another one is the thick / bright mode. The author might be followed a try-out form. And what I observed in these bull depictions in Kandanaathi site assume same as Indus bulls on the seals. In these both sites, the depicted petro-glyph of bull with stretched sexual organ; Tiger and Camel here are strange in the rock-art of Andhra Pradesh. Rock bruising of cattle and bullock-drawn carriage on rocks in these sites testify to the importance of Cattle rearing and cultivation in the Southern Neolithic. However, these petro-glyphs available at Kandanaathi are way backing to Neolithic to early historic periods, whereas depictions of Mekala Benchi are way backing to Neolithic to Megalithic period. Anyhow there is a dire need to extend my field work in these both sites to collect the material to understand the socio-economic and cultural life and its continuity of the ancient man.

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CONTRIBUTATION OF DR.AGHORNATH CHATOPADHYAYA IN FIELD OF EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD STATE- IN THE GLIMPSES OF TELANGANA STATE ARCHIVES

Dr. Zareena Parveen

Dr. Aghornath Chatopadhyaya was a native of Orthodox Bengali Brahmin by birth. He was well educated and possessed great knowledge in science. Actually he was the first Indian student who obtained the Doctorate of Science (DSC) of a foreign University, having studied both in the Scottish University of Edinburgh and the German University of Bonn. He went aboard on Gilchrist scholarship and won further distinctions there as Baxter Physical Science being the first Indian scholar who was ever awarded such scholarly and Hope Prizeman, prize of distinction. He knew many languages like Sanskrit, French, German, Russian. When Salar Jung- I visited England about 1877, he was in search of a young talented able Indian to take charge of Education in Hyderabad and to introduce and develop English education in the State. The name of Aghornath was suggested to him as an appropriate and just man. On return from his foreign tour, Salar Jung - I sent an invitation to him. But in the meanwhile, Aghornath came to Hyderabad about 1878 A.D., and he was eager to tackle the problem of the education needed by Hyderabad.¹

Immediately a school was almost opened, where English was made the medium of instruction. According to wishes of Sir Salar Jung - I, soon after a college; called the "Hyderabad college" was founded and affiliated to Madras University. Dr. Aghornath was its founder principal. This college is still in existence, renamed and known as Nizam College.² Dr. Aghornath soon turned his attention towards the education of girls and with the untiring help and efforts of his wife Shrimati Varada Sundari Devi, and a couple of other enlightened women, he founded the first Hindu Vernacular Girls School in Hyderabad in 1881 A.D.

Aghornath, stressed the urgent need for the emancipation and uplift of Hyderabad women, who were then deplorably backwards. The intelligent co-operation of men and women, he said, was the only way to achieve

success in any sphere of work in the several parts of the country. In addition to it, he strongly advocated for the improvement of the social and cultural conditions of the women. He preached against child marriage and was greatly in favour of remarriage of the widow. Public lectures on this topic were delivered by him freely from time to time. The new Hyderabad College was flooded with young men from the Christian Missionary Schools which adopted English as medium of instruction. Even after college hours students flocked to the home of Aghornath Chatopadhyaya, to sit at his feet and gain the full benefit of his learning and wisdom. Besides student, persons, from various other walks of life, young and old, men and women, Hindu, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, rich and poor, gathered every day in what began to be called the Durbar of Aghornath. In this Durbar the seeds of friendship and brotherhood were sown and all distinction of caste, creed and religion completely disappeared. Aghornath and his wife, kept an open house and extended their hospitality to all indiscriminately.³

The atmosphere in the State was soon changed with patriotic favour, resulting in the formation of an association called the Anjuman-i-Ikhwaus-safa which met regularly to discuss ways and means of tackling the social and political problems of the country. Among the members of this society were men of highly educated and dignified men. Nothing daunted this remarkable man. He carried on, with greater zeal than ever his work in every aspect of the nation's struggle for freedom. His optimism, his cheerfulness and his keen sense of humour never failed him.⁴

In the year 1292 F/1883-84 A.D., a Railway Scheme called Chandra Railway Scheme, came to be known among the public of Hyderabad. According to the above scheme it was suggested that the existing State Railway operating from Hyderabad to Wadi should be brought under the control of British Company which would extend the Railway line to

Warangal and then from one side to Bhadra Chalam or to Vijayawada and then to the point of Chanda. The above scheme was approved by the Salar Jung-I. But the question of the implementation of the Railway Scheme came up before Council of Regency constituted after the demise of Salar Jung-I on 8th February 1883 A.D. by Nizam the VI as its president and Raja Narendar Bahadur Mir Laiq Ali Khan Sfo Salar Jung-I during the Joint administrator of the State. The latter being its secretary as well. The details of the Scheme was very little known to the public it was therefore thought to be financial loss to the State. Among the educated class of persons who were taking interest in the public affairs began to agitate against it. Consequently a committee known as the committee to consider the Chandra Railway Scheme was set up under the leadership of Aghornath Chatopadhyaya and Mulla Abdul Qaiyum. The Committee submitted a representation before the Council of Regency asking the Government to place full facts of the scheme before the public. Consequently this course of action much annoyed the Council of Regency and Aghornath Chatopadhyaya was ultimately suspended from his service, and was asked to leave Hyderabad on 20th May 1883 A.D. Simultaneously warnings were also issued to his other colleague concerned, and at last the agitation got cooled down. However, the Scheme materialised successfully after a short period being beneficial to the Hyderabad State.⁵

After two years he was permitted to come to Hyderabad and he was placed in-charge of the Hyderabad College which later developed into Nizam College as already stated above. Aghornath continued his educational work as social and political activities side by side. Students, teachers were trained with the help of demonstration and lessons in special subjects in the classes which were well attended. Laboratories were set up in the compound of his house for experiment in science.

Though, Aghornath was definite that the study of the English language was necessary and most important yet he encouraged his students to practice learn their lessons in the mother tongue. As a great Educationalist he undoubtedly realised that the child has to receive his first instruction at the feet of the mother and, consequently the mother tongue

had to be given the first priority. To propagate this idea of instruction through the mother tongue, he worked towards establishing at first, an examining body called the *Anjuman-i-Meyar-ul-Uloom*. Examinations were held in all college subjects and papers were set in Urdu, as this was the State Language. Students from all over the India, with Urdu as mother tongue, appeared for this examination and successful candidates were awarded certificate which proved useful to them in getting jobs. Unfortunately, for want of funds and lack of Government support, this venture was short lived, though the seeds of medium of Instruction through the mother tongue were sown. He also strongly pleaded that ultimately Hindi should be considered as a national language.⁶

Dr. Aghornath Chatopadhyaya was an intellectual and his great personality served as the centre of intellectuals in Hyderabad and was a source of inspiration to all who took a leading part in the public life of Hyderabad.⁷ Simultaneously Mulla Abdul Qaiyum also joined the service in Survey and Settlement department in 1284 F/1875 A.D.⁸ Dr. Aghornath Chatopadhyaya also came in close with Abdul Qaiyum and both are worked for the public awakening in Hyderabad during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A.D.⁹

Dr. Aghornath Chatopadhyaya formed a society known as Ikhwan-us-Safa, which supported by his friend Abdul Qaiyum along with monthly meetings were conducted for holding discussion and delivering lectures on educational and reforms. A monthly magazine was also being published by the Society where-in the public problems were discussed by competent authorities.¹⁰

Dr. Aghornath, he was in the Education Department, he also associated himself with Mulla Abdul Qaiyum formulated a scheme of compulsory Education specially for the children of land lords, Jagirdars, Mansabdars and Inamdars of the State. They also suggested for expansion of educational institutions providing more scholarships to the deserving students as well as opening of schools specially equipped with Technical education. In 1295F/1886-1887 A.D. Due to his ceaseless efforts, a Madrasa Sardaran was set up at Gulbarga in

1297 F1888-1889 A.D. But due to lack of adequate response, it was closed down after a short period. Subsequently on the support of Dr.Aghomath Chatopadhyaya, Mulla Abdul Qaiyum wrote a book in Urdu in 1303 F 11894 A.D. entitled "Jabria Taleem"(A Plea for Compulsory Education).

The book was well received with appreciation throughout India and it was treated as one of the leading book towards the cause of development of education in Hyderabad during those days. They also had contact with Sir Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, the principal of the Fargasom College, Poona being one of the leading educationalists.¹¹

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RAJENDRA CHOLA'S EXPEDITION TO MALDIVES AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE MARITIME CONTEXT

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Rajaraja's conquest of 12,000 Ancient Islands of Three Oceans: The Rajaraja inscription mentions that he conquered "முந்தற்பு பழந்திவு பன்னிராயிரம் / Munnirp pazhantivu pannirayiram," 12,000 ancient islands of three waters, i.e, oceans. These islands were located southwest of Cheranadu and identified as "Malattivu" / Maldives. Tamil literature has been consistently referring to "one old island group / archipelago" located in the Southern direction on the ocean. Agastya Sutra¹ referred to it as "கன்னித் தென்கரைக் கடற்பழந்திபம்", i.e, an old fresh group of islands, dwipa or archipelago situated in South on the Ocean. Deivaccilaiyar, a commentator of Tolkappiyam recorded that these ancient islands formed part of "Twelve nadus / lands," where Tamil people were having connections. As Cheranadu had some problems with these islands or both colluded with each other against the Cholas, Rajaraja had to invade and check them². The number 12,000 could not have been mentioned arbitrarily without any traditional basis and continuous popular usage. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri hinted about this in the footnote, though, not elaborated. Therefore, when, those references are verified, interesting details are obtained and they are taken up for discussion as follows.

Maldivian magic number 12,000 and Rajaraja's 12,000 ancient islands: Maldives had been visited by many people and evidently populated by the Indian dynasties. Researchers claim that the settlement of people was going on by the people coming from Kalinbangan, Ganges, Kalinga, South India and Sri Lanka³. After the Mohammedan conquest and Islamization, not only the pre-Islamic monuments were disappearing, but, the culture was also changed. Yet, some old past memories are reflected through Cowries and Cowrie related practices, counting and astrology⁴. The Maldivians evidently continued their tradition of "Magic with numbers" and connecting them with the cowries⁵. The title of the Sultan as given by Pyrard⁶ and evidently an ancient formula, shows the two systems in competition. He was called "Sultan of 12,000 islands and 13 atolls," the words being 'dolos assa ral' (= 12,000 lands) and tera atholom (=13 atolls)⁷. John of Montecorvino, in a letter dated December 22nd 1292 wrote⁸, "The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is thisTraversing it towards the South there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number.....the traditional Madive number,

12,000." Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese sailor noted⁹, "The Islands Maldio – Over against this land of further Malabar (Cape Comorin) forty leagues off, lies an archipelago of islands, said by the moors to number 12,000."

The 12,000 of the Moors and "panirayiram," of the Cholas were one and the same: As the inscriptions of Rajaraja and the Moors referred to the islands as 12,000 in word and numbers, it is evident that both referred to Malattivu / Maldives only. In other words, the stone cutter incised, the poet dictated, the ruler ordered and others knew that the islands were known as 12,000. The Moors (Arabs as sailors, traders, pirates etc) knew it as 12,000. Thus, it is evident that from workers to King, 12,000 was so popular referring to Maldives during the 10th-11th centuries. When the writings of the

European and the Arab explorers, sailors and mariners are taken as historical truth, it is surprising and intriguing for historians and researchers to doubt the Cholas inscriptions referring to the Maldives as 12,000. Therefore, the Cholas inscriptions have consciously recorded the contemporary history carefully and faithfully on the rocks / inscriptions and metal / copper plates. Unless, researchers take all facts into considerations, their interpretations might mislead others and historical writings are also get affected.

Whether Rajendra invaded Maldives or not?: K. A. Nilakanta Sastri after dealing with Rajendra's exploits of the Cheranadu¹⁰ doubted about one island 'Sandiamattivu', the details are given as follows:

<p>தெண்டிரை யீழ் மண்டல முழுவதும் எறிபடைக் கேரளன் முறைமையிற் சூடும் குலதன மாகிய பலர்புகழ் முடியும் செங்கதிர் மாலையும் சங்கதிர் வேலைத் தொல்பெருங்காவற் பல்பழந் தீவும் செருவிற் சினவி யிருப தொருகால் அரசுகளை கட்ட பரசுராமன் மேவருஞ் சாந்திமத்தீவரண் கருதி இருத்திய செம்பொற் றிருந்தகு முடியும்</p>	<p>In his sixth year, A. D. 1018, Rajendra seized the heirloom of the Kerala monarch including the crown praised by many and rightfully worn by him, and the garland emitting red rays. He also took the 'many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound.' In the next year, he captured the crown of pure gold worthy of Tiru (Laksmi) that had been deposited in Sandimattivu, in view of its strong fortress, by Parasurama who, roused in war, had uprooted the kings (of the world) twenty-one times.</p>
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As he could not locate 'Sandiamattivu,' he suspected that he might not have invaded Maldives or any other island¹¹, "It may be doubted if by this campaign Rajendra added any new territory to his dominions. Rajaraja had conquered the Pandya and Kerala countries very early in his reign and 'the many ancient islands' towards its end. These islands were the Maldives; the obscure new Sandimattivu of legendary fame is apparently to be sought also among the islands of the Arabian Sea." However, in footnote, he mentioned that, "Sengathir-malai" may be taken more literally and so also Sandimattivu¹² (than actual military campaign). Here 'Sandimattivu' created doubt, as he thought, it was a myth. However, he continued to point out how the Cholas gained control over Maldives, the strategic point¹³, "The Colas only continued an ancient tradition in the attention they gave to developing their power on the sea. The conquest of Ceylon and the

Maldives, and the evidence of the Chinese annals on the embassies that reached China in this period from the Cola country give us some measure of the success they attained in this direction. And the overthrow of the Cera fleet at Kandalur Salai may well be taken to mark the definite establishment of Cola naval power in this period in the territorial waters of Southern India". Immediately, after this, he acknowledged the conquest of Maldives, but, doubting the narrative of Sulaiman.

Sandimattivu – Legendary island or reality?: Here, the following crucial expressions are important for interpretation.

1. தெண்டிரை யீழ் மண்டல முழுவதும் = the whole of southern Ezha zone (Ceylon)
2. செங்கதிர் மலை = the evening with reddish light
3. சங்கதிர் வேலை = the conch sounding time

4. தொல்பெருங்காவற் பல்பழந் தீவும் = many ancient islands protected by big security / army
5. மேவருஞ் சாந்திமத்தீவரண் = further, after crossing comes the island Sandimattivu with walls or well-protected place.

If the order is followed, after the whole of southern Ezha zone (Ceylon), many ancient islands protected by big security / army can be reached, where the evenings would be with reddish light and the morning with the conch sounding and further, after crossing them comes the island Sandimattivu with walls or well-protected place or it could be one of the islands. Indian astronomical works repeatedly mention four cities situated on zero latitude or equator, as "Sunrise at Lanka is sunset at Siddhapura, midday at Yavakoti and midnight at Romaka." Here, it is easy to know that the Ceylon or present Sri Lanka is not on the equator, but, 12,000-Maldives. Thus the expressions 'Sandimattivu, Sengathir-malai' suits with Maldives, as they connote to a place 'an island associated with santhi' i.e, the meeting points of dawn-midday-dusk-midnight and 'an evening, where Sun rise / set making it red.' Thus, Sangamattivu could be located on equator as one of the Maldivian islands.

Sandimattivu, where the Gold Crown was deposited: Sastri doubted 'Sandimattivu,' as the pure gold crown was deposited there. From the Maldivian narratives, it known that the queen always wore gold ornaments. As the Cheras were troubling him, Rajaraja invaded 'Kanthalursalai' of the Cheras and taught them a lesson. Thus, the logical further movement of the Cholas should be Lakshawadwip islands and then to 12,000 ancient islands of three Oceans. That a Maldivian queen or wife of a ruler wore gold crown, dress, chappal etc., is known from the account of Edrisi¹⁴, "His wife administers justice, and speaks in public unveiled, after an established custom from which they never vary. The name of this queen is Demhera; she wears for ornaments a robe of gold tissue, and on her head a crown of the same metal, enriched with pearls and precious stones. She wears gold slippers, such as none other may use under pain of having their feet cut off". Thus, the Maldivian queen used to wear Gold crown, dress and chappal and therefore,

the Moors, Mohammedan pirates or the islanders might have carried away during a naval fight from the Chola / Chera ship. The narrative that it was deposited in the Sandimattivu, was used in the inscription figuratively, as loss and gain were so common in piracy and maritime related fights. That in 1017, Rajendra brought it back proves he wanted to achieve the traditional title of "Mummdi Chola" = Cola with three crowns, i.e, the Victor of three crowns or three Kings of different dynasties¹⁵.

The Boatbuilding in Maldives and South

India: The Arab merchant Sulaiman made his curious account of Maldives, in which, he says that the people of these islands '*built ships and houses and executed all other works with a consummate art*¹⁶, though never visited the Coromandel coast and his voyages were made before Vijayalaya (846-881). Yet, taking Sulaiman's testimony to the quality of the ships built in Maldives, into account and the conquest of these islands effected by Rajaraja's fleet, the efficiency of Chola navy could be understood during 10th-12th centuries. Abu Zaid Hasan, adding to Sulaiman's work about the beginning of the 10th cent. CE, observed that the vessels of the Indian ocean, specially those made at Saraf, differed in construction from those of the Mediterranean. '*It is a fact that the type of ship built by pieces of wood sewn together is a specialty of the builders of Saraf, the ship builders of Syria and of Rum (Byzantium) nail, on the contrary, these pieces of wood and never sew them one to another*¹⁷. Al Idrisi's description of Maldivian shipbuilding, is quoted by all as usual as follows¹⁸: "*All travelling boats of the Sea of India and China are constructed of well-hewn wood. These planks are put edge to edge and trimmed, and then sewn with fine fibre. Then they were caulked with the small intestines and the oil of al-baba (the sperm whale).*" In 1292 CE, Marco Polo¹⁹ described Indian ships as "*built of fir timber, having a sheath of boards laid over the planking in every part, caulked with iron nails. The bottoms were smeared with a preparation of quicklime and hemp, pounded together and mixed with oil from a certain tree which is a better material than pitch.*" Friar Oddoric of Pordenone, an Italian monk in 14th century also credited Indian ship with a carrying capacity of over 700 people, thus, appreciating both ship building

skills and maritime ability of Indian shipbuilders who could produce such large tonnage vessels. Thus, it is evident that the Western Coast of India down to Cheranadu, the islands of Laccadives, Sri Lanka and Maldives had such shipbuilding facilities and the Cholas depended upon them.

Terminology used for boats and ships, and boat-shipbuilding proves the common practices followed: Even today, the boats on the Malabar Coast were manufactured with planks 'sewn' together by threads of cocoanut fibre, but these are usually of a small size. If the observations of Abu Zaid based on what he saw and heard at Siraf about 916 CE on navigation in the Indian Ocean²⁰ and Marco Polo observed much later, it cannot be argued that there were no contemporary evidences for

the shipbuilding carried on the Coromandel Coast under the Cholas. Ahmad-ibn Majid, an Arab writer of the 15th century and author of several nautical works, makes frequent references to the Cholas²¹. The English translation is given for convenience, "In all his nautical works, Ibn Majid frequently refers to the opinion of the Cholas he approves or rectifies. He was to have at his disposal the Nautical Inscriptions, geographical tables, indicating the latitude of the ports, used by the sailors of Coromandel, and comparing them with Arab documents of the same nature." Therefore, he must have had before him a specialised nautical literature of Tamil (Chola) origin which he compared with Arab documents of a like nature. The Maldives boatbuilding is known as dhoni banun (making or manufacture of boats)²². The different types of boats built are known as:

<p>Bokkura – Row boat. Mas odi – Square-sailed fishing craft. Mas dhoani – fishing vessel. Ban'du odi - Schooner Naalu Bathteli – inter-island freighter Vadhu dhoani – Troll boat. Jaha dhoani – Royal transfer boat.</p>	<p>In Indian languages, Padava / Padagu, Oda / Odam, thoni / dhoni, etc., have been very common. These boats have been modifications of the same hull. The names have been typically Indian with mixed words. However, Maldivians accept that the big boats or larger vessels built in India are known as "naus".</p>
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Therefore, it is evident that the "Nautical Inscriptions, geographical tables, indicating the latitude of the ports, used by the sailors of Coromandel" were available and later, the Europeans and the Arabs might have destroyed to suppress the shipbuilding technology of the Cholas. As otherwise, the Cholas would not have produced such data for navigation and gone to SEA islands to conquer Srivijaya. About the Chola Royal astronomer, Suyadeva Yajvan, discussion has been made separately²³.

Maldivian local tradition of the Cholas invading and getting defeated later: Based on local narratives, Naseema Mohammed²⁴ pointed out that "Legend speaks of the Indian ruler Raja Dada (Rajaraja) who had captured the two northern-most atolls, Malikatholhu (present-day Minicoy) and Thiladummathi. This invasion is said to have taken place during the early years of the Soma Vansa Dynasty, possibly during the early 11th century AD. This part of

the legend is corroborated by the inscriptions of the Chola Emperor Rajaraja (985-1014 AD) which claim control over the Laccadive-Maldives archipelago (Ragupathy 1994:3). The Soma Vansa ruler King Mahaabarana Adeettiya (1121-1142 AD) ascended the throne after he defeated the Indians who had occupied these two atolls. After this victory he was named "the ruler of fourteen atolls and two thousand islands". His kingdom of Deeva Mahal was the territory that lay between Malikaddu (Minicoy) and Addu Atoll (Shihabuddine c. 1650-1687). According to this source (Kitab fi Athari Meedoo el-Qadimiyyeh by Allama Ahmed Shihabuddine relating from the Maapanansa copper plates), Koimala or King Mahaabarana Adeettiya was succeeded by his nephew Sri Sandaneyka Buvana Adeettiya (Tribuvana Adeettiya). This was the famous Darumavantha Radun (Shihabuddine c. 1650-1687) and during this king's reign, Maldives converted to

Islam in 1153 AD". This is discussed with the Koimala myth of the Maldives as follows.

Evolution of Koimala myth during medieval period: There have been different narratives about an Indian Prince coming to Maldives coming from different parts of India, settling down, and becoming rulers.

1. Form Malabar: One narrative noted that In 1117 CE, Koimala, a Malabar of noble decent, landed on the Maldives. Though, he went with his entourage of followers and family, they were invited by the islanders of Rasgetheemu in North Maalhosmadulu Atoll. Having settled down, later he fought and beat the Cholas who had control over Maldives at that time and the country and unified under one leader for the first time in recorded history.
2. From India: According to Maldivian Folklore, Koimala was an Indian prince who arrived in Malé Atoll, was welcomed by the Maldivian people. They allowed him to settle. Trees were planted on the sandbank and thus the papaya tree was first grown there. As time passed, the Maldivians accepted him he became ruler of Maa-le (Malé) and Hulhu-le (Hulhulé) with a palace built for him.
3. From Simhala / Ceylon: Another version claims Koimala was a Sinhalese prince married the Ceylon king's daughter, made a voyage in two vessels from Ceylon and reached the Maldives. The Maldivian Buddhists, learning that the visitors were of royal descent from the Buddhist kingdom of Ceylon, invited them to remain and ultimately proclaimed Koimala their king at Rasgetheemu. Both migrated to Malé and settled there with the consent of the aborigines of Giraavaru - then the most important community of Malé Atoll. After the settlement in Male', two vessels were dispatched to bring more people of his race to populate Male'.
4. From Kalinga: Yet nother narratines describe that a prince might actually be a corruption of the stories of King Soorudasaruna-Adeettiya and King Balaadeettiya- both exiled princes from the Kalinga Kingdom of India who founded the

Solar and Lunar Dynastries of the Maldives. According to this source, Kitab fi Athaari Meedoo el-Qadimiyyeh by Allama Ahmed Shihabuddine relating from The Maapanansa copper plates, Koimala or Siri Mahaabarana, the son of King Siri Bovana Aananda was the fourth king of the Lunar Dynastry and uncle to King Dhovemi (Siri Bavana-adiththa) the first Sultan (Muslim king) of the Maldives.

5. From Choladesa, Rajadada: Koimala became the King of the 14 atolls and two thousand islands of the Dheeva Mahal and his kingdom was referred to as Malikaddu dhemedhu- or 'all islands lay between the Maliku and Addu. He fought against the Raja Dada's (or the forces of the Tamil emperor Raja Raja Chola I of the Chola empire) Indians to claim the two northern most atolls for the newly formed Maldivian kingdom. Koimala was succeeded by his nephew Dhovemi Kalaminja in 1141.

Decoding Koimala myth in the Kalinga-Chola Maritime context: After the careful reading of the above Maldivian stories and narratives and in the historical perspective and context, the following decoded intepretations are presented:

1. As Buddhism was introduced into Sri Lanka / Ceylon by Mahendra /Mahinda and Sangamitra / Sngamitta, son and daughter of Asoka (304-232 BCE), it was introduced in the Maldives by a man-woman pair.
2. Buddhism was there in the Maldives since 3rd cent.BCE and Hindu religion might have also come through the traders.
3. Thus both lived together till 12th cent CE, however, Buddhism dominated, as their strength was more. The Vajrayana practices followed prove the fact.
4. During Rajaraja period, the Hindu-Saiva group dominated and hence a Siva temple was built there, as is evident from the archaeological evidences²⁵.
5. That Kalinga prince as a Buddhist or converting to Islam and defeating Rajaraja or his army kept there reveal the Kalinga-Chola enemy or victory-defeat syndrome

is revealed in the Kalinga, Sri Lankan and the Maldivian contexts.

6. The conversion of Solar dynasty to Lunar dynasty shows the implication of Buddhists and Hindus getting converted to Islam.
7. If the Sun-worship account²⁶ existed there is taken into account, this Solar-Lunar conversion vouchsafe the Indian astronomical tradition of locating Lanka on zero latitude, here, on the Maldives.

Chola period bronze lamp, bowl and other metallic objects found at Maldives islands:

Several other objects with a likely South Asian provenance include a bronze lamp of the Chola period style (ninth to eleventh century CE), silver and gold ring foils, a terracotta ram figure from India and varied bead types including those manufactured from clay, glass, shell, coral, carnelian, agate and quartz were found during excavations at different sites (Skjolsvold 1991; Bopardikar 1992; Mikkelsen 2000).

- Chola period Lamp: Bopardikar pointed out that the lamp was Cholas and the ceramics too could have come from India or Sri Lanka²⁷.
- Pieces of bronze bowl, parts like lid and figments: About the tortoise skeletons found at the Kassidhoo, Mikkelsen observed²⁸, "...The finds from the filling of this chamber consisted of one plastered piece with traces of red paint, one cowrie shell and small pieces of a bronze bowl. More bronze figments and as well as parts of the probable lid were found outside..."
- A number of gold or brass ornamented discs: J. Stanley Gardiner, who had led a scientific expedition to Maldives and neighbouring Laccadives in 1900, and who identified 'the remains of dagobas' in Fôh Mulah Atoll, as well as in Haddunmati Atoll, Gamu Island; South Miladunmadulu Atoll, Landu Island; South Miladunmadulu Atoll, Miladu Island; and (less specifically), in Suvadiva and Addu Atolls. Gardiner, writing in 1900, further commented²⁹: "*Ghang (Gamu) in Haddunmati was evidently a great religious centre, having ruins of fourteen of these (mounds), some with smoothed sides of square stone. One in Landu appears to have had a kind of pit*

or well in the centre, formed by square blocks of porites and covered by two large flat masses. Within this in 1848 were found a number of gold or brass ornamented discs."

- A silver-metal box, two badly-rusted silver-metal plates and two coins: At Toddu island, besides, the Buddha sculpture, the excavators also uncovered a coral relic-casket (M. Kuradi; cf. Sin. Karanduva) which contained a silver-metal box, two badly-rusted silver-metal plates which appeared to bear seals, two coins, and a smaller gold-metal box containing what appeared to be a gold-metal amulet. The coins, which were described by Muhammad Ismail Didi as bearing the figures of deer or horses ... and on the other side a head ... were subsequently lost³⁰.
- Two bronze statues – Buddha and Apsara: Metal figures discovered at Haddunmati Atoll, Gādū Island, in October, 1970 On October 10, 1970, construction work on the island of Gādū in the south-central Haddunmati led to the chance discovery of two bronze-metal statues which had been buried together in a jar. The statues, which are only a few centimetres high, are now preserved in the National Museum in Male. One figure (Male Museum No. 21) represents a sedent Buddha with legs crossed in the lotus position; the facial features and robe are rather crudely executed. The style is typically Sri Lankan, and may be approximately dated to the 9th or 10th centuries CE. The second figure (Male Museum No. 22) is in a worse state of preservation, but may represent an apsarā or female semi-divinity; in style the figurine has a certain Malayo-Indonesian quality.

Destruction of Hindu temples, images etc – Linga found and destroyed:

By going through the researches of archaeological excavations conducted at the Maldivian islands, many pallas, omphalo and linga type sculptures have been recovered, recorded and destroyed also. The details available are listed as follows:

1. The Dutch archaeologists pointed out that the Maldivian archaeological team discovered a carved coral liṅga 36.75

- cms. long, with a circumference of 30.5 cms at the base. Unfortunately, as with the Toddu Buddha figure and coins, the Ariadu liṅga was either broken up, or thrown into the sea, or otherwise misappropriated or lost. Who did such vandalism or destroyed the evidences has not been mentioned. Two photographs of the liṅga survive, however, and from these it has been possible definitely to establish the nature of the artefact.
2. M. Ismail Didi's excavations at Ariadu were thus unique in being the first to unearth a religious artefact of specifically Hindu origin - though what the Ariadu liṅga was doing in close proximity to what were apparently a series of three Buddhist stupas remains uncertain³¹. In other words the Buddhists would not have had lingam in their caityas or viharas, hence, a temple must have existed and it must have been destroyed by the Buddhists, when they became dominant.
 3. Relying upon Mohammed Amin et al³², many researchers have pointed out that Lingas were found in many islands of Maldives.
 4. Graham Hancock³³, noted, "*Interestingly, large numbers of 'phallic' sculptures have been recovered in archaeological excavations in the Maldives – for example amid the ruins of a vast temple complex in North Nilandhoo Atoll. I was able to study a collection of such objects from different parts of the archipelago and in my opinion, despite some idiosyncrasies, they are nothing more nor less than Sivalinga*".
 5. A significant find came to light was the accidental discovery of four carved coral heads depicting aggressive fanged faces in Male', which were unearthed during construction in 1962. Two of these were deposited in the National Museum and survived there until their destruction by extremists in 2012 (Forbes 1987:286; Bajaj 2012).
 6. Two of the coral heads were also reported to be four-sided *siva linga* and there was also some indication that symbols associated with Siva are depicted on one of the coral stones (Forbes 1987:286).
 7. An amateur archaeological expedition was undertaken by a Maldivian team in February 1959, to Ariadhoo island in Ari Atoll found a carved coral phallus (linga), 15 inches in height and 12 inches in circumference at the base³⁴.

Hindu style Mihrab assembly made of marbles

found: The demolition and reconstruction work at "Machchangoli Bâ Miskit" (Machchangli Old Mosque) in 1983, just to the south of Majidi Magu in central Male, had resulted in the discovery of a series of carved marble stones, which, when assembled, bear a strikingly Hindu appearance, though apparently once used for a Muslim mihrab³⁵ or sanctum sanctorum or Garbagruha. Forbes concluded that the Mangrol Jami Masjid mihrab may have been taken from an earlier Hindu structure, or - perhaps more probably - made by Hindu craftsmen after a Hindu style in the typical white marble of western India or marble does not occur naturally in the Maldives, and therefore the artefacts in question must have been imported³⁶. However, how they were brought from the western India and by whom and such other details are not given. As the Cholas had gone and there had been evidences for the existence of a temple with linga and all, even, the Cholas could have brought them there, as a Siva-Vishnu temple with many sculptures was constructed at Quanzhou, China. Thus, the possibility is that the Cholas could have built a Siva temple and it must have been destroyed by the iconoclast radicals. Moreover, Hindu style mihrab has not been orthodox, but, it is found as Qibla put on inside a Hindu temple converted into mosque with the inner structure kept in tact at many places. Therefore, Hindu like mihrab in the Maldives is not all surprising, as such pattern is found in the mosques of Kelaa, HA atoll; Nohlivaram, HDh; Meedhu, R atoll; Male, K atoll etc.

Usthumbu, Stupa structure, tortoise sacrifice:

The findings of Thor Heyerdahl, Arne Skjølsvold and Egil Mikkelsen have brought out the remains of a temple, Rakshasa-like sculptures with Pallava-type inscription. The local Maldivian people arrange shells in such a way, they look like a stupa - ruined miniatures

of satihirutalu which formed the apex of the Maldivian Buddhist stupa. The stupa has three parts: the quadrangular base representing earth; the bell-shaped middle part, representing water; and the satihirutalu representing air which crowns the stupa. The pagoda spire with lotus base of the stupa has striking resemblance with the material evidence and also that of Manimekhalai description³⁷. Therefore, the connection of Pallavas and Cholas with these areas is very visible. About the tortoise skeletons found at the Kasshidhoo, Mekkelson observed³⁸, ".....*The finds from the filling of this chamber consisted of one plastered piece with traces of red paint, one cowrie shell and small pieces of a bronze bowl. More bronze fragments and as well as parts of the probable lid were found outside. There was an extension to south of this structure. Huge amounts of animal bones were found on top of this, obviously traces of sacrificial ceremonies. These bones have been analysed by Dr. Leif Jonsson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Most surprisingly, they were determined as coming from giant tortoise (Aldabrachelys elephantina) a species never previously encountered in the Maldives. Bones of small terrestrial turtle and sea turtle were also found on and around ruim (fig.16). The Buddhist monks kept in their temples for religious is well known.....*" but he has not given the "well known reasons....they have been dated to AD 725-885..." However, he has not explained the significance. As pointed out, the pyramid structure with geometrical shapes associate with Buddhist stupa and as well as Sri Chakra and Mahaneru. Again, in structural design, the Meru is placed on the tortoise. That the Cholas were interested in the tantric practices have been dealt with separately³⁹. It proves that Vajrayana Buddhism and astronomical studies were carried on there.

Vajrayana Buddhism and Hindu "mantra-yantra-mantra" practices followed in Maldives: Regarding human sacrifices in early Maldives, Romero-Frias noted⁴⁰ that, "*Blood sacrifices, and even human sacrifices, were indeed a feature of Dravidian Devi worship. In South India even to this day, bloody ceremonies including animal sacrifices and nightly processions with lights are still part of the worship of goddess Mari. It is very likely that Buddhism, upon its arrival in Maldives, sought*

to stop human sacrificial offerings offered to the ancestral Goddess, so common throughout Dravidian village India. The readiness to offer these sacrifices can be traced to the extreme fear Maldivians had of epidemics and diseases in general". Evidently, he was confused with the sacrifices of Hindu and Buddhist practices. Jost Gippert has exhaustively dealt with the subject matter based on the study of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions found there in the Maldives⁴¹. The inscriptions have been found typically on the sculptures representing as Rakshas. Of course, the mantras mention pretas, pisacas, khumbandas, rakshasas etc. He mentions them typically as Vajrayana inscriptions, Vajrayana Buddhist inscriptions, Vajrayana statues, in his works⁴². He concludes characteristically and ironically as follows⁴³, "*Two inscribed statues, now destroyed, of Male Museum preserved the mantra used for the invocation of Yamantaka, the head of the "Kings of Wrath" (Krodharajan) of Tantric Buddhism. The text represented by the inscriptions is by and large as the one contained in the Guhyasamajatantra and the Majusrimukalpa, with a slightly closer affinity to the former where the versions diverge.*"

Decoding the story of Rannamaari: According to Maldivian scholars two narratives of "Rannamaari story, existed in Maldives based on the Dhanbidhu Lomafanu copperplates dating from 1193 CE⁴⁴. In the first one, a virgin was left in the temple, Rannamaari emerged from the sea, but cried out in pain, the moment Quran was recited, and it disappeared by jumping into the sea. The next morning, when people came to collect the body of the girl for burial, they found that the girl from North Africa was alive without any molestation. In second version, Al-Barbai, the visiting trader had challenged the ruler that he would win the Rannamaari and if it happened, then, the king and all the subjects should get converted to Islam. Accordingly, the king having accepted, Al-Barbari went to temple donning as a girl, but, when he overpowered and captured, he found that it was nothing but the king, who, with the collusion of temple priests and courtiers, used this modus operandi to satisfy his violent lust and keep his subjects in fear. In short, it could be understood as a story floated to justify the imposition of Islam on the Maldivian people with the destruction of temples, chaityas etc,

thereafter in 12th-13th centuries. Romero Frias noted that its structure is also similar to a story of Panchatatra⁴⁵, "The structure of this legend – the killing of the girls, the role of a book, etc.– is identical in the *Nandapakarana* story of the *Panchatantra*. See Finot, *Recherches sur la Litterature Laotienne*" and "Even the legend of the virgin and the sea monster told in the context of the conversion of the islands to Islam originated in the *Panchatantra*."

Archaeological evidences disappearing from Maldives: Interestingly, the Maldivian copperplates have recorded as to how the Caityas, Buddha statues etc., built by kafirs were demolished and destroyed in 1153. The Dhanbidhū Lōmāfānu⁴⁶ [Maldivian copper plates] tells us that the Satihirutalu (the chattravali or chattrayashti crowning a stupa) were broken to disfigure the numerous stupas. It tells us also that statues of Vairocana, the transcendent Buddha of the middle world region, were destroyed [by destroying on all islands hold (lit. received) by himself that are between Kela and Addū, the (Buddhist) monasteries founded (lit. made) by the former infidel kings, the Buddha temples (and) the Vairocana (statues) ...]⁴⁷; Ironically, the copper plates were issued by the King Mahabarana, and the destruction was not limited to sculptures. This vandalization continued thereafter also. The wealth of manuscripts probably written on screwpine leaves that Maldivian monks in their Buddhist monasteries must have produced was either burnt or otherwise so thoroughly eliminated that it has disappeared without leaving any trace⁴⁸. Therefore, there are no samples of paintings from the Maldivian Buddhist period itself. The only actual remains of the art of those times are a few sculptures and etchings on coral stone. Most of these were preserved in a little room in the Malé Museum, but many they were not properly labelled, so it was not easy to know where they come from. A Buddha head found by H.C.P. Bell during his excavations in this atoll has disappeared, but the picture taken by Bell can be seen in his monograph⁴⁹. This was the position in 1970-80s and in 2000 onwards, the radical iconoclasm increased resulting in the destruction of pre-Islamic archaeological evidences occurred in 2012.

Archaeological evidences destroyed in 2012: In 2012, Islamic radicals entered the National museum of Maldives and destroyed all the so-called pre-Islamic sculptures, manuscripts and other archaeological findings. Nearly 30 Buddhist statues were smashed into pieces beyond repair. As one noted, "Found carefully buried on Thoddu in 1959, this statue had been preserved underground for nearly 800 years. To hide it after Buddhist Maldives was declared an Islamic kingdom by royal decree in 1153, islanders removed the statue from a higher position and placed it upright on the floor of the temple where sand had been spread. It was then surrounded by hewn stone slabs and more sand and rocks. A protective slab was placed over the statue and additional rocks and sand were added to the pile until the temple had become a mound. The heap was then covered in soil," but it was destroyed in 2012. Ali Waheed, Museum director said that typically, two or three artifacts of the country's Buddhist heritage are discovered a year, generally during construction of homes and other buildings, but the fate is well-known.

Conclusion: The study of archaeological evidences a county like Maldives has been difficult because of prevailing political, religious and other reasons and conditions. As important islands, where excavations have been carried on, have now owned by individuals, tourists or researchers with tourist visa cannot enter. Therefore, independent researchers have many problems in visiting places, getting permissions, taking photographs etc. This paper has been prepared with the inputs received from Xavier Romero Frias and Egil Mekkelson. I thank K.Vivekananda Rao, Germany for translating Dutch and German papers into English.

In view of the above discussion, the following specific points are presented as conclusion:

1. The nautical expedition, maritime exploitation and oversea conquests of places, islands and countries as mentioned in the meikirtis / prasastis and claimed by the Cholas can be cross-checked with the contemporary evidences.
2. The expression Pannirayiram-12,000 as mentioned in the inscriptions was also used by the Moors / Arabs in their documents referring to the Maldives and

therefore, the inscriptional reference is an historical evidence of Rajendra invading and conquering the Maldive islands.

3. The expression Sangamattivu and gold crown deposited there and brought back, as mentioned in the inscription also correlated, corroborated and compared with the Arab narratives of the Maldive women and found tallied.
4. The finding of linga, its destruction into pieces and throwing into ocean by the Maldive excavators prove the existence of a Siva temple.
5. The bronze bowl and other metallic object show the influence of the Cholas, as they invaded. The bowl has been specifically noted as belonging to the Chola period.
6. The Ranna-mari legend ritual and the historicity behind them, prove the practice of mantra-tantra-yantra type of practices of Hindus and as well as Buddhists.
7. The Buddhist sacrifices carried out as proven by the archaeological evidences of

skeletons and the mantras found on the inscriptions prove the Vajrayana method of tantric practices followed.

8. That the Maldives were under the control of the Cholas till 1121, then, they were reportedly defeated by the converted King Mahaabarana has been recorded in the Maldivian copperplates.
9. As Rajaraja and Rajendra were consistently erecting victory pillars wherever they conquered just as a token of victory without annexation, in the Maldives also, they must have erected. However, as the radical iconoclasts of all sorts have been destroying the places of worship of non-Muslims for the last more than hundred years, the victory pillar erected might also been destroyed and even thrown in the ocean, as done in the case of linga.
10. If the archaeological and other evidences are destroyed in this manner, the entire past history of the Maldives or any country, maritime trade and other connected subjects would be lost forever.

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தமிழ்திரி நலங்களும்.....Tolkappiyam
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IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL TEMPLES IN TEMPLE TOWN OF VIKARABAD

M.A. Anji Chevella

Vikarabad is a town at a distance about 70 kilometres from Hyderabad City of Telangana State. It is well known for historical temples and hills. The famous Ananthagiri hills are situated at nearby Vikarabad distance about 5 kilometres. It is very famous for old and herbal plants. Here atmosphere attracts the people

who visit and enjoy a lot on their holidays and free time. Sri Anantha Padmanabha Swami temple, Sri Bugga Ramalingeswara Swamy Temple at lower part of hills and natural exciting atmosphere gives a devotional and stress free environment to the visitors.

EDUCATION SYSTEM UNDER THE CHALUKYA'S OF BADAMI

N.V. Aski

The education of ancient India was religious and individualistic. The education was tool to attain emancipation or enlightenment. "SaVidyaYaaVimukthye" means the process which frees us is the education- was the belief of ancient Indians. They also believed that education is a means of money, Dharma and prosperity. The objective of education under the Chalukya's of Badami was same. The education system than can be divided into three parts such as 1. Buddhist Education 2. Jainism education 3. Vedic Education

Buddhist Education: The most important feature of Buddhist education was that they never discriminated along caste and creed. Therefore Buddhist brought secularism in the education. Many disciples stayed in monasteries under the guidance of Bikshu. These were further developed into Buddhist education centers the references of these are cited by Hu-en-Stang about Sangharama, vihar, and Chaityalaya. Hu-en-Sthanh says that "in konkanapur four hundred sangaram and more than 10000 bhikshus are there. There is a sangaram near the place of the king consisting of 300 Bikkus, who are famous for literary

talents. The monastery has the idol of Sidharth which is decorated and worship everyday in one more that monastery there is a statue of "Maitreya". In five cave temples of Ihole one belongs to Buddhism, it has Sculptures of the life of Bhudda.

Jainism Education: Jain Basdis were resting places for chaturamas slowly they were converted into education hubs imparting education, ritual knowledge, Astavidarchan, Sallekan. The Jain pontiffs settled in the Basadi and become teachers. The Jain education system takes away caste system, class system and also it was universal and they used Vernacular languages. The education become more people friendly. They also started co-education. The Chalukyas of Badami supported Jain education by constructed Basadis and by providing financial support to jainsangh. The sources site copperplate inscription of hooli by Mangalesh Ist it says that Ravishakthi and Kannashakthi gifted land to Shantinath basadi, now it is converted into Panchalingeswar Temple. It also says that 10 villages were given to Jinendralay by Ravikirthi of Ihole.

WOMEN SAINTS OF MEDIEVAL TAMIL COUNTRY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO ANDAL AND KARAIKKAL AMMAIYAR

Chitrita Mondal

The Bhakti or devotional movements in medieval South India began in the 6th -7th century A.D. The result of these movements can be witnessed by the emergence of famous saints in South India, who propagated the devotional ideas and contributed much for the *bhakti* literary traditions. Among the Saiva and Vaishnava saints Andal and Karaikkal

Ammaiyar were the exceptional figures who acquired great prestige in the world of women saints through their dedication to God and their poetic composition in the field of religious literature. The present article is an attempt to focus on the life and contributions of the women saints of medieval Tamil country to the realm of religion and literature of South India.

NAME LORE IN THE DEAF COMMUNITY OF ALIPURA

Garnepudi Sekhar Babu

This paper aim is to introduce about the Deaf People in the Village of Alipura in the State of Karnataka in India. This area of study in Folk lore Studies which is called Deaf Folklore. This paper gives you a view to understand the Deafhood and their unique nature of their Communication Culture and about the Deaf People in the Village of Alipura, in the State of Karnataka in India. The peculiar phenomenon of this village is some of the Shia community of this village people are suffering with Deafness from the last six generations continuously and eventually it became a culture in this village. Here the striking rate of Deafness is at about 0.75 percentage compared to government estimation for the national average is 0.41 percentage (Based on data from the 2011 census) Deaf folklore helps us to understand the group of these peoples rituals shared beliefs customs and traditions some of their myths and religion in a folkloric

perspective way, deaf communication is considered Talking Culture. THE DEAF LORE EXIST IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: It includes deaf jokes, anecdotes, riddles, sign lore, ('sign play' it is including manual alphabet and number stories, sign poetry, 'catch' sign riddles, sign puns, name signs, and many other forms. In typical sign lore or sign play, signers creatively combine hand shapes and movements to create twisted signs or sign puns and other humorous changes of words). Personal-experience narratives, games and lore about notable deaf person Some individuals collects deaf cartoons, which depict deaf characters or comment on some attribute of hearing loss, deaf cartoons have appeared in both deaf and hearing publications. All of these genres depicts the strong revelation of deaf culture and heritage that stimulate deaf children's and adult's pride in their own identity.

FARMANS (ROYAL DOCUMENTS) OF MEDIEVAL DECCAN RULERS

Haseena Bi

The study of *farmans* is one new theme of historical writing of medieval Deccan, this had close linked to the political, social, economic and religious legal documents, it has crucial bearing the administrative, judicial structure which governed the society. In medieval India was dominated by a large heterogeneous group of people, who mediated between the state and politics. The political entity of Deccan nobility, both civil and military, this ruling classes and

officials of Deccan states, who received the royal orders has been considerable discussion in Deccan historiography about some specific feature of ruling classes and their social composition and power to understand the intricacies of economic and social structure of the nobility and the nature of the mediatory role played by the ruling classes who controlled nearly half of the state administrative machinery during medieval Deccan.

TEMPLE NARRATIVE OF ANDHRA PRADESH: SACRED BEHAVIOURS AND NARRATIVIZATION OF EXPERIENCES

Kancharla Somaiah

Temple is a complex whole that incorporates its geographical location, architectural features (structure), the deity enshrined, the religion and the devotees connected to it. The rites and rituals conducted for the deities as customary as well as obligatory services keep the temple always actively functioning in the cultural life of the

populace. Thus the temple as a sacred realm of the society prevails as a living tradition in the body, mind and soul of the people and get explicated as narratives. The temples, deities enshrined and the narratives connected with them are intricately connected with the geography in which they are flourishing and folk who practice and perpetuate the traditions.

The narratives that are connected with the temples are also are comprehensive and encompass the ritual life of the people. To substantiate, how temple narratives are holistic and encompassive of the worldview and culture

of the community one temple narratives constructed on village Vykuntapuram, Amaravathi Mandal Guntur district Andhra Pradesh is taken for study of in the selected district.

PILGRIMAGE AND TOURISM IN TELANGANA:A STUDY ON PRE AND POST FORMATION OF TELANGANA STATE

Mangali Raghu

A pilgrimage is a journey or search of moral or spiritual significance. Typically, it is a journey to a shrine or other location of importance to a person's beliefs and faith, although sometimes it can be a metaphorical journey into someone's own beliefs. Religious tourism, also commonly referred to as faith tourism, is a type of tourism, where people travel individually or in groups for pilgrimage, missionary, or leisure purposes. Telangana is a hub of different cultures, it is also home of different religions having large number of world famous pilgrimage sites includes Sri Narasimha Swamy temple, Yadadri, Sri SeethaRamalayam, Bhadradhri, Sri Gnana Saraswathi Temple, Basara, Adellipochamma temple in Nirmal

district, srilaxminarasimhaswamy temple Chukkapur in Kamareddy district, Saraswathi temple Vargal in Siddipet etc. Thus, it provides excellent opportunities for pilgrimage tourism. Due to enough sacredsites, the prospect of pilgrimage tourism in Tealangana is very bright. Firstly, it attempts to study the growth of foreign and domestic tourism in Telangana and appraises the tourism policy. Secondly, it examines the management of selected pilgrimage sites in Telangana and facilities available at these places. Thirdly, the comparisons between pre and post formation of Telangana state, finally role of the government of Telangana in promoting tourism.

"A HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL STUDY OF MARULESHWARA TEMPLE IN TALAKAD"

V. Manikanta

Karnataka is a land of rich culture, tradition and history of art & architecture. It was ruled by many foremost dynasties in ancient and medieval period. The city of Talakadu on the left bank of river Kaveri was once the capital city of the Ganga's and they were are taken by the Cholas who ruled it nearly 100 years (when it was occupied by Raja Raja Chola the Great it was known as Rajarajapura or Rayarayapura) and later it was occupied by Hoyasala Vishnuvardhana in 1117 C.E. and finally Vijayanagara. Talakadu as a seat of power

became the centre of temple building activity and once upon a time more than 30 Temples were found, but today only few are surviving and all the surviving temples display a mark of cultural glory and architectural beauty. The present study is display of the glory of Maraleswara Temple built by Gangas king Rajamalla III and development of the temple art and architecture in systematic manner in talakadu. It is a historical and architectur study highlighting the artistic development of Ganga's Maraleswara temple in Talakadu.

GHANAPUR GROUP OF TEMPLES IN WARANGAL DISTRICT

B.Murali Krishna

The Ghanapur group of temples in Ghanapur mandal headquarters that is at a distance of 62 kins from Warangal. There are around 22 temples that built of various sizes

and designs, popularly known as Kota Gullu comprises a bunch of 22 temples protected by a double stoned wall. This place is prevalently known among the local people as Kota Gullu

which is a compound of absolute Museum of the Kakatiya temple architecture constructed around 13 Century AD. The temples are built inside a double walled stone area. Among the collection of temples the most important temple devoted to Lord Shiva is the most gorgeous. The main magnetism is of the Sabhamandapa entrances. Two madanikas or Salabhanjikas are on northern side of entrance. Other than these legendry figure brackets such as Gaja Kesari,

Half human Hon from riding on elephant, horse head, lion back on elephant are also set under the eves in eastern and southern side of entrance. Towards the north from the important temple there is another temple devoted to lord Shiva which is exactly same to the important temple from the main temple towards the south there is a pillared of which the central ceiling is designed with various kinds of patma motives.

THE LEGACY OF VELLARI NADAKAM "VITHUM KAIKKOTTUM": AT A GLANCE

Najva Haneena

The quest for digging out the past can be considered as an inborn thirst of human society. Along with it, this history plays a very vital role in inculcating customs, ideas, believes and other among people as social behaviours can be considered as culture altogether. This culture also includes art, literature, music etc... These art forms brings up people altogether irrespective of their diversified social behaviours. Though some among them were exclusively enjoyed by the privileged class of society, folk arts to an extend has helped the local community to come out of age old taboos tattooed upon them and

raise voice against the atrocities practised over them and to express to the world that they too have a culture of their own. Sometimes these arts forms are even used as rituals and weapons by the illiterate people who worked in fields day and night to fight against the social hurdles, as a powerful way of social satire and for the protection of their agricultural production at the same time. Even though it had various dimensions, both folk arts and culture altogether had contributed to the bringing up of people in to a single platform to a great extend.

TREATMENT OF MYTH: A SURVEY WITHIN THE AMBIT OF HERMENEUTICS IN KAMAKHYA (ASSAM)

Nilam Kakati

Mircea Eliade has aptly argued vitality of myths in hermeneutics and historical narration. Kalika Purana and Yogini Tantra composed in Assam, based on the theme of tantric tradition and adoration of Kamakhya have referred to alternate versions of myths regarding Naraka episode and origin of Kamakhya. These alternate versions were influenced by the

contemporary religious setting. Kalika Purana composed during 10th or 13th C offered a naive description, however Yogini Tantra composed during 16th C, was influenced by Vaishnavism and altered its version in accordance to larger understanding of the prevailing religious setting.

ARABI-MALAYALAM LANGUAGE : THE CULTURAL UNIQUENESS OF MAPPILA MUSLIMS

K. Niyas Ali

The Muslims of Malabar who were usually called as Mappila's feature that, flowing with the mainstream of community they shaped out their own culture, language and

arts which helped them to keep them frontline of community. Arabic is a distinguished language of Arab Muslims. When they reached Kerala, there occurred a mixture of both Arabic

and early Malayalam languages and thus evolved a new language Arabi Malayalam. Arabi Malayalam is simply the Arabic written in Malayalam script. Later in developed as an independent language in which more than 5000 works were composed. In this paper I would like to analyse the evolution, growth and

development of Arabi Malayalam and also major works written in it. The principle objective of this study is to understand the distinct features of the language, to find out the unnoticed literary works and to understand high literary skills of early Kerala Muslims especially the Muslims of Malabar.

SANGILI KARUPPA SAMY WORSHIP OF VIRUDHUNAGAR NADARS- A VIEW

S.Paramasivam

In India more than 80% of the people are of hindu religion and devotees to their clan deity. Here the main purpose of this study is "*to understand the worship of the clan deity sanglikaruppasamy at virudhunagar the temple*

of that clan deity is constructed and the prayer offered by virudhunagar Nadar's". This article details discuss some aspects like the story of virudhunagr, the rituals, the prayer offerings, worship of clan deity and its features .

NARRATIVE THEMES AS REFLECTED IN THE SCULPTURE OF THE VIMANA OF MADURAI KUTAL ALAGAR TEMPLE

K.Palraj

The Nayak period from the mid-sixteenth century to the early –eighteen century was one of the most active period of the temple construction in Tamil Nadu since the earliest built in the seventh and eighth centuries, and many of the major temples in use today were substantially built in this period. The rulers of these 'Little Kingdom' are the Nayak with major center in Tamil Nadu at Gingee, Thanjavour and Madurai. During the Nayak period the narrative sculptural panels are important aspects. Series of panels are represented in

friezes depicting the Ramayana and Mahabharata episodes, puranic myths and local legends. This tradition of narrative panels can be traced back to the Pallava times and erected the same tradition in temples during the Nayak period. The present study is made an attempt to trace out history puranic and epic theme and myth, artistic features such as mantapas, vimanas, gopuras, sculptures of gods and goddesses, miniature sculptures and paintings with the sufficient sources.

TAMING OF THE 'SHREW': A BRIEF HISTORY OF DANCE IN INDIAN SILENT CINEMA

Pritha Chakrabarti

Song and dance have been an integral part of Indian cinema since its inception. However, even as film historians have significantly delved into the history of Indian cinema against an almost-absent archive, the history of song-and-dance in Indian cinema has

been oft-neglected. This paper is an attempt to trace a historical trajectory of the use of song-of-dance in the early years of Indian cinema against the tide of the Indian nationalism on one hand and the rise of the neo-classical dance movements on the other.

THE ROLE OF THE FRENCH AND THE MISSIONARIES IN THE ADVENT OF PRINT CULTURE TO PONDICHERRY (1758-1842)

Ratier Alfred Aroquianadin

Printing books in India was introduced by the Portuguese at Goa in 1556. The introduction of printing technology from the western world to the Tamil country in the East is considered to be a remarkable period of change. While documenting the beginning of the printing era in the Tamil country, it is seen that this new enterprise helped in a way to move from the social practice of writing on

palm leaf to paper. This article explores the pioneering works of the French in introducing the print technology to Pondicherry in the eighteenth century. It also studies the social environment and how the print medium encountered a new culture in the history of textual production and also studies how printed works reached the local audience.

PROCEDURES IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

G.K. Ravichandra

In the recent past the historical research is most important than the other research fields. The reconstruction of history is needed to our society. The whatever the fact which has been written in the history were not to be considered as an authenticated documents and whatever the history it has been written will not be acceptable to the extent which it has to be considered. Historical research involves the following steps: Research is often conducted using the hourglass model structure of research. The hourglass model starts with a broad

spectrum for research, focusing in on the required information through the method of the project (like the neck of the hourglass), then expands the research in the form of discussion and results. The major steps in conducting research are, Selection of the research guide, Selection or identification of the research problem, Collection of the bibliography related to his research problem, Conduct a background literature review, Formulation of hypothesis and analyze the date and develop a narrative exposition of the findings.

TRIBAL CULTURE IN TELANGANA STATE: A CASE STUDY OF MAHABOONNAGAR DISTRICT

Saidulu Bhanothu

Tribal culture is evolved gradually, in the present research the focused elements are on "hunting and food gathering" stage of tribal's in Nagarkarnool, Vanaparathi, Gadwal in Mahaboobnagar. In these districts there are "hunting and food gathering "tribal" groups namely Chenchus, Konda reddy's, and Koyyas. These people's socio economic, political, cultural and traditional technological aspects are research. The major construction is on the culture of the people. In this research the culture life of people is examined. The culture is an identified and valid values or reforming oneself from origin to the gradual developments.

The present study will be achieving the following objectives. To explain about the culture of tribal society in Mahaboobnagar district. To identify the problems of tribals in information age. To suggest ways and means about the selected topic. Following Hypotheses will be founded: Ignorance of tribal community is a great barrier to give proper Information. Majority of the tribal people unanimously resolved that culturally they are going back due to globalisation. Following Methodology will be following: In-depth interview will be used for data collection. The interview will be conducted using an interview scheduled, where recorded using a tape recorder and later the content will

be transcribed and the data will be analyzed quantitatively by using SPSS. Email will be also used to collect the data. Questionnaires will be sending through email to functionaries and citizens.

Scope of the Study is, The present study concentrates on culture of tribal society in comparative perspective, among various tribals in Telangana in Mahaboobnagar distict, so the findings have to be understood against this limitation. Sources of Data are, Primary Sources of data will be collected from Tribal agency officials and beneficiaries, through structured and unstructured interview. And data also will be collected through direct observation. Secondary data will be collected through tribal development official documents, web pages, news papers, reports and Magazines, articles also will be used for the study.

The following tools will be used for the data collections. Field observation will be direct contact at grassroots level. Questionnaires, where used collect data from functionaries, officials and citizens. Questionnaires will be sending to the respondents through email where it was not possible to meet in person.

Data Analysis is, the statistical analyses will be conducted using SPSS version 16. Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, frequencies, and percentages, will be calculated for the whole research population, and for each group of beneficiaries' personal and development characteristics.

Chi Square analysis and t-tests will be conducted to compare institutional changes
Scheme of Chapterisation

Present study will be organized into six chapters.

Chapter I: Introduction.

Chapter II: Review of Literature and Research methodology.

Chapter III: Asses the culture of tribal society

Chapter V: Comparison of the culture and life style of tribals

Chapter IV: Data analysis and Interpretations.

Chapter VI: Conclusion.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPLES IN TAMIL NADU

A. Sakthivel

The British government in India, In case of excess of income from Trusts and Temples, it will be spent for social causes such as digging of wells, improving water resources, laying roads for better transportation etc. The word "Temple" has a link with religion as per sayings of Thirumanthiram which means our body itself is a temple. Appar syas in Thevaram that there are 78 temples for Lord siva in addition to six more types of temples namely "Garakovil, Gnazharkovil, Manikovil and Aalakovil. Later Saiva Mutts were developed to propagate the philosophy of 'Saivam'. The literary contribution

of these mutts through (Thirumuraikal Thivviyabrapantham) gave birth to "Religious literature during the period of sangam literature. The law of 1927 permitted Harijans to enter the temple and abolished "Devadasi Methods" 1927 law prohibited individuals from enjoying the income from Trusts and Temples. The income received from the above said sources are used for the maintenance of the temple and to meet the day to day contingent expenditure for the rites and ceremonies connected with the daily Pujas and for the festive occasions.

IMPACT OF WOMEN EDUCATION – CHALLENGES IN THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

M. Seleena

It is a fact women constitute almost 50% of the population at any given time and in any given nation. It goes without saying that development and empowerment of women of any nation is of prime importance. The women were awakened through education by the Christian Missionaries in Kanyakumari District. An important development in the society was the temple entry in 1892. Later there were great leaders who led the women to participate in Second World War in freedom struggle. The fisheries and plantation sectors offer excellent prospects for women employment and participation. The educational institution, both

schools and colleges have an excellent intake of girls and young women. As a result female literacy has increased and they have received rise in status both in the family and society. Besides being engaged in the rubber and fishing industry, the women of Kanyakumari have made a mark in agriculture, horticulture, cottage industries, rural industries and above all in government and private jobs. Women education inspite of the challenges in the cultural, social and economic fields have taken the women of Kanyakumari district to greater height in status over a period of One hundred years.

“HELAVA’S CONTRIBUTION TO PRESERVING OF RURAL HISTORY; A FOLKLORE OVERVIEW”

V. Shashi Kumar

The Indian Caste System is historically one of the main dimensions where people in India are socially differentiated through class, religion, region, tribe, gender, and language. Although this or other forms of differentiation exist in all human societies, it becomes a problem when one or more of these dimensions and unequal access to valued resources like wealth, income, power and prestige. Indian villages are the main body of the nation, where village culture, tradition, customs, believes, festivals, celebrations are main beauty of Indian

villages. This kind of traditions and customs are recorded by a community known Helava. The Helava community is a Nomadic and semi nomadic race which migrated once place to another place seasonally. Their main occupation is to maintain record of genealogy and praising main families' history by songs and lavis for that they get gifts. In this paper is contained of Helava's role to protect folklore and oral stories in rural history, their occupation, origin, culture and tradition in Karnataka region.

ART OF THE DECCAN: HISTORY OF BIDRICRAFT WITH ITS ARCHITECTONIC DESIGNS

Soma Ghosh

This article elucidates the unique and fine craft of Bidri which flourished in Bidar, India during the rule of the Bahmani and Baridi Sultans in the Deccan region. The craft has been encouraged and revived many times by subsequent rulers and exists to this day with a GI conferred on it. The origin, techniques, motifs and variety of products made over the centuries is fascinating and is traced in this write-up. Bidri flourished in the 17th century and the ware was made from an alloy of lead, copper and zinc with silver, gold or brass either inlaid or overlaid

on it in intricate designs. The objects include a variety of items both utilitarian and decorative including *huqqa* bases (hubble-bubble/water pipe), ewers or *afabas*, salvers, basins or *sailabchis*, candelabras or *shamadans*, floor-weights and trays among others. The most stunning items are the Bidri *huqqas* produced from the 17th to 19th century. This article traces the history of the craft and highlights a few architectonic pieces to help understand this metal handicraft and its exclusiveness in a fast changing mechanical world.

AGRARIAN SUBALTERN CULTS: THE RELICS OF EARLY AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE WITH FETISHISM

S. Sreekala

This is an ethnographic form of work, attempt to trace the early structure of Agrarian society, Caste Hierarchy prevailed in Kuttanad in connection with Agrarian Subaltern Cult. Here the 'downtrodden' has been buried alive in 'flood gates' of Paddy fields (Padasekharams) by land lords belongs to Caste Hierarchy with muscle power and administrative power. We can see so many Subaltern Cults spread all over Kuttanad reminiscent the brutality of Caste Hierarchy in the Flood gates in Padasekharams of Kuttanad and its regions. The study try to analyse the specialities and features of Agrarian Subaltern Cult with special reference to 3 cults - Appopan thara, Perumparaya and Muram choodi Muthassi. The study attempt to find out the myth related to the origin of these cults and also reveals the elements of the concept 'Fetishism' embodied in these cults.

From the time immemorial Kuttanad and nearby areas of Kerala, paddy cultivation was prevalent. At that time the Social System of Kerala, Land lord - Serf relation was dominant. The downtrodden/ Serf showed obligation, obedience towards his master. Agriculture was the link factor which connects them. The serf works in the fields of land lord from dawn to dusk. He produce hundred fold from the land for

their lord. But they are provide a meager wage or even kinds which not enough for their livelihood. The land lord/ Savarnas (Caste hierarchial people) falsely believed in accordance with the prevailing social system that the Serf/ Avarnas are born for obligate, serve, obey the Savarnas. On the basis of this concept they totally exploited, sometime brutally punished, killed and even buried alive. Since Avarnas are incapable to raise their voice against the atrocities and they are silently tolerated the mischieves. As the part of the beginning of Cultivation the outer bund of large extent of paddy field (Padasekharam) had to be strengthened and the flood gate formed on the land has to be filled with mud. While repairing the flood gate the serf who is engaged in the work is sacrificed or buried alive at this place due to the superstition or grudge. This type of markings can be seen every where. These victims are later consecrated and worshipped as a deity in the same place of flood gate where they are buried alive. Such kind of Subaltern Cult (Kezhala Aradhana the Tharakal) mostly seen in the near side of floodgate, they still existed as the relics of Old Social System prevailed in early period and also they symbolises the Caste Hierarchy and stories related to their cruelty to Subaltern.

BATHUKAMMA-TELANGANA'S FLORAL FESTIVAL

C. Swapna

Bathukamma is a floral festival celebrated predominantly by the Hindu women of Telangana and some parts of Andhra Pradesh. My study was aimed at evaluating the antimicrobial and antioxidant activity of 10 different flowers used in floral festival called BATHUKAMMA. As most of the flowers used in this festival are known to possess medicinal values, their methanolic extracts were tested

detected various pharmacological activities. My study also deals with selected flowers used in bathukamma. It is the festival for feminine felicitation. Bathukamma represents cultural spirit of Telangana. This festival is celebrated with joy and gaiety. On this special occasion women dress up in the traditional sari combining it with jewels and other accessories.

MERCHANT COMMUNITIES IN THE TAMIL COAST- A STUDY

R. Abbas

Merchant communities played an important role in the Tamil coast, particularly in the Fishery Coast, during the presence of the Portuguese. They were influential agents in their own regions, and in other coasts and overseas also. Mudaliyars, *Chettis* (trading community), Marakkayars, Mappilas, Kayalars, Lebbais and Ravuthers were the dominant among these and among them the Marakkayars of Kilakkarai held a prominent position in the Fishery Coast.

The Marakkayars were involved in pearl and chank fishing and supplied rice and textiles to the Malabar region. They were good sailors, boat owners and as merchants promoted trade. Barbosa says that the Marakkayars were great merchants and owned numerous ships and inhabited the sea ports.

These *Marakkayars* had not only common trade interests but were also bound by family ties with the *Marakkayars* of other regions. So it was easier for them to maintain links with the *Marakkayars* of the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts. The strong network of trade of the *Marakkayars* facilitated inter-local trade and their knowledge of the demand and supply of the three coasts and their direct contacts with the producers enabled them to prevail as a successful trading group.

The *Marakkayars* held monopoly over rice and textiles even during the Portuguese time, as pearl fishing was only seasonal. The *Marakkayars* of Cochin collected rice and textiles from *Kunimedu* near *Puducherry*, *Kilakkarai* and *Kayalpattanam* in the Fishery Coast and sold the rice at Cochin. The *Marakkayars* of the Coromandel Coast carried the same items to Malacca*, Achin**, Pegu,** (Malekandathil and Mohanuned *op*). Rice and textiles were also collected from the hinterland area of the Tirunelveli coast. In this, their relations with their own clan groups in other coasts came in hand.

The *Marakkayars* went as far as Malacca too and helped the Portuguese obtain commodities from the other ports of south east Asian countries. Two notable figures among them - Mamale Marakkayar and Cherina Marakkayar - were influential among the Muslim

merchants and the Portuguese too. They brought cinnamon from Sri Lanka, cloves, mace and other commodities from Malacca and delivered them to the Portuguese factories on the east coast. The *Marakkayars* of Kilakkarai exported rice and textiles to Sri Lanka and imported cinnamon.

The Mass Conversion had an adverse impact on the *Marakkayars*. They were deprived of their privileged positions in Pazhayakayal and Kilakkarai. The entry of the Paravas into the Catholic Church was a hard blow to them. They even attempted to persuade the Portuguese to keep the Paravas out of the Church. The Muslims were totally scared at the decision of the Hindu Paravas to embrace Catholicism. Realising the future danger, the Muslims also sent an embassy to Cochin after the return of the Partangattis. Pero Vaz de Amaral, the Vedor de Fazenda was persuaded to reconsider the Portuguese decision and was offered a tribute of eight pearls of high price i.e. 20,000 fanams and other valuable articles of cloth. But the Portuguese refused to accept the gifts but began to look upon the Muslims as rivals.

Thereafter the prosperity of the *Marakkayars* was in danger, both in the east as well as in the west. The Kayalars expelled from Pazhayakayal were scouting for an alternate port, possibly at Kayalpattanam and the *Marakkayars* of Kilakkarai were supported by the Mappilas of Malabar and the *Marakkayars* of Kozhikodu. At this juncture, in 1537, the famous Pate Marakkayar, Kunjali Marakkayar and Ibrahim Ali Marakkayar attempted an invasion on the Fishery Coast with the help of the Zamorin of Kozhikodu and though they were not successful, they continued to wage intermittent wars against the Portuguese. So the Portuguese had to carry out their commercial activities amidst tensions and the mounting anti-Portuguese sentiments of the *Mappilas*.

The *Marakkayars'* prime position was eroded considerably after the submission of the Kunjalis. But they did not leave Kilakkarai. They were relegated to the role of petty merchants, pirates and smugglers, trading particularly with Sri Lanka (Stephen 1998:82). Very soon the Marakkayars were replaced by the *casados*.

Casados

The casados played a prominent role in promoting Portuguese maritime activities. In India, the Lusitanians conducted their trade through the Estado da India representing the Crown and the private Portuguese merchants. The latter consisted of two groups: the first group enjoyed the protection of the Estado and they were the merchants who lived in official Portuguese settlements and were known as casados. The second group consisted of purely private merchants who did not come under the control of the Estado and enjoyed no privileges.

In the first decade of the sixteenth century only a few Portuguese women were permitted to sail to India but in 1542 even this was severely forbidden by the viceroy. On the other hand, marriages between the Portuguese and the native women were encouraged.

The Portuguese men married to native women were known as casados (Costelloe *op. cit.*: 148-149) and resided under the authority of the Estado. Moreover, they were associated with a specific place of residence. In this way they were distinguished from the ecclesiastics (church officials), soldados (soldiers) and officials who came from Portugal (Subrahmanyam 1993:220).

Afonso de Albuquerque was the pioneer in introducing casados in India. He had two aims in introducing them: one, to settle a Portuguese population and two, the casados were expected to be strong supporters of the Estado. He even supported the casados by offering them economic incentives (*ibid.*:222).

The reasons for the sudden emergence of the casados are:

- The economic position of the traditional Muslim merchants got weakened. The Portuguese looked upon them (the Muslim merchants) as rivals and imposed the cartaz system and when the Muslims failed to carry cartazes they were attacked severely. In order to fulfil the vacuum created by the merchants, the casados emerged.
- When the trade on royal goods failed the Estado looked for alternative goods like horses, rice, textiles, tobacco and other essential items which were in great demand. The casados took care of this.

- There existed low custom duty. Even the local kings introduced low custom on the duties to encourage the activities of the casados (*ibid.*: 121-122).

The newly converted Christians also joined the ranks of the casados. So there now existed two groups of casados: white casados and black casados. Sanjay Subrahmanyam says that seventy white casados lived in Marmar. Though they formed a small number, they traded on a wide range of items and were a privileged trading group.

Apart from the royal goods like pearls, elephants and saltpetre, the casados also carried textiles, rice and tobacco to the places where they were in great demand, especially to Sri Lanka and Malabar which depended totally on these items.

Horses imported to Cochin from Ormuz were brought to Kanyakumari and then were taken to the Tamil coast by the casados. The casados of course promoted the commercial interest of the Estado. But they were involved in illegal commercial traffic also, especially in the east coast. Wealthy casado merchants hired the services of the small scale casado entrepreneurs to collect commodities and exchanged them in south east Asia (Malekandathil 2000:129).

Clandestine elements were never absent in the casado system. One of the greatest casados Joao Fernandez Correia claimed that the entire eastern coast of India from Kanyakumari to Satgao in Bengal and the whole of Bengal belonged to him. In 1547 he took with him seventy casados to the Fishery Coast and moved to Bengal. Sometimes the new Christians also took up the role of the casados and Goa had to be alarmed at the progress of the casados in horse trade.

When Lopo Soares de Albergaria was the governor, he made the area east of Kanyakumari free from state interference. The casados were given protection from the attack of the *corsairs*. * From Kanyakumari to Cochin, they were provided fleet protection. The merchants were asked to travel in *caravans* or *cafila* (small ships) which were guarded by a fleet. The *cafilas* were quite common and effective in the seventeenth century capable of withstanding any threat from the Dutch and the corsairs. In due course, the

casados rose to the position of bourgeois and wielded enormous power, economically and politically. This ended in the struggle between the casados and the *fidalgos* (noblemen) and the Crown extended its full support to the casados

Chettis

The Chettis were another group of merchants whose business has been described in the writings of the Chinese travellers in the fifteenth century. The Tamil Chettis with a strong base in the ports of Coromandel, were great merchants, owners of ships and traded with Cambay, Dabul and Chaul. They traded in areca, coconuts, pepper and palm sugar. The Tamil Chettis were called "*nagarathar*" (city dwellers) who resided in *nagararns* i.e. cities. The significant group of them settled in Burma, Malacca, Singapore and Sri Lanka also (Stephen 1997:135;139).

References

1. The Strait of Malacca, connects the Pacific Ocean to the east with the Indian Ocean to the west.
2. A previous name of Aceh, Indonesia.
3. Pegu is a city and the capital of Bago Division in Myanmar.
4. Macao was both the first and the last European colony in China.
5. Pasai also known as Samudra was a Muslim harbour kingdom on the north coast of Sumatra.

POLITICS, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND IMAGINATION: LADAKH THROUGH THE AGES

Amjad Khan

There were different terms used for Ladakh like mo-lo-so by Alexander Cunningham, Marsa and Maryul by A H Francke. Ladakh was considered for a long period as a part of Tibet. With the disintegration of central empire of Tibet it began the formation of small kingdoms. The West of Tibet (east to Ladakh) a kingdom was established by Nyima Gon.¹ He compartmentalized his kingdom among his three sons. Palgyi Gon, the eldest who received the proper Ladakh from the Zojila pass to Rutog was the largest portion. The second son Trashis Gon, received the Purang and Guge. Lde tsug Gon, the third who ruled over the southern provinces of the kingdom, which includes Zanskar, Lahoul and Spiti. In their regime more people began to get access in the Ladakh region, monasteries were sprang up in Ladakh. Lha chen rgyalpo (1100-1125), who built Likir monastery is been considered as one amongst

the ancient monasteries. During this period Ladakh has been considered as a part of Western Tibet.

According to the Ladvag's gyalrab (royal chronicle of Ladakh) during the reign of Gyalpo Lachan Takbumde, his brother Takpabum declared himself as independent. Concomitantly Ladakh was divided into two region, the lower ladakh comes under Takpabum who ruled from Temisgam as its capital and the upper ladakh by Takbumde from Shey. In fact Ladakh separated into two kingdoms with new seat of power. During Bhagan, the son of Takpabum, who united the kingdom by defeating the Leh ruler and founded the Namgyal Dynasty with his surname Namgyal (Namgyal means victorious), thus the foundation of an independent kingdom was led by Bhagan.² He was succeeded by Tsewang Namgyal. His death without being any

natural heir to took over the power began an internal clashes among the vassals, which ultimately lead them to declare as independent.

The changed political scenario made the younger brother of Tsewang Namgyal, Jamyang Namgyal as new ruler on throne. The first task in front of the Jamyang Namgyal was to subdue the local chieftains. In the parallel time there was scuffle in the neighboring area of Purig. The rulers of Purig had accepted the religion of Islam, the two chiefs of Chigtan and Kartse had declared themselves as Sultan. Both rulers were fighting for their supremacy of the place, thus in this situation, the ruler of Chigtan called Jamyang for the help. Jamyang Namgyal decided to help Tsering Malik of Chigtan.

According to the traditions the time was not suitable for war, as the festival of New Year was approaching, but the king was in haste and proceeded to help the Chigtan ruler. At the other end the Balti ruler Ali Mir was waiting for an opportunity as the earlier ruler Tsewang Namgyal made inroads into the Balti province, resulting in the destruction of the area. Thus when Jamyang Namgyal reached Purig, Balti ruler has deployed its army to counter the Jamyang's soldiers. Both the armies fought each other on the battle ground of Purig. A fierce battle was fought between the two in which Balti ruler succeeded and Jamyang Namgyal was imprisoned. Ali Mir found it difficult to rule Ladakh as the population were mostly belong to the Buddhist faith. Hence he concluded a treaty with Jamyang Namgyal. Jamyang Namgyal will continue as the ruler of Ladakh but he had to marry with the daughter of Ali Mir namely Gyal Khatoon and the child between them will be the successor of Jamyang Namgyal, which inturns means Jamyang Namgyal had to disinherit the sons with his earlier wife. Jamyang Namgyal had to obey as there was no other option for him. He married with Gyal Khatoon.³

According to the sources, during the war Ali Mir desecrated many Monasteries due to which Ladakh lost many valuable sources because Monasteries were not only the religious place but also acted as repositories of information. Another point was that the Balti ruler wanted to convert Jamyang Namgyal into muslim and put muslim ruler on the throne of Ladakh, but it doesn't seem a fact as Jamyang

ruled Ladakh without converting to Islam, rather he sent golds, silver and other precious things to Lhasa and gave dinner to the lamas of monasteries in order to redeem for the destruction made to the gompas. He also promised to restore the books and erect the sacred places.

After Jamyang Namgyal, Sengge Namgyal ascended the throne.⁴ He was considered most successful ruler of Namgyal Dynasty. He extended his area of influence far and wide. In order to complete the unfulfilled task of his father, he built monasteries and invited the famous Lama Stag Tsang Ras Chen to Ladakh. In a fierce battle with the ruler of Guge, Sengge Namgyal defeated the Guge ruler. Sengge Namgyal constructed many buildings, some of the important buildings are Leh castle (it is of nine storeys), Hemis monastery (in which a huge statue of Stag Tsang Ras Chen is built and also monastery is famous for devil dance) he copied books in gold, silver and copper, and sent costly offerings of coral, silver, gold, pearls to Central Tibetan monasteries. Sengge Namgyal presented costly gifts and many other objects to Stag Tsang Ras Chen like 100 ponies, 100 yaks, 1000 sheep, 1000 rupees, 300 grammes of gold, 3000 loads of grain, 1 string of pearls, 1 string of coral beads, 1 string of turquoise beads, 25 match-locks, 25 spears, 25 swords, 25 pieces of silk, 10 pices of brocade, 25 pieces of blessing, and other presents. by sending the gifts and other articles, Sengge Namgyal wanted his position to be strong, no one can claim his right over the throne.

Deldan Namgyal ascended the throne, he was the eldest amongst the three sons of Sengge Namgyal. The position of Ladakh became precarious during the reign of Deldan Namgyal, the king in order to show his great respect to the Red sect of Buddhist religion took the side of Bhutan against the Gelukpa sect of Tibet. The Tibetans with the aid of Mongols declared war against Ladakh. Ladakhi army were driven away from the territory held as boundary between Ladakh and Tibet. Tibetan army followed the Ladakhi army and the latter had to run away for their life and had to hide in the fortress of Basgo. Tibetan army stayed near the Basgo fortress for three years from 1680 to 1683. In order to safeguard Ladakh from the Tibetan army, Deldan Namgyal sent his emissary to Kashmir for the

help. The help was granted with some conditions. Both Tibetan army and Mughal army fought battle near Basgo, Mughal army defeated the Tibetan army.

The conditions put forth by Mughal governor for safeguarding the Ladakh were: Deldan was to become Muslim with the new name Akabat Mahmud Khan, in order to make certain of Deldan's change of religion, his wife and son were to remain as hostage for three years. Coin has to be struck in the name of Mughal Empire. Every encouragement has to be given to the muslims in Ladakh and a mosque was to be erected in Leh.⁵ The wool trade has to be carried out with Kashmir only. To carry out the trade four Kashmiris shall reside at Spitug and do the trading with the Kashmiris. Annual tribute has to be send to Kashmir consisting of 18 piebald ponies, 18 pods of musk, and 18 white yak tails. In exchange the governor offered to send 500 bags of rice annually. With the departure of Mughal army from Ladakh, Tibetans were waiting for the opportunity, this time Tibetans were not for the war but for peace treaty, Deldan Namgyal had to agree as it was direction from the supreme Lama, called Mipam wangpo.

The famous treaty of Temisgam of 1684 was signed between Ladakh and Tibet, the boundary between the Tibet and Ladakh was fixed, and the tax of the villages with in the boundary of Ladakh and Tibet will be used as the expenses for the sacrificial lamps and the reading of prayers in Tibet. This led to the loss of territories of Guge, Purang, and Rutog in the name of religion. Another provision was the trade regulations, the king of Ladakh had to send a mission once in three years known as Lapchak mission, in which thirty grammes of gold, ten weights of scent, six pieces of calico, and one piece of soft cotton cloth were sent to the Dalai Lama. In addition separate presents were also to be send to the lamas. The members of the mission shall receive daily ration and fodder for the animals. On the other hand, the government trader of Tibet shall come every year with 200 loads of brick-tea.

The conquest of Ladakh by Dogra general Zorawar Singh in 1834 put Ladakh under the Lahore Durbar, he took the route from Kishtwar and Zanskar. Ladakh at that point of time was without a strong leader, at the same time the weapons were old type, there was no standing army due to which the fighting spirit among the soldiers were lacking. Thus we have a picture not of an army in any real sense of the word, nor even a militia, but rather a rabble of untrained conscript. Dogras were allowed to advance without meeting any real opposition, till they reached Sankhu, above Kargil. There was a small contingent posted but were easily defeated by the dogra soldiers. An opportunity was provided by the nature as winter was approaching and the dogra general was well aware of the difficulty they had to face if they don't retreat to a suitable place for them. So the dogra general offered peaceful settlement by payment of 15000 rupees as retreating amount.⁶ The chronicle records that the king and his ministers were ready to take the advantage of the offer but the interference of the queen led to the abandon of the offer. Dogra general waited in Sankhu for the new season. Dogra forces waited till April when the snow gets melted and the passage became possible, the Ladakhi forces posted in small contingents were defeated and chased almost all the way to Leh. Ladakhi forces were unsuccessful to defend and such was the havoc of Dogra general that the envoys from villages like Saspol, Alchi, Likir and Nyemo brought presents and were ready to pay homage to the General. At Basgo the king himself came to meet the Dogra general and had to agree the terms which was huge. The king was to pay war indemnity of 50,000 rupees and an annual tribute of 20,000 rupees, and henceforth to consider Ranjit Singh's vassal.

The death of Zorawar Singh in the battle against the Tibet raised the hope of restoration of the indigenous rule but the Dogra ruler Gulab Singh came with his force and defeated the army of Ladakh, thus crushing the hope of resurgence and signed the treaty in 1842 thus putting Ladakh under the Dogra rule. The Dogra wars brought Ladakh into the world conflicts. It put an end to the independence it enjoyed earlier. With the treaty of Amritsar in 1846 Ladakh came under Jammu and Kashmir.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF J. DEVIKA IN WOMEN'S LITERARY WRITINGS OF KERALA

S.S. Anuja

Introduction

The Malayalam literary public is one of the most vibrant in India, and thrives on the long history of widespread literacy in the state of Kerala. It is well described as the 'beating heart' of Kerala's public life. Historically, it has been the space in which entrenched power structures encountered their earliest challenges. Not surprisingly, then, critiques of patriarchy in twentieth-century Kerala were first heard and continued to be raised there, even when they had become muffled in wider public discussion.

J. Devika (full name Jayakumari Devika) has written on the intertwined histories of gender, culture, politics and development in her home state, Kerala. She is bilingual and translates both fiction and non-fiction between Malayalam and English and also writes on contemporary Kerala on www.kafila.org. Devika did her Master of Arts in Modern History (1991) from Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and obtained her Ph.D., in History from Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam. She currently teaches and researches in the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, the capital city of Kerala. Her language is simple, and much care has been taken to make 'dry' theory edible for a non-academic reader.

Significance of Women Writing

Women's literary writing in Kerala has gained a fairly wide market. Even as younger women authors have succeeded in breaking earlier stereotypes and frameworks of depiction, the category of 'pennezhuthu' (Women Writings) has come to be questioned as a defining term that limits, instead of enabling. Incisive feminist critiques of contemporary patriarchy now draw upon a variety of disciplines, with the result that

long held notions defining Malayalee womanhood are being questioned with increasing regularity. Concomitantly, stereotyped frameworks and the pulls of the market continue to exercise a powerful influence. It makes it all the more necessary to foster independent initiatives in feminist knowledge generation in Kerala. "Women's Imprint", a women's publishing venture in Malayalam is involved in such efforts to help create new networks of resistance and towards ensuring that gender remains a contested category in public debate.

Malayalam has a large number of books on feminism and women's studies. But such a book targeting non-academics and beginners, with such high production values, is a rarity. Years ago, when J. Devika was in her 20's, most of these books were written by "doleful and bearded men." And she wanted to show that she could do it much better without a beard. "So my earlier writing as an academic was highly technical and found place in journals, read by about 30 people," Devika said, at the release of her new book *Pennorumbettal Lokam Marunnu* at the Institute of English, in Thiruvananthapuram.¹

Her Works

For the book *Pennorumbettal Lokam Marunnu; Linganeethiyude Viplavangal (When Women Dares, World Transforms: Revolutions of Gender Justice)*, "I choose 10 of the most frequently asked questions and treated them as chapters," Devika says.² She also spoke to women workers from Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) and learners from Kerala Mahila Samakhya Society. They wanted a visually imaginative book. And that's how she collaborated with designer Priyaranjan Lal to turn it into "provocative pieces of art". She followed the same methodology for

Pennorumbettaal and heard all kinds of questions. A boy wanted to know if empowerment (shaktheekaranam) was not enough and if women needed liberation (vimochanam) too. Girls were more concerned on security – wasn't that more important than freedom, they asked. Devika proceeds to answer all these in her book that ends with a bibliographic essay.

J. Devika's **Pennorumbettaal Lokam Marunnu: Linganeethiyude Viplavangal**³ written by Dr J Devika from Kerala Book Store - Online explores the history and evolution of feminism in a global and local scenario. Devika starts the first chapter of her book with a conversation on higher education. About the choices girls used to be given while picking out a graduation course. An academically brilliant girl in the mid-1980's is dissuaded from opting for Political Science as "it's all about lies." We are soon taken on a trip of theoretical discourse, to the United States, where efforts to study political science as a discipline began in the 19th century. The writer goes on to explain how political science is not all about elections or vote share. It is about learning how power and power relations influence the members of a society. The discussion naturally turns to gender, because women have lacked power across generations and across nations, historically.

Devika's **Kulasthreyum Chanthappennum Undayathengane?**⁴ an incisive look at how Kerala women's spaces were defined across different social settings such as homes, classrooms, politics, social work, labour and so on. Devika says what she attempts in the current work is putting contemporary realities in a global context. Like the earlier work, this one too was written following many discussions in colleges and among women's groups. It traces the history of gender relations in Kerala from the 19th century. The subject meant for non-specialist readers and junior students in Malayalam, which helps them to figure it out the long run transformation of women from past centuries towards the present. She also makes use of art as a medium of communication.

New Lamps for Old?: Gender Paradoxes of Political Decentralisation in Kerala,⁵ by J. Devika and Binitha V. Thampi, based on a large number of interviews with women politicians of many generations and women who have entered the three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions since the

mid-1990's in Kerala, this book tries to initiate fresh debate on the impact of the large-scale induction of women into the institutions of local self-government in India. This book seeks to place political decentralisation and its possibilities for women within the historical and contemporary contexts. Against the popular assumption that the liberal feminist promise made by the state will be delivered, say, once the noxious influence of male relatives is removed, the book points to the multiple social forces that shape possibilities and hindrances for women, and reshape gender divisions in the political field. The book thus pays attention to women in both local governance and politics. Secondly, it examines how women have utilised, extended, survived within or subverted these spaces. In the present context in which fifty per cent of the seats in the institutions of local self-government are being reserved for women, and there exists considerable skepticism about reservations for women in the Parliament, this book offers reflections on both local governance and 'high' politics.

J. Devika., **En- Gendering Individuals: The Language of Re- forming in Twentieth Century Kerala**,⁶ deals with the women transformation and status during the 18th and 20th century. This is an extraordinary work of her through which we could easily trace out the historical events in connection with the then Travancore region particularly. However, she shows the depict of the Twentieth century Women in Tiruvitamkoor by quoting the example given by Robert Jeffrey.

*In the 1850's the Travancore government enforced caste laws which required most women to go bare-breasted; in 1915, a Travancore woman on a government scholarship graduated in medicine from the University of London.*⁷

The movement of history is linear here, moving from less developed to more developed; progressiveness of the state is directly proportional to the speed with which it moves to fashion the primitive bare-breasted native women in the form of the educated middle class woman, the epitome of progress. Other historical accounts seeking to qualify social progress as produced under colonial conditions have, on the contrary, deputed continuity as a substitute for historical analysis when confronted with the apparent paradoxes presented by modernity in Malayalee society.

She says "The codes of conduct for individuals located within particular social groups were traditionally organized, among other considerations, by those of sex. This continued to be a feature of everyday life in less-modernised settings well into the twentieth century. Anthropologists and other observers have noticed sharp segregation between the sexes and different codes of conduct for the sexes among traditional communities, both patrilineal and matrilineal. Such codes differed significantly from group to group. As for more universal notions of *Purushadharmaam* (manly duty) and *Streedharmam* (womanly duty), they may have been in circulation in some specific circles; however, the specific codes of conduct prescribed to specific groups was certainly of much greater practical import. Thus, it was not as though the ideals of modern gender were introduced into an empty space; indeed, they were introduced into a social milieu in which sexual difference was already organized in codes structuring everyday life."⁸

Engendering Individuals, this book explores how, in early modern Malayalee society, the emerging notion of the individual (as distinct from an identity based on jati, region etc.) was linked to the vision of a society based on gender differences. The process of individualizing thus also became a process of en-gendering. Social reform claimed to set 'free' people, to make them free individuals. In fact this process of individualization was implicated in institutions (education, home-making, parenting, political work etc) that were seen to be gender specific. As such men and women came to occupy separate, complementary domains that were seen as 'natural' while education was seen, paradoxically, as a way to realize these 'naturally gendered' selves. The book explores how social reform, notions of the individual, and the creation of a 'gendered' individual came together in early modern Kerala.

Translated Works

On the Far Side of Memory - Short Stories of Lalithambika Antharjanam,⁹ a collection of twenty-two short stories by Lalithambika Antharjanam, a scholarly Introduction by the translator, placing Antharjanam as an important feminist public intellectual of her times. Lalithambika Antharjanam (1909-1989) was

one of the earliest women to gain recognition in modern Malayalam literature as one of the first voices raised on behalf of women.

Mohamanja (Yellow is the Colour of Longing),¹⁰ Malayalam Short Story by K R MEERA., translated into English by J Devika. "Manja" is a much hated colour in Kerala be it Manjapathram (Yellow Journalism) or Manjanovu (Jaundice), both being corrosive for individuals. Ironically, Manja is ubiquitous in Kerala, be it the colour of the Casuarina (Kerala's official flower), the craze for the Manjaloham (Gold) or the canary yellow of the SNDP flag. Mohamanja extends the Yellow metaphor to the perceptions on man-woman relationships in Kerala society. Meera, like many others among the new breed of Malayalam women writers, has confidently addressed sexuality and gender identities prevailing in Kerala culture. The story pivots around sexual desire, first communicated by the yellow/grey eyes and later consummated by the feverish/yellow bodies. The author makes an attempt to diagnose the ills of a society where desire comes to be seen a disease. K R Meera's, *Yellow is the Colour of Longing* is perhaps the answer to that question. Each of the fifteen stories in the book shows how differently different women understand the world and respond to it. While some women respond with tolerance, empathy and sacrifice, others engage with love, lust and longing and yet others with anger and vengeance.

Ambikasutan Mangad's book **Swarga**,¹¹ translated from Malayalam by J Devika, traces a community's struggle against the horrific impact of endosulfan, a pesticide that was used extensively in cashew plantations in the Kasaragod district of Kerala. The tale is told from the perspective of Neelakantan and Devayani who escape the degeneration of urban life by withdrawing into the forests of north Kerala, shunning human contact. Trouble and truth rupture their curate paradise in the form of a diseased child that Devayani brings into their house and their world unravels as the sad truth of their surroundings reveals itself.

Women's Political Participation and Equal Right

Chapter two of **Kulasthreyum Chanthappennum Undayathengane?**,¹² asks the explicit question: 'Do women need politics?' There are many interesting anecdotes on how

some women heads of local self-government institutions tend to describe their power as 'service.' Political power is not viewed or exercised to bring about change, but is 'carried out' like any other duty on the domestic front. For those who see it as a stepping stone to enter State politics, the conditions are intimidating. This is where family is often defined as the 'rightful' space for women. The author asks if that was an organic truth, how and why so many women within the family end up being harassed and insecure. Domestic violence is in public discourse now, but it took years of legal struggle by a woman from Turkey for the European Court of Human Rights to recognise it as gender discrimination and for world nations to heed it.¹³

Impact of Women's Literary Writing

The 1990's and after have also opened up unmistakable possibilities. The twists and turns of feminist politics in this period have alerted us to the need for greater reflection on the challenges of building genuinely pluralist politics.¹⁴ These critical insights offer hope for complex and incisive forms of feminist social critique and activism. Secondly, the 1990's and after have also seen a greater number of Malayalee women migrating to universities and research institutions in the national metropolises and abroad, attaining higher levels of competence in the social sciences and humanities. Today, the possibility of extending the scope, sophistication and sensitivity of feminist social critique in Kerala seems to have grown in unprecedented ways. Within Kerala's own university system, critical spaces – such as in the women's studies units and centres – are being slowly cleared.¹⁵ This reflects in the relative rise of scholarly writings by women and in the number of active women participants in public debates in the 1990's and after. Thirdly, though women are still in the lower rungs of the media in Kerala, more women now work in the media than ever before. Lastly, though an explicitly feminist position in literary writing – 'pennezhuthu' in Malayalam – has faced considerable hostile criticism both from masculinist critics and women authors to whom it appeared to be yet another form of labelling women writers continue to produce powerful critiques of everyday patriarchy in Kerala.¹⁶

Against this backdrop, we wish to reflect upon the history of gender difference in Kerala's public sphere and its contemporary shape. Also, we would like to put forward a few thoughts on the link between feminist political and intellectual work in Kerala in the present. They did make significant effort to alter the pedagogic mode of addressing women dominant in the Malayalee public sphere, and limiting such discussions to women's magazines and associations. For instance, Anna Chandy, a prominent early feminist in Kerala and Kerala's first woman lawyer, literally barged into a public meeting in Thiruvananthapuram in 1928, to make a long speech that brilliantly refuted the arguments made by Sadasyatilakam TK Velu Pillai, a powerful intellectual in Travancore in those times, against the government's decision to employ a few women.¹⁷ In 1932, another prominent woman intellectual, B Bhageeraty Amma, protested in the Sahitya Parishad conference held at Ernakulam against the organisers' decision to allow women speakers only in the session set apart for them, and not allow them into the general sessions.¹⁸ These authors were also careful not to direct their critical gaze exclusively towards traditional forms of patriarchy and engage with emergent modern forms as well – such as dowry.¹⁹

Conclusion

Women who entered the public largely entered the political – nationalist or communist – mainstream, and gender, in various ways, came to be regarded as secondary to "national" interests, or questions of nation, class and community. The first generation feminists in Kerala failed to respond creatively to changing political circumstances. Their political conservatism, combined with their intense elitism which prevented them from regarding working class women as anything more than "raw material" that needed to be moulded into ideal womanly selves, under the guidance of more "enlightened" women, probably contributed hugely to their marginalisation.⁸ This, we feel, should be taken fully into account, even as we criticise the intense masculinism of all powerful political movements in mid 20th century Kerala, including the left. We would even argue that patriarchy in Kerala partly rests upon the agency of the "Kerala Model Woman" – the better-educated, more healthy, less fertile, new elite woman.

In the discourse of development, a dominant presence in the Malayalee cultural sphere since the mid-20th century, "women" have always been a significant presence, especially as a way to represent Kerala as the Utopia of social development.²⁰ This continues with telling variations in the present era of "gender mainstreaming". However, we question

glib readings that interpret the greater visibility of women as evidence for the widening of their access to the public. Without a single doubt that we could say that J Devika is one of the leading women writers, a proud Malayali historian, social critic, and feminist writer, whose contribution to the society is beyond words to its current scenario.

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SHEIKH ZAINUDDIN I AND HIS STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE POWER IN MALABAR

A.K. Arifa

Makhdoom family in Ponnani has a great history of resistance against the colonial atrocities of Portuguese. The family of makhdooms has high respectability in the field of socio-cultural aspects of the society. Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdoom senior was born in this family in March 18th 1467, Kochangandi near Kochi. His full name was Abu Yahya Zainuddin ibn Ali ibn Ahmad Al Ma'bari and he popularly known as Sheikh Zainuddin Senior/Sheikh Zainuddin I¹. His father was Allama Ali. There were two opinion among the scholars related to the word Ma'bari that is a part in name of Makhdooms. The first assumption is that

Makhdoom family migrated from the place Ma'bar in Yemen and reached in Kayalpattanam, the second assumption is that the name came from the place Ma'bar in Kayalpattanam. The family tradition of Makdooms was reached to the first khalifa Abu Bakr Siddique. Sheikh Zainuddin was reached from Cochin to Ponnani after the death of his father at the age of 14. His paternal uncle Zainuddin Ibrahim takes the responsibility of Sheikh Zainuddin and he lived with his uncle in the house named as "*Kochilimmantakam*". He attained his basic education from his uncle. During this period, he learned Holy Quran completely and also attained

the knowledge in grammar, fiqh, spiritual philosophy etc. Later his uncle sent him to Calicut for further studies. In Calicut he became the pupil of qazi Abu-Bakr Fakhruddin ibn Ramadanushaliyathi and spent seven years for studies. His teacher was first Arabic poet in Kerala.

After the completion of studies in Calicut, he went to Makkah for attaining knowledge. The travel was very difficult and he travelled in tramp steamer. When he reached Makkah he became the pupil of the great scholar Allama Ahmad Shihabuddin ibn Usman ibn Abil Hillil Yamani and earned the knowledge in fiqh and hadith². After he went to Egypt to continue his studies and joined in Al-Azhar University. During this period, there is no any well-known University situated in India. So, Makhdoom senior was forced to depend on foreign countries for further studies. It is assumed that there was no any person in Kerala attained degree from foreign countries before Makhdoom senior. During this time the upper caste people in Hindu community were not permitted to cross the sea and lower caste people couldn't afford the education because of their low status. There is no evidence for any Christian who attained degree from foreign country before the synod of udayamperoor (1599), in which the community of Syrian Christians was reformed. Because of all these reasons, we can assume that Sheikh Zainuddin Senior was the first person who attained degree in higher education in Kerala. He was the first Malayali scholar who studied in Al-Azhar University. Makhdoom senior was travelled to Egypt through deserts by using the vehicles like camels, horses, donkeys. He studied in Al-Azhar University in 1490s. He studied Hadith under the guidance of Qazi Abdu Rahman Al Adami³. Imam Sayyid Muhammad Assam Hoodi, Imam Sayyid Abu-Bakr Al Hadrami, Imam Sayyid Abu-Bakr Al haidaroosi et.al were the teachers of Makhdoom senior in Al-Azhar University. He spent five years in Egypt and became a Muhaddis (scholar in hadith). After his studies, he returned to Makkah and performed Hajj and Umrah. In the end of 1400s, he arrived in Ponnani after the completion of his studies. With the coming of Makhdoom Senior the people of Pazhayakam Tarawad in Ponnani gifted their tarawad to Makhdoom. Later this came to be known as Makhdoom Pazhayakam⁴. He also built a masjid in front of the house, the

masjid came to be known as Makhdoomiya Akathe Palli.

When the Portuguese arrived in Malabar they have already a prejudice against the Muslim settlements of here. They treated Muslims as their rivals only because they are Muslims. During the time of Crusades, in which Iberian Peninsula had vital role and Portuguese had great losses. The Muslims were important merchants of these regions. Thus, the Portuguese understood that they cannot get profit from the trade with Malabar unless they destroy the power and trade monopoly of the Muslims⁵.

The hidden affectations behind the Portuguese were firstly identified by Sheikh Zainuddin I. He calls the Muslims to do Jihad (holy war) against Portuguese power. Before the coming of Portuguese the people of Malabar lived in a peaceful atmosphere. The Muslims of Malabar enjoyed complete freedom and security under the rule of Zamorin. This situation was completely changed after their arrival. They were started to commit numerous violence against Muslims of Malabar like looting, desecrating the holy book, burning mosques, devastating cities, enslaving the Muslim believers, blocking and killing of Hajj pilgrims, treated the captives in very pathetic manner, the captives were bare many humiliations like slapping on the face with slipper, dragging them in the street up for sale and also forced to do what they were incapable to do⁶. Initially Zamorin not favored for the trade relation with Portuguese. In this time, they reached in Cochin and made a good relation with Raja of Cochin. This helped them to create Cochin as their trade centre.

During this period the Portuguese traders started violence against the native traders called 'Marakkars'. With the instruction of Sheikh Zainuddin I, Muhammad Marakkar, the leader of Marakkar community reached in Ponnani and started to train the youth people in order to fight against Portuguese. In this scenario Makhdoom Senior decided to understand the people the threat of Portuguese and the need to fight against them. So, he wrote the book named Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abdati Sulban to promote the people to fight against Portuguese power. The Tahrid was a poem including 175 lines⁷. The poem written in the Arabic language and it divided as 15 sections. Each section carries a title

and a message. He explained the violence and troubles which faced by the Muslims of Malabar like incarcerating, looting, burning mosques, violating chastity of ladies, blocking travelers etc.

He continuously explained the violence of Portuguese throughout the first part of the poem. He also addressed the troubles experienced by the Hajj pilgrims and other Muslims. He seeks help from God against the atrocities of Portuguese and prayed to wipe out them from the map of the world. The second part of the poem deals with responsibility of jihad (holy war). Author says that fighting against Portuguese was the biggest responsibility of Muslims. He also mentioned about the native rulers who stand with Portuguese and he assured that they were not gain victory rather than a disaster end. At the same time he praised Zamorin and says that Zamorin get reward from God for helping the Muslims. He also prays for the kindness and mercy of the God in the fight against the Portuguese. Those who were fight against the violence that will get all blessings from paradise. The poem also deals with the greatness of martyrs. It portrayed the rewards will get martyrs from paradise and the poet insist the Muslims to fight achieve the status of martyr. The poet warns the people to make any type of relation with the Portuguese even in the fear of business loss and destruction. He also warns the people whoever ignores the holy war. He stated that whoever ignores the holy war that will lose the prosperity of this world and hereafter. Poet also identified Portuguese were the emerging threat for the country and warns the people of Malabar. He prays for God to destroy the Portuguese very badly, topple their wishes and plans, demolish their buildings etc⁸. He used harsh language against Portuguese in his poem. The poem is also a best example for religious harmony. The lines like

"Masters, in you we put our trust

With the grace of the lord of the Throne, in all hardships"

"We are thirsty and you are the clouds about to pour down;

I wish I know whether it could quench our thirst".⁹

In these lines we can see the cordial relationship between Makhdoom and Zamorin. It

gave us an idea about the religious harmony existed in Malabar during the sixteenth century. Precisely, Tahrid is a remarkable poem in the Anti-Colonial context in Kerala from sixteenth to twentieth century.

There were many works written with the theme of anti-colonialism after the coming of the work Tuhfat ul Mujahidden. It was a historical work in Arabic language. It describes mainly about the Portuguese attempts to colonise the coastal regions of Kerala and a century long resistance to it led mainly by the Muslim community in the region¹⁰. But Tuhfa itself attained inspiration from Tahrid written by his grandfather. So, undoubtedly we can say the all other works written against exploitation of colonial power during the period from sixteenth century to twentieth century attained the inspiration from one and only 'Tahrid'. The works like Tuhfat ul Mujaahideen by Sheikh Zainuddin II, Fathul Mubeen, Al Qutubathul Jihadiyya and Al Qazeerathul Jihadiyya by Qazi Muhammad, Assaiful Bathar by Mampuram Sayyid Alavi Thangal, Udhathul Umaara by Mampuram Sayyid Fasal Pookkoya Thangal, Muhimmathul Mu'mineen by Aminummantakath Pareekkutti Musaliyar in Tanur, the War songs written by the poets like Moyin Kutti Vaidyar, Pulikkottil Haider, Cheror Muhammad Kutty, K.C. Muhammad Kutty Molla were get inspiration to write against the exploitative nature of colonial power undoubtedly from the great tradition put forward by Sheikh Zainuddin I and II. The writers like Tunchath Ezhuthachan, Poonthanam Namboothirippad, Melppathoor Bhattathirippad were contemporaries of Sheikh Zainuddin II¹¹. Unfortunately their works did not represent any type of Anti-Portuguese element. The Malayalam Language became flourished during this period, but we can't get any single work against the exploitation of Portuguese. Tahrid is an Arabic poem and the copies of poem sent to the Muslim foreign countries like Egypt, Turkey, and Arabia etc. The poem also distributed in many Masjids in Malabar and Makhdoom Senior also delivered speeches in order to inspire people to fight against the exploitations of Portuguese in Malabar. It was the first work written against colonial power in India. It is assumed that Tahrid was written in the year 1502.

At the same time, Makhdoom senior concentrated to counsel the Muslims of Malabar

with Islamic ideals and he became spiritual leader of Muslims. In 1518 CE/925 H, he found the Juma Masjid of Ponnani and to promote the religious education he developed the Ponnani dars. In Ponnani Juma Masjid, the students from different parts of the world acquired knowledge. They were sitting around the lamp called "*thookkuvilakku*" and recite the quran and hadith. The main subjects in dars were fiqh, thafseer, tasawuf, haiath (spherics), falsafa (philosophy), hanthasa (geometry) etc. This dars system renowned as "*Vilakkathirukkal*"¹², the students from different parts of the world like Indonesia, Ceylon, Lakshadweep, Maldives, and Java etc reached Ponnani in search of knowledge. Those who completed studies from here to get the degree called "Musaliyar". Makhdoom I also attracted with Sufi ideals and became the pupil of Sheikh Quthbudheen. Makhdooms were played an important role to popularize the Qadiriyya sisilah throughout Malabar region. Besides the work Tahreed,

Makhdoom Senior wrote many other works like Murshiduthullab, Sirajul quloob, Sirajul Muneer, Al Masa'b fi dikril mouth, Shamsul huda, Irshadul Khasideen, Hidayathul Adkiya, Tasheelul Kafiya, Hashiyath alal Irshad, Qitabussafa, sha'abul Iman, Manquz Moulid etc. His son Abdul Azeez wrote a commentary for his famous work Kithabul Adkiya called Maslakul Adkiya after his death in 1522¹³. Makhdoom Senior had written the commentary of the Poem Alfiyya written by Ibn Malik but after the death of Makhdoom Senior his son Abdul Azeez completed the commentary of poem. He also completed the incomplete poem of his father named as Dikrul Mouth. He followed the footsteps of his father throughout his life and struggled against Portuguese. His nephew Sheikh Zainuddin Junior also followed his path wrote the famous work Tuhfat ul Mujahideen. Precisely the Makhdooms of Ponnani have long history against the anti-colonial resistance in Malabar.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY ON COLONIAL MEDICINE IN INDIA

Dhruba Kumar Biswas

It is said that health is wealth. It means health is the most important thing in life and it is not possible to enjoy good things in life without good health. This paper attempts to find how the historiography has been changing over a period of time especially in public health and Medicine. A number of works have been done on the history of medicine hence the paper tries to look at the perception of the medical historians on colonial medicine. The paper is divided into two

parts: the first part attempts to look at how the definition of the health varies among different scholars and their scholarly works.

As we try to understand the history of medicine, first of all, we need to know what health is all about. When we go on to study health, it generally entails public health and when we talk about public health, we come across with certain other terms like health, disease, and medicine, thus these terms are

interrelated. The human body essentially needs medicine for sound health in various ways. In this context, Mahatma Gandhi said, "Anyone who observes the rules of health will not need to knock at the doors of doctors from day to day."¹

Further, he said that there was no need to take medicine from Doctors, especially the western doctors. According to him, "European doctors were the worst of all". For the sake of mistaken care of the human body, they kill annually thousands of animals² Here we can say no one is free from diseases; to achieve a sound health and disease free body, we need to take care of our body. To get cured of a disease, we usually take medicine which is either indigenous or western in nature. In the present time, we are highly dependent upon western medicine as it offers instant relief, thus gradually getting deprived of our indigenous medicines. All the medicines whether indigenous or western, are always meant for health³.

The first part of the paper deals with the definition of health, especially public health. The idea of public health in India was very much a part of its customary systems of medicine since antiquity. It was first brought up in the Ayurveda texts, such as the '*Charaka Samhita*' and '*Susruta Samhita*', wherein the significance of health meant for hygiene, proper diet, regulation of habits and physical exercise to keep away from diseases. According to Ayurveda, healthy is the person who always eats natural food, enjoys a regular lifestyle, remains unattached to the objects of the senses, gives and forgives, loves truth, and serves others? Next, according to the philosophy of the father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi, 'A man with extraordinary physical strength is not necessarily healthy'. When we understand the word health in terms of the Gandhian philosophy, a healthy man whose body is free from all the diseases, could walk 10 to 12 KM per day without any fatigue and could do normal physical work without getting tired. He can digest ordinary simple food; mind and senses of a man are state of harmony and the poise.

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.⁴ This definition, which was ratified during the first World Health Assembly, in 1948, has not been modified since

then. The definition was updated in 1986 by the W.H.O in its '*Charter for Health Promotion*' which says, "Health is a resource for everyday life, not the objective of living", and "health is a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources, as well as physical capacities".⁵ It refers to the health of a population, the longevity of individual members, and their freedom from disease. But it can also be anticipatory, geared to the prevention of illness rather than simply the provision of care and treatment. It deals with healthy as well as sick people and is a separate concept from health services, which deals with the sick population.⁶

After close observation of various arguments on health, it shows that there is a lack of a clear definition for the public health. Hence, a question arises that 'what is it meant by Health' and 'what is it meant by public' or lastly, 'what is Public Health'; should we say that this is an endless debate and thus needs redefinition. It is very difficult to say that to consider those achievable technical solutions or we should make wider social change. In this recent debate, it was argued that it was not the role of government to lecture populations about habits which only affected individuals or which might not lead to ill health for many years. It is an individual choice about how he or she lived his or her life.⁷

The second part of this paper tries to understand the public health with the perception of medical historians. Firstly, we begin with the argument of Deepak Kumar, "India is the reservoir for the pathology."⁸ In the same way, Biswamoy pati says that religious centre is the centre for the diseases.⁹ To relate his argument to Deepak Kumar's argument, India is a religious country, and we have thousands of temples. So, obviously, diseases would be there if there had been no proper sanitation.¹⁰ With this perception, the British took advantage of the medicine market in India highly. Having such a context, David Arnold also says religious places are the centre of contagious diseases most of the time; for instance, Kumbha Mela, the Car festival of Puri etc. where millions of people congregate thus contaminating the air and water which result in various types of contagious and infectious diseases. Anil Kumar argues that colonial medicine was further a medical culture,

an authority, training and a recognition on the imperial metropolis. The medical attitudes, beliefs, and practices were therefore seen as dependent upon imperial sense and sensibilities. So, he says that colonial medicine served as a vehicle for the cultural invasion of the Indian society. Gradually, indigenous medicine declined mostly, now very rarely people are using traditional medicine. Subhash Chakravarty says that colonial medicine is a twin-edged weapon, which cut the colonized both physically and morally.¹¹ According to Mark Harrison, 'medicine' has also been viewed as an instrument of 'social control' in the colonies, providing means of 'knowing' the indigenous population, and rationalizing of social segregation. Medicine played an important role in the creation of colonial subject.¹² The study of the history of medicine helps us to describe and understand how people in different times experienced and dealt with the fundamentals of human existence. In India, G.Mukhopadhyay's book, *History of Medicine in India* deals with various methods of treatments in contemporary India. This is one of the early works on the history of medicine in the twentieth century India.¹³ One of the greatest work of Sanjay Bhattacharya, Mark Harrison and Michael Worboys, *Fractured States: Smallpox, Public Health and Vaccination Policy in British India 1800-1947* deals with the implementation of public health policies to control the small-pox in colonial India, under the British Raj. The book wisely described the small-pox and its preventive measures and react of indigenous people. In this paper, historiography sought to understand the Indian as well as Western perceptions, policies, and programs towards different systems of medicine in India. The history of medical systems is meant to throw light on the issue of the decline of "indigenous system" of medicine, particularly '*Unani*' and '*Ayurveda*', in the context of colonial rule in India. Indian society had a good attachment with the indigenous system of medicine since time immemorial. But, the introduction of western medicine changed the attitude and mindset of the people considerably.¹⁴ Another important work on public health in British India is by Mark Harrison. His book, the *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine 1859-1914*, explains European attitude towards India and its inhabitants. He argues that medicine is

an instrument of 'social control' in the colonies, providing means of 'knowing' the indigenous population and also the rationale for social segregation.¹⁵

The core argument of this historiography on western medicine under colonial rule has been that the colonial medical and public health policies were introduced for the sole benefit of European civilians and the military needs, and not for the benefit of the Indians. Though it appears to be true in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the colonial administrations gradually shifted in extending the medical facilities to the Indian public, for instance, the vaccination, the hospitals and dispensaries had brought about a change in their policies in the early twentieth century. The colonial intervention in public health, though not satisfactory, was successful to control or reduce the mortality rate of the Indians from various diseases but there was an administrative system trying to control the mortality of diseases. Another argument of the medical historians has been that all the institutions, including education, particularly the medical education, were introduced for the colonial commercial and administrative needs and did not give adequate attention to the public health. In the twentieth century, there appears to be a marked shift in the preparation of their responsibility or duty to provide medical and health facilities to the whole country. Finally, the indigenous practitioners lost their jobs gradually and sometimes they shifted their indigenous practitioners to the western practitioners.

Conclusion

The first part of the paper deals with the definition of health and how it has changed to cater to the needs of the society. In fact, there is no concrete definition of health possible as it was observed from the definitions offered by different people or organizations. Rather, the definition is very fluid and it keeps changing in accordance with the changes occurring in the society from time to time. On the other hand, the second part of the paper deals with the perceptions of medical historians (both Indian and western historians) on colonial medicine. It is seen both as a blessing and curse a blessing because it was only after the introduction of the western medicine, a lot many diseases were

successfully tackled; and curse because the western medicine came as a replacement for indigenous medicine which was excessively popular as a culture ingrained in the nerves of the society. Apart from that, a host of people who

were engaged in the preparation and delivery of indigenous medicine lost their livelihood due to this replacement. Gradually, the western medicine is taking over the indigenous medicine system as a preferred practice.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY: A CASE STUDY OF SHARANKUMAR LIMBALE'S AKKARMASHI

Divya Rai

Autobiography is an atypical genre which appears to be both literature and history but it is not entirely one or the other. As John Olney has observed, once upon a time autobiography was a "Kind of stepchild of History and literature, with neither of those disciplines granting it full recognition.¹ The marginalization of the genre began to subside with the coming of Georges Gusdorf's seminal essay, 'Conditions and Limits of Autobiography'² and the scholarly interest in the subject has rarely lessened since then. Most of the literary critics who can be held responsible for the impetus behind the studies of autobiographies have been keenly interested in finding out what autobiography as a genre can reveal about the knowable past. Conversely, although Historians have continuously utilised memoirs as historical source material, they have done so without the benefit of a coherent theoretical framework, treating autobiography as if it were just another primary source.³

Life writings have the capacity to enhance our historical understanding in ways that cannot be done by any other single source material but neither the writing of History nor Historical understanding is a simple, linear phenomenon. Traditionalist Historians have sometimes been suspicious about the element of subjectivity in the autobiography being used as a historical source. A.J.P. Taylor for instance once claimed that "written memoirs are a form of oral history set down to mislead historians," and are "useless except for atmosphere."⁴

However, it is wrong to believe that we can understand the past in complete objective terms. We must understand that History can only be completely understood with an element of subjectivity i.e. through the thoughts and experiences of individual historical agents. R.G. Collingwood describes historical reality in terms of individual historical actors, claiming that historical events have an inside and outside. The

outside of historical event consists of the placement and movement of bodies in a given historical moment- "what actually happened" in the past. The inside component consists of the thoughts of historical agents.⁵

According to Collingwood, "all history is the history of thought."⁶ True historical understanding is the understanding of the inside of a historical event, and comes as a result of re-enacting past thought. The historian must actively and critically attempt to rethink the thoughts of a historical agent to understand that agent's motivations and justifications for acting in a certain way. Because we cannot directly interact with historical subjects who are no longer living, we must relate to them imaginatively, by re-enacting their thoughts, or more colloquially, by putting ourselves in their shoes. In his formulation, Collingwood emphasized that true historical knowledge is only possible when historical actors behaved in a rational manner and were motivated by conscious thought processes- which can be rethought- rather than by unconscious motivations such as passions.⁷

Collingwood is not alone in this emphasis on rationality. Peter N. Stearns and Jan Lewis have observed that "Professional Historians' epistemology, their underlying assumptions about knowledge and the way it is acquired, has often turned into a set of assumptions about the way people live...Historical"⁸ This epistemological bent has resulted in the devaluing of the emotional aspects of historical experience, but human behaviour and thus the inside of historical event, is not only cognitive but affective. Humans do not always behave in a rational manner, and are not always conscious of what motivates them. Autobiography, however, can give us the unique window into the interplay of thoughts and feelings, into how the universe felt from one particular point of view. Using the techniques of literary art, an auto biographer finds ways to capture the relationship between purpose, affect and perceptions, and to present his or her own thoughts and feelings about a historical moment in relation to other persons in the same social scene. Particularly when viewed in isolation, archival materials which are not works of literature, fail to capture this complexity of reality. Historians using archival materials may indeed hypothesize about the inside of a

historical event, but such interpretations are highly speculative. When studying history without the benefit of autobiographies, the historian must project himself into a situation and imagine how he would have acted. Where autobiographies exist, this type of speculation is not necessary for the auto biographer himself guides the historian. A well-crafted autobiography enables a historian, in a way that no other single historical source can, to re-experience the affective and cognitive inside of a historical moment.

In Indian context autobiographies especially the autobiographies of Dalits form a very relevant source of socio-cultural History. The voice and agency of internally colonized subaltern subject remained unrepresented in national literary and cultural historiography for a long time. It was only in late 19th century that we found voices of Dalits in the form of literature and finally in twentieth century when socio-historical background in India became conducive to the production and popularization of Dalit literature (mostly in the form of Dalit autobiographies) Dalits were heard and their society and culture was traced.

Dalit autobiographies are quite different from mainstream autobiographies for Dalit autobiographers when write their autobiographies to sketch the image of their 'self' they simultaneously sketch the disgusting and distressful conditions of the Dalit community as a whole. These writers through their autobiographies tell the readers how the cruel and inhuman social order crushed them and made their life sorrowful and unbearable under the dominance of false orthodoxy and social and religious customs that formed an inseparable part of the contemporary culture. Dalit writers have given a new dimension to autobiography as a genre for the subjects they treat of and the experiences they write about are peculiar only to the communities in which they are born. The experiences and feelings expressed in Dalit autobiographies are so unique and strange that it is very difficult for these life stories to accept the traditional form of autobiography. That is why Dalit critics like Gangadhar Pantawane prefer the word 'Atmakatha' (self-narrative) to 'Atmcharita' (autobiography) for Dalit autobiographies. These critics have rightly pointed out that generally an autobiography is

written when the author has lived most of his life and reached such a point of his life that there is a very little possibility of happening something substantial and dramatic in his life. On the contrary, Dalit self-narratives are being written at the middle or early-middle age of the author. At this point his life is not like a pond but an over-pouring stream that flows on and on and goes on affecting his present in the context of his past and future.⁹

Akkarmashi,¹⁰ an autobiography of Sharankumar Limbale was first written by him in Marathi in 1984 and was later translated by Santosh Bhoomkar in English in 2003 under the title 'The Outcaste'.¹¹ The autobiography talks about an untouchable and his family in general and the struggles of a community in particular.

The Outcaste as a Source of Study of Socio-Cultural History of Dalits

The Outcaste is primarily a representation of a man's quest for an identity among fractured and fragmented identities. Being an illegitimate son of a high caste landlord and a poor Dalit woman the author's identity is convoluted and tangled by the caste system and social structures. He has been rendered an Akkarmashi (a half caste). Through the question about his identity, Limbale exposes the most inhuman and exploitative nature of Indian caste system which forms an important aspect of socio-cultural history of India. The values and the ways of life, the ethics, beliefs and thinking that form an important part of the culture can be traced through various incidents narrated in the autobiography. "to us bus stand was like home...we lay like discarded bus tickets. We had to get up in the normally or risk annoying the driver. Once they actually threw our sheets and rugs on the road."¹² Says Limbale describing his house which shows lack of house as was the case for most of the Dalits who were not allowed to live inside the village since time immemorial. Talking about the food habits, Limbale recollects the memory of his school picnic and tells about his mother's attitude, "Why didn't you get atleast a small portion for me? Leftover food is nectar."¹³ This attitude was not just of his mother but the entire community practiced the same system. Another incident that he narrates regarding food

is the incident of dung, "Santamai picked up such lumps of dung and on the way to home washed the dung in the river water, collecting only the clean grains. She then dried them in the Sun."¹⁴ Talking of the occupation the family of the narrator pursued he says that his grandmother used to sweep the streets of the village, massaged pregnant women and also worked as midwife. His grandfather used to lit street lamps, distribute newspaper and skin the animals. Limbale says, "Santamai worked as midwife as well. Whenever a woman had labour pains, she was sent for. People would come even at one or two o' clock at night to call her. She would get up ungrudgingly attend to her duty as a midwife. Sometimes she was busy the whole night. In morning I would feel like an orphan when she was not around."¹⁵

Thus anything which got food for two times became the profession for the Dalits. The prevalent practice of untouchability and discrimination hit Limbale when he was in tenth standard. Once he and his friend lodged a complaint against a tea maker who used to serve the dalits in separate cups and as a result of it the tea maker broke all the cups reserved for Dalits. Superstitions also form an important part of the Dalit culture and make them fall prey to certain inhuman practices such as drinking urine of Cow as narrated by the author. There are multiple other episodes mentioned in the autobiography that to put forth the idea of internalization of the discrimination by the Dalits and give an insight to better historical understanding of the making of the Dalit movement.

The autobiography explores the diabolic bestiality and evils of the upper-caste people showing how they behave with the Dalits. The grim picture of the family which struggles to make its both ends meet as given by Limbale and the identity crisis faced by the author is not the story of one particular family but the narrative of most of the Dalits. Hence Limbale's autobiography as a source of history makes a historian understand how complex the historical reality of Dalits looked, smelled, sounded and felt and establishes autobiography as a source of History.

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THEORISING URBAN SPACES: AN OVERVIEW OF PRE-MODERN INDIA

K. Fahad

The study of emergence of urban centres and the process of urbanisation in pre-modern India is of recent academic interest. The paper is primarily intended to provide a detailed enumeration of the various theoretical frameworks that have been advanced to explain the emergence of urban centres. Here the particular focus would be on the medieval urban centres. The discussion begins with a background of various theories of urban formation in the European context, especially in the wake of decline of feudalism. From there the discussion proceeds to the various frameworks employed to explain the urban formation in pre-modern India with a special focus on medieval times. Towards the end a section deals with the urban process of the southern tip of the Indian peninsula by taking the case of the port-city of Calicut and Cochin.

The urban centres are seen to change their meanings over a period of time on the basis of a larger socio-economic process, within which they were moulded and configured. The cities are indicators of economic growth and social change in different historical periods and regional contexts.¹ In that way towns are considered as a microcosms which reflect the larger world.² Another way a town or a city can be viewed is as a social form in which the essential properties of larger systems of social relations are grossly concentrated and intensified.³ The perception shows that the urban centres or towns are reflective of larger socio-economic process in which the medieval cities are something entirely different from those of

ancient and the modern period, where entirely a different system of social relations were existed.

Historians and sociologists have traced the various nature of urban process in medieval cities. Max Webber argued that Western medieval cities to be centres of production in contrast to the ancient Greek or Roman cities, which were largely the centres of consumption. This medieval cities are considered as very crucial to the development of capitalism in the west. Max weber treated the town as a 'social agency' itself, as he referred to the types of social activities happening in the medieval western towns in which 'producers' and 'traders' are constituting or evading some form of power. The urban dwellers of the medieval west, constituted of the 'producers' and 'traders'. They broke their dependence from the legitimate feudal authorities around them and by usurping power from the former they resorted to 'non-legitimate domination' by imposing themselves illegitimately on artisans and peasants, who in turn were required to rely on them. It was through rational associations and confraternities of burghers that the latter usurped power, and there were also cases when a private group of rich citizens claimed their right to grand citizenship. The atmosphere of autonomy of the city that allowed rational economic action, free conduct of trade, as well as the pursuit of gain, also protected the interests of 'producers' both in the domains of economy and in the exercise of power, which was instrumental in the development of a 'work ethic' in the Western medieval cities.⁴

The significant role played by the medieval towns in the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism has become a major theme of academic debates which had attracted a large number of scholars. The most important early writings on this theme has been graced by scholars such as Henri Pirenne⁵ and M.M Postan⁶ who mainly dealt with role of towns in the early medieval period. However the writings of Fernand Braudel,⁷ Richard Gascon,⁸ Jan de Vries⁹ and several others are examined the socio-economic formation and the urban process of a period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Besides, this kind of periodization can be seen in some other major writings such as those by Lewis Mumford,¹⁰ Maurice Dobb,¹¹ and George Duby¹² which have analysed the nature and role of cities in cutting across the periodization fabric.

In recent past, some scholarly endeavours made another attempt to look into the medieval cities with a fresh frame of cultural formation and argued that the constitution of urban identity and the cities are a cultural construct. In fact, the urban communities have been examined by the role played by them in the process of cultural formation, their participation in commodity movements, confrontation with alien cultures, the formation of plural societies, exerting dual or multiple loyalties, and exuding multiple affiliations.

In this new academic milieu, the spatial studies got a significant attention from many historians and historical geographers. The writings of Michel Foucault,¹³ Henri Lefebvre¹⁴, and Edward Soja¹⁵ put forward a concept of 'production of space' in which the spatial process is very much involved in the construction of an urban unit. Historical geographers argue that spatial process happens with a definite purpose and logic. According to them, the 'space', particularly urban space, is intentionally constituted to show the ways in which nuance of power and dominations gets inscribed into urban spaces.¹⁶ In the view of K.R. Cox, 'space' as a fundamental variable influence both society's organizations and operations as well as the behaviours of its individual members.¹⁷ This type of studies trace human thought behind the repeated modification in the landscape. Michel Foucault, who saw the power as being inscribed in space, argued that the power in society could

be achieved through an analysis of control over space.¹⁸ Historical geographers and historians have now realized that the spaces are contested over resources which individuals and groups seek to control as demonstrations of their own power. In fact, distinction is probable between private and public spaces, sacred and profane spaces, male and female spaces, commercial and ceremonial spaces, shared and divided spaces, and individual and institutional spaces.¹⁹

In examining the role played by medieval Indian cities in societal process, Mohammed Habib initiated a new debate with an idea of 'urban revolution' triggered off by the conquest of Mohammed Ghori which was necessitated an immediate labour process in North India. He argued that the low-caste Indian workers who remained outside the walls of towns and in the peripheries for years, now entered the towns along with the forces of Mohammed Ghori, offering their services to the new government in manufacturing sector to produce finished goods and also in the form of a fighting force. The new political scenario carry off all the discrimination which had prevailed on city workers earlier, who in turn sustained it more than 500 years. The religion of Islam had attracted many city workers such as weavers, butchers, elephant-drivers etc., to possess some sort of upward social mobility. The new regime availed the bulk of workforce available in the towns for their military force, workers for *karkhanas*, artisans, personal servants, musicians, dancing girls etc. Habib pictured the Ghorian conquest of India as a revolution for Indian labours in the towns.²⁰

Countering the argument made by Mohammed Habib on labour process and emergence of urban centres in medieval India, Irfan Habib argues that the establishment of Delhi Sultanate commenced a new phase of urban growth where there was an increasing number and size of towns, and the growth in craft production and commerce. However, he says that this happened primarily because of the technological diffusion, which in turn affected craft production, manufacturing paper and building, the flow of gold and silver for minting coins to promote trade, and the formation of new ruling class who dwelled in the towns with the cost of rural surplus that they appropriated through the new land revenue system. He, further, argues that the changes took place in

these period does not mean the 'liberation' of any segment of the society, rather it was the largescale enslavement of the multitude and the way they put the latter to work at both domestic services and crafts sectors were more vital behind the changes.²¹

The writings of R. Champakalakshmi and B.D Chattobadhyaya²² have traced the origin of medieval town up to the ninth century onwards. B.D Chattobadhyaya highlighted the emergence of large number of towns in the north-west India and argued that they were the centres of local trade, before it transformed into a full-fledged urban centres under the Gurjara Pratiharas. Most of these towns were the loci of power for the regional rulers. He accounted the number of towns which was appeared during the period between 1000-1336 is of 20 towns in Gujarat, 131 in Rajasthan, 78 in Karnataka, and 70 in Andhra.²³ On the other hand R. Champakalakshmi focuses on south India while examining the revival of long-distance trade and the eventual organization of commerce by various guilds in the territories of the Chola power during the period between ninth and thirteenth centuries, which, in turn, seen the mushrooming of several towns of varied size and nature. She identified a visible distinction in the medieval south Indian towns from those of north Indian variety, such as those mercantile royal and ceremonial-cum- religious towns, also fortified, like the ones from the Vijayanagara kingdom.²⁴

Several historians who studied the socio-economic process of medieval India had a perception that of symbiotic relationship existed between the town and the countryside. Some of the early writings such as those of K.M. Ashraf,²⁵ H.K. Naqvi,²⁶ and W.H. Moreland²⁷ mainly dealt with the features of medieval North Indian towns in regard of economic progress. Later, a more academic attention has been rendered by many scholars on urban centres of different parts of the medieval India, which, in turn, helped the emergence of urban history as an independent branch of historical study in India. The prominent figures in this case are S.C Misra, Satish Chandra, K.S. Mathew, Shireen Moosvi, R.E. Frykenberg, Stephen Blake, Shama Mitra Chenoy, V. K. Thakur, K.K. Trivedi, I.P. Gupta, J.S. Grewal, Indu Banga, Aniruddha Ray, and Sinnappah Arasaratnam.²⁸

Recently there has been an attempt to look at the medieval towns from a perspective of changing meanings of the towns over a period of time. Pius Malekandathil says that, most of the towns of medieval India underwent a process of radical transformation, as a result of which towns that initially emerged for certain reasons gained new kind of roles and functions. This shift was necessitated by new power and status groups in the city space, who were eager to articulate the meanings of their role and position into the physicality of town and this gradually helped them to assert their power.²⁹ He offered a case study of changing meanings of three medieval Indian towns: (i) the Agra, a politically charged town, had accumulated lot of economic tuning over time and later grew into one of the most important commercial hubs of north India, (ii) the Banaras, though it emerged primarily as a religious and pilgrimage centre, became a major town of banking and mercantile activities, and (iii) equally Goa which emerged mainly because of trade eventually lost its prime mercantile character because of the excessive intervention and control of the Portuguese rule, which ultimately converted Goa into a dry seat of Portuguese power with no more significant commercial activity.³⁰ In fact, the causative factors or the emergence and substance of medieval towns tended to vary over time, causing changes in their functional roles.

The kind of urbanism which appeared in India during medieval and early modern period has become a major theme for many scholars. Yogesh Sharma says that the presence of large number of towns with a close proximity to each other, high density of population in each region, and a supportive resource base with a constant agrarian productivity were vital to a thriving urbanism.³¹ However, Pius Malekandathil argues that the revival of trade in the tenth and eleventh centuries and the entry of Islam as an urban religion,³² borrowed from the erstwhile Sassanid Persia, stimulated the process of urbanism in different parts of India, eventually turned into the rise of several towns and quasi-towns. In fact, he argues the urbanism which was prevailed in medieval India is primarily of two kind. (i) The 'commercially charged urbanism', which appeared in the major manufacturing-cum-exchange centres of India. The earliest towns like Jaunpur, Burhanpur, Multan, Patna, Ahmedabad, Ujjain, Ajmer and Allahabad sprang up along

with the major trade routes and are the best examples of 'commercially charged' urban centres and (ii) the 'Politically charged urbanism', where urbanisation grew up around a political seat. Delhi has been the prime example as a politically charged urban centre along with other centres like, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Gaur, Agra, Lahore, Bijapur and Golconda.³³

Apart from this there existed a secondary sector of production and urban formations in medieval India. Both the Sufism and Bhakti movements evolved as cultural motors of urbanism. In the smaller towns and *qsbas* the weavers and various other categories of artisans used to link with the Sufi space and platforms of Bhakti. Both movements legitimized the culture of work in order to gain the ideological acceptance from the various artisans group, which in turn accelerated the secondary production and urban formations.³⁴ Later in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it has seen that

the *Kabirpanthis* and *Dadupanthis* were increasingly evolving as religious movements in the towns, which primarily focused on the social, spiritual and psychological issues of urban dwellers.³⁵ This is very clear from a network of secondary towns such as those of Jaunpur, Mandu, Burhanpur, Varanasi, Gwalior, Ahmedabad, Ludhiana, Panipat etc. had emerged during this period in connection with an extensive amount of commodity movements and pilgrimage.³⁶

Thus, the forgoing discussion shows that the perception of medieval towns and urban process have changed over a period of time. Therefore, this analysis has been understood as a significant tool in throwing the light on the possibility of multiple means to understand the urban process during the medieval period and what constituted a medieval town in the changing socio-political and economic meanings over a period of time.

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THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AS DEPICTED IN THE EARLY WOMEN MAGAZINES OF KERALA – 1900 - 1947

C. T. Joobitha

Introduction

There are some so called qualities being reflected in an ideal man and women. A well - developed capacity and ability for self – regulation found essential for an ideal men and women. But they are found to occupy different domains, the public and the domestic. This

further seen to assign different kinds of authority to them. The relationship between men and women was seen to be contractual by nature. Two different parties were engaged in an exchange for mutual benefit. The contract presupposes the existence of two different groups before the exchange even as it constitutes those whom it links. In this contract women must

take charge of domestic life, family relationships and the emotional environment attached to them and men are to be located in activities pertaining to the public domain. This envisaged contract was implicit in the formation of new journalistic institution, the women magazines in Malayalam.

Many people argues that educated women were very less in the world represented by the Puranic literature. An argument of the middle class literature in Malayalam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the rejection of this idea. Thiyyadiyil Kochukutti Amma wrote an article in *Mahila* discarding it. According to her, *Purananggal* describes the stories of many learned women and the example cited is *Sita*.¹ As per the Brahminical Hindu mythology, Rama was accompanied by his wife everywhere. She was an intelligent person. The story of *Sathyavan* and *Savithri* is yet another example for incredible woman wisdom. *Purananggal* describes how cunningly *Savithri* handles *Yama Devan* and takes her husband back from death. In those days, education provided to girls and boys were more or less equal. Girls and boys sat together around their *Gurunadhan* for learning. In those times, women showed keen interest in music, painting and household management. In those times printed media, journal, newspapers etc., were not there to bring out talented women names. Sanskrit could be the mother tongue for the people of ancient India. Gradually *Vattezhuthu*, *Kolezhuthu*, *Kannadiyehuthu* etc., were developed in the context of ancient Kerala.²

Education and women

The human society can be affected changes with educational work. State investment attempts to mould a society according to the interests of the class it represented. The most tremendous thing which a man can do is to provide education to his fellow beings. Here teachers became significant. Education makes a person a real one. Champathil Chinnammu Mannadiyar wrote an article about women and education. According to her, till a particular period, Hindus were not much conscious about women education. It could be due to the lack of knowledge about the benefits of education. Gradually it has changed.³ There had a conservative opinion that women should never send in schools when they become twelve or

thirteen years old. This was the first hurdle regarding women education. They send their children to English schools. But this kind of practice had its own defects. Parents gives primary education to their children either in the *Patasala* or in their own homes till they attain eight or nine years old. This helps children to gain knowledge in their mother tongue. Then parents admits their children in English schools to gain knowledge in English. In these English schools, children were either admitted to fourth standard or to any class close to that. But those 'newly' joined students were unable to catch their classes. They couldn't reach up to the level in which their classmates are. So the parents here failed to realize the reality. Parents felt proud when their children read English properly. Actually they read things without knowing its real meaning.⁴

According to ancient Brahminical literature, many problems generate when women gets education. First of all it takes away the quality of femininity from a woman. She gradually deviates from her duties as mother, sister, wife and daughter. So education for women is very unfair for the smooth functioning of a social structure. But this is not the reality. The actual situation is just opposite to it. Apart from an outward view, Women education got an internal perspective. Basically education helps a person to develop his intelligence, talents, thinking capacities and abilities. More than these, it would help a person to access incredible knowledge in artistic, literary and musical talents.⁵ It is easy for a person to speak and write about the benefits he gained from education. But men have an important role in working for the educational prosperity of his fellow beings. He should take an energetic initiative ensuring education to his sisters. As far as an English educated man is concerned, he can understand the reality of his house. They could find women in their home acting so ridiculously. Many times women unaware about the tactics of house hold management. It causes many troubles and confusions. A solution to all these issues is providing proper education to woman. Because education would make them well aware about their duties. It helps to understand about its proper implementation. So men should give the opportunity of education to his wife and sisters for the prosperous functioning of a family.⁶

As far as women and education is concerned, there comes a question that in which subject the girl should expertise. All girls should acquire infinite knowledge in subjects like Geography, Mathematics, household management, sewing, music etc. Many of the women likes to pursue higher education and participating higher examinations. So it's the responsibility of each parent to understand the interests of their children and tries to accomplish that. It's pathetic to know when well educated women does not know how to care diseased people. So through education a woman should be committed to all her responsibilities in the right way. Education should make a woman perfect in all her commitments.⁷

Women education in the changed world

R. Iswara Pillai wrote an article describing how society finds problems in women education. It has been stated that the so called education system was not sufficient to provide happiness to a woman's life. The *Rani* of Baroda presided over one women meeting organized in Puna. She says that both men and women should give education separately. If both were admitted to one class, it would create many problems. A girl child attains physical and mental maturity swiftly than a male child. So it generates more issues while both girls and boys were taken together for education. According to *Rani*, education is not intended to forget natural or biological laws. Education should help women to develop her talents, capacities and enable her to join into a good culture.⁸

A woman must be provided with good education. It would help her in realizing the importance of chastity, household management and building a good character. *Rani* stress the point that first of all a woman should get proper knowledge in all subjects like health, household management, childcare, music, drawing etc. *Rani* complaints about copying western culture into indigenous culture.⁹ According to her, it creates many issues. She says that woman can seek education and they should retreat from undertaking jobs. Because men are efficient enough to do jobs neatly. So there is no need for woman to overtake them. So in such a way, *Rani* says that the government should bring required renovations in the field of women education. She says education would make women the real heroine of the home.¹⁰

There was a tendency found to be that man showing less interest in marrying educated women. A typical local man would give importance to wealth and beauty of women. In most of the time, educated men found to be going outside Kerala for higher education. Many of them settles there after marrying anyone from there itself. So our educated women find it difficult to get an educated man as her husband. In many occasions, educated women is considered to be brave and strong. A conservative social system can never accept such women. They need woman with politeness, obedience, love, compassion and all. An educated woman would be aware of her rights, the happenings of the world, the importance of equality and all. So they should question all the traditional laws and customs.¹¹ If women get into jobs and join the public space, it would create new definitions and equations. It would spoil the inner chord of the so called social structure. So on these basis, conservative people denies imparting education to woman.

Kalparambil Karthyayani Amma wrote an article dealing about the spread of women education in Kerala. According to her, women education started getting propagation in the early twentieth century Kerala. But there were only limited women enjoyed the benefits of education. As far as women is concerned, education is very much significant. It would be difficult for her to undertake all her duties and responsibilities without having proper education. So lack of education would make womanhood incomplete. For an all - round development of a person, education plays a prominent role. A woman should be a true life partner to her husband.¹² She must be a perfect wife to him by all means. There had some opinions that education would make woman disobedient to her husband. But this opinion was criticized by many others. According to them, this opinion gets some kind of importance when a wife gain education and economic prosperity more than her husband. But this situation never makes woman superior for always. So in this particular situation, both men and women should be provided with equal education.¹³

Amidst of all feminist perspectives, it could say that women are the 'real head' of a family. It's she who takes care of the family systematically. She is there for ensuring the health and well –

being of the family members. She keeps the home very neat and clean. She know very well that what to do, when to do and how to do things. She makes a proper usage of household implements for all the time. She undertakes cooking very punctually. She shares different jobs to servants and other household members very conveniently. So proper education would make woman aware of all her duties. It would give them a clear picture about do's and don'ts. There were many woman benefitted with primary education. But many of them found to be acting like an illiterate when it comes to their personal matters. For them education is revolutionary weapon that would make them a different person altogether. They would deviate their responsibilities and starts acting as 'something special'.¹⁴

The system prevailed among the people was that children born to an intelligent woman would be intelligent and vice versa. More than that, an educated woman knows very well about caring their children with providing proper food and timely medical assistance. So educational status of the woman and upbringing the children are closely connected. There are many incidents stressing high rate of infant mortality. When the mother is well educated, she can get rid of this situation. Thus an educated woman become the true asset for the society.¹⁵

Women in the modern public space

Twentieth century was a turning period in the history of India. It took the country into independence. The echo of freedom being heard in everywhere. The moment in which India attained freedom was actually a turning point. But freedom to woman in the real sense is still remains a dream. The society continues discrimination against women. They were restricted to access freedom in its complete depth. Men always treat women as a fragile being. According to men, women are patient and peace lovers. It makes them frivolous and silly.¹⁶ Our society has created a big distance between the two gender centuries before. Men considers themselves as superior and the head of the social structure. The woman is subjugated under his feet. Man access the opportunity of education and the right to participate in the public platform. Whereas, women education right was ignored and they were been suppressed within the

domestic sphere. But the situation gradually changed. In the new context, women proved themselves strong and independent. Women possess the ability to find the weakness of man. Thus she makes the domination upon emotions, situations and feelings.¹⁷

A woman can share equal rights with man. Women should be provided with quality education and all kinds of facilities. As per the norms of the existing social structure, woman considered as the light of home. It is said that her presence spreads light everywhere. A home without women is like a child without father or mother. Maintaining morality, chastity, treating guests, treating elders, treating teachers, childcare, household management etc., had to be done by exclusively by women. At the same time it has been stated that education, knowledge in art and purity of heart would raise the dignity of woman. A woman was considered as the symbol of patience, sacrifice and love.¹⁸ Many woman arguing that homely duties should not restricted only to them. It should be shared to man as well. According to woman, household job is not something degrading. If a man helps a woman in household management, it would never takes away one's dignity. So man should support their mother, sister, wife or daughter in doing homely jobs. There is a notion that women were created only to undertake domestic duties. The new sense of middle class gender created by the colonial modernity corrected the view that men also should understand the dignity of jobs be part of house hold management. It has been seem that the duty of child care was always invested in women. According to the middleclass literature in Malayalam, this was an unfair practice. It argued that parents should have equal participation in upbringing their children. For making a nation developed, it is essential to ensure the freedom of woman. They should be provided with opportunities to be a part of the entire social structure. Women should never excluded anything on gender basis.¹⁹

Conclusion

The ideal Indian womanhood was represented in literature and other accounts as gentle, polite, self – sacrificing, monogamous, sexually passive, devotion to only one man in her life, her husband and she is the repository of honour of the family. This was the representation

of the elite and middle class women of the colonial period. The projection of womanhood as this was same for the womanhood in Kerala during the end of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The social background of women of the nineteenth century saw a period of transition which enabled the entry of women in the public life of Kerala. The nineteenth century Kerala society practiced various customs and most of them affected women adversely. The socio – religious movements of nineteenth century did a lot to improve the condition of women in the society. In the colonial situation, where women circumscribed by various restrictions and were often marginalized and they remained invisible. This was altered mainly during the national movement. The high rate of women literacy was an important factor which empowered women. The establishments of girl's schools under the initiation of Basel Evangelical Missionary and western educated natives furthered it. Women education led to the creation of a 'reading public' and it led to changes in the status of women. Actually we can't find the exact urban space in Kerala in the early twentieth century. At that stage Kerala was undergoing various transformations. A social structure in the threshold to embrace urban structure. The women entry into the public domain gave a new turn for such a transformation.

The early women magazines of Kerala was the product of the thinking process of the educated middle class of Kerala. So the entire literary output concentrated to a particular section of womanhood. Women magazines became a platform to women to express and know what they were. It reminds about 'womanly character', responsibilities and commitment. It clearly pictures how the society viewing them and what the society expecting from them. So the entire changes had resulted in constituting a new face of the womanhood.

An important change in Kerala society was the transformation of the middle class community from among the educated classes of different classes and castes. They began to acquire financial improvement by enjoying the benefits of colonialism. Education was accessible to them unlike the old feudal days and the new class promoted education of women. Women were always been treated as an 'object' by the society and it was accompanied by gender discrimination. Women were always been

enslaved within the domestic space in spite of the financial and caste statues of the family. Their world became confined only to the domestic sphere. Entry to the public space for them was simply a dream and they accessed it with norms unacceptable to the patriarchal society. The entry of missionaries and the participation of the house wives of European officers in Kerala in the promotion of female education gave momentum development towards the progress of womanhood. The travels of 'Bible Women' into interior villages in Kerala was a significant factor in the liberation of the lower class women. The progressive socialist ideology in the 1030's had utilized the already created public space of the women folk in Kerala to promote anti – colonial and anti – landlord movements with the help of the educated women. Thus, the foundation for their work was laid down by the early women magazines in Malayalam to develop a sense of alternative modernity in the minds of middle class women in Kerala. These women viewed women of the lower classes in a narrow perception. They failed to see these lower classes women equal to them. They themselves failed to implement these principles in their private life.

The socio – religious reform movements of the nineteenth century, colonial rule and the national movement paved a strong way for Indian women to break all the hurdles imposed upon them. It enabled them to get into the public space and join in different position they wished. The socio – religious reform movements of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries has convinced society about the need of women freedom. The propagators of the reform program stressed the significance of ensuring liberty to women in relation with attaining social progress. They questioned the prevalence of various social evils existed in the society which curtailed women freedom. The spokesmen of modernity asked womanhood to come and join the public domain and to be active participants in the process of nation building. It taught the womanhood about the importance of establishing their position in the society. They realized the 'true' aspect of widowhood, early marriage, polygamy and other things which condemned the status of women in the society. So the socio-religious reform movement or specifically community reformism has positively resulted in making our womanhood realized of the need of women emancipation.

One of the positive aspect of colonial rule in India was the initiation of western education. The coming of the missionaries and their effort to establish educational centres in different parts of the country has positively benefited the society to undertake the process of development. Though their vision behind imparting education to us was something else. Even though through this they could support a good cause and be part of the social progression. Missionaries stressed the need of providing education to women. Meantime women from the higher castes got the opportunity of education to a certain extend. But their access to higher education and seeking jobs was restricted. So the active effort from the side of the missionaries has helped in spreading and ensuring education to all. The creation of English educated middle class intelligentsia also played a decisive role in ensuring education to the women folk. Women education became active under the colonial rule. It resulted in the emergence of educated women and they could enter into the public domain through undertaking various professions. All these people were either the products of the new middle class community emerged in Kerala under the colonial rule.

Women education started getting propagation in the early twentieth century Kerala. But only limited women enjoyed the benefits of education during that time. As far as a woman is concerned, education is very much significant. It would be difficult to her to undertake all the duties and responsibilities without having proper education. There were a couple of articles in the early women magazines pointing that education would make a woman disobedient to her husband. But this opinion was criticized by many others. Most of the articles highlighted that women should share equal rights with men. They should be provided with quality education and all kinds of facilities. Certain articles pointed out that, as per the norms of the existing social structure, women considered as the light of home. It has been said that her presence spreads light everywhere. A home without woman is like a child without father or mother. Maintaining morality, chastity, treating guests, treating elders, treating teachers, child care, house hold management etc., had to be done exclusively by women. At the same time it has been stated that education, knowledge in art and purity of heart would raise the dignity of women.

Certain articles in the early women magazines talked about the role of educated women in making the country prosperous and developed. There were also women from different corners of the society spending time to provide education to depressed sections. They were courageous and determined ladies. Thus it shows the intention of Indian women to attain freedom. Basically women never want to suppress or subjugate men. Instead they simply prefer equality. So freedom to women is like maintain equality with men. Women wants to inform men that both of them have equal rights to enjoy liberty. Women asked for voting right and declared their right to be a part of every job. Thus women made a space for themselves in the public domain. Apart from this, women associated themselves with art as well. Women considers dance, music, singing, literature, drawing etc., as wonderful areas to be explored. It all should give them the wings of freedom. Thus the All India Women Convention organized in the early twentieth century was a mile stone in the history of womanhood.

Many articles in the early women magazines suggested that women should secure good education and should gain good jobs. It would make them self – sufficient, strong and courageous. A woman can mark her own space in the society when she becomes economically independent. She must be self – sufficient by all means and should bring all her sisters into that path. Certain articles in the early women magazines highlighted that for many centuries, the freedom of women were restricted by traditional norms, customs, religious laws, 'morality' of the society and so on. Women were merely treated as slaves, servants or as sexual objects. Women are powerful and they are the strongest creation on the earth. They could contribute tremendously to the process of nation building. It clearly stated that a woman should acquire education and get into a good job. She must handle both her domestic space and public space hand in hand. The status and courage of a woman is evident when she stand at her own feet.

The women participants in the Indian national movement were produced by the new sense of the middle classes. M K Gandhi exhorted Indian women to join the movement to show how powerful they were. Women were

actively involved in various programs related to the national movement in Kerala. The entry of women into political activity was encouraged by the new Malayali. It convinced women about their capacities and abilities. She could develop her leadership quality under this new guidance. She started to enter into various fields related to politics. Women and voting right, their representation in legislature, their participation in local bodies etc., all enhanced the political career of women and it stressed her role in the public domain. Thus women education, their potential of undertaking various programs, entry into politics etc., all gave women a solid and strong position in the public space.

Education has made women strong and powerful. Actually education not only helped women to gain knowledge but also provided them the necessary courage and inner strength

to face the challenges of life. Education has convinced women to know the world outside home. They became aware about various facts of life. They started reading different materials, mingling with other educated women, joining in public gatherings etc. All has transformed the womanhood entirely. Basic education has got a value as it develops the personality as well as rationality of individuals. The acquired knowledge by serving a social purpose, raised the status of women in the society. Education has provided Indian womanhood essential qualifications to fulfil certain economic, political and cultural functions and improve her perspectives and status. Thus education has paved some strong foundations in the path of the journey of Kerala women from the domestic space to the public space. These journeys were limited to the women folk of the aristocratic and middle classes of the Kerala society.

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INDIGENOUS MERCHANTS AND THE COROMANDEL TRADE: A STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY VIZAGPATNAM

N. Kanakarathnam

The Vizagpatnam port rose into prominence in the eighteenth century largely as a result of the European appropriation of Asian trade and due to the rigorous economic intervention of the local elite in the economy.¹ Despite the political situation being volatile because of the Mughal intervention in northern Coromandel in the last decade of the seventeenth century, the economy displayed considerable resilience and even displayed signs

of development which fostered the growth of Vizagpatnam into a major port town. Various economic forces such as intense commercialisation of agriculture and monetisation further facilitated this growth.

The attempts made by the European commercial powers, during this time, were aimed at having direct contact with the producers and eliminating the intermediaries, who amassed

huge wealth at the expense of the consumers as well as the producers. But a variety of factors that were prevailing in India at that time compelled them to employ the local interpreters, brokers, merchants who in course of time thrived and enhanced their capital. There were a number of middlemen who were considered indispensable for the English East India Company's commercial activities.

In the commercial transactions of the Coromandel Coast the local merchants were predominant for their role in wholesaling, retailing, brokerage and banking.² They had gained considerable expertise in the textile trade through their age old transaction with the South East Asian and West Asian countries. For the collection of commodities they moved far and wide in the hinterland.³ They procured different sorts of commodities and despatched to the market concerned according to the demand and earned incredible profits. From this came a large number of wealthy and large scale merchants and wholesale dealers in a variety of goods.⁴ The entry of the European companies made these native merchants work with them as suppliers of commodities and they accumulated enormous wealth in this process at the earlier stages.

There were a number of factors which were responsible for the dependence of the European companies on the native merchants to operate their commercial activities. The advent of the foreign companies in India in the early part of the seventeenth century brought the inland production centres and commerce to get involved with the country's overseas trade. The necessity of establishing contacts with such centres of production was felt both by the native and foreign merchants which in turn helped for the emergence of a well-organised group of merchants as brokers or intermediaries.⁵ This group enabled the foreign merchants to free themselves from the problems of procurement of commodities.

Since the Europeans were quite new to this land they faced problems while dealing with the local producers for commodities. They were not able to get along without the help of intermediaries who was familiar in the local market system and in acquiring commodities. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans the market system which was prevalent in India was

strange for them. The European merchants or factors were really hampered by the complexities of the monetary system and the varying weights and measures.⁶ The lack of knowledge of the market operations led them to get the support of the indigenous merchants who procured goods for them.⁷

The production centres of different commodities were widely scattered all over India in the distant hinterland. This necessitated the European companies to engage some indigenous merchants, who were familiar with the local mode of production to arrange the supply of required items and act as link between the producer and the companies.⁸ The production capacity of these centres to meet the demand for a single commodity was very low. So to procure the goods by moving far and wide, the help of the merchants was quite indispensable for the companies and in turn the Indian merchants became the link for the procurement.

Certain specialised production centres in the manufacture of commodities forced the companies to have recourse to indigenous merchants. A glance at the textile industry on the Andhra coast shows that there was not a single centre capable of meeting the demands of one foreign company in all sorts of textiles.⁹ Moreover, there were a number of competing buyers in the market for the same type of goods. This situation created a demand for the services of a number of local merchants to contact manufactures and to acquire commodities for the companies from different centres. As a result, a good number of indigenous merchants were engaged simultaneously in the expansion of trade and commerce.

The primary job of a merchant was to procure cloth and other goods from the wide-spread weaver's settlements through their servants at cheaper rates for the companies and to dispose of their goods at a favourable price.¹⁰ Through this role they acted as a link between the primary producers and the European companies. They received commission for the service rendered. The native merchants also supervised weavers in the production process to maintain standardization of the pods according to the musters and worked to the perfection of the pattern.¹¹

When the English came to Vizagpatnam they found that the native merchants were prosperous and financially sound through their hereditary commercial enterprises. Since the English Company was facing financial difficulties in the early stages, the members of the Company thought that they could get monetary support from the local merchants to continue their trading operations without hindrance.

Thus, the expansion of the economic sub-structure was rooted through the active participation of the local chiefs in building up strong revenue resource base in agriculture and local trade.¹² In the fast changing political environment, these people created an economic space of their own and emerged as politico-military entrepreneurs with diverse interests such as agrarian expansion, intervention in trading activities, especially grain markets to the ports of Ganjam, Vizagapatnam and Kakinada. Grain was cheap at Vizagapatnam which had its impact on the weaving economy of the region as well. The money generated through commercialisation was invested in political aggrandizement.

Unlike in Masulipatnam which was dominated by trans-oceanic Asian traders such as Mir Jumla and Madanna, the situation at Vizagpatnam was quite different. Here, the trade was more localised and the mediation between the agrarian economy and trade was indirectly conducted by tributary *raju* and *velama* clans. These local political elements were instrumental in creating necessary conditions which fostered trade in the port of Vizagapatnam. In a situation where the European commerce made considerable inroads into the local economy, it was these local chieftains who acted as sole arbitrators between the production economy and the English East India Company in the eighteenth century.

In the fluctuating political fortunes between the *raju* and *velama* clans and the Mughal *faujdar*s on the other hand, private finance of the Company to local political players became significant. However, neither of the parties followed any clear cut rules and regulations as to whom the finance was to be provided. Financially, the English East India Company emerged as the main arbitrator, while the local merchants such as Budde Narrain and Jagappa mediated between the Company and the local elite. In fact the company's existence at

Vizagpatnam depended on its flexibility to finance the local powers. It is with this background that this paper proposes to study the role of private merchants at the port of Vizagpatnam in the eighteenth century.

Vizagpatnam came into the regular English network of trade largely because of active participation of private traders. Though the English established a regular factory in 1682 CE, the initial benefits of the trade went to private traders. In the early English records, private traders such as Richard Brown, Samuel Fleetwood and Clement du Jardin were involved in regular private trade at Vizagpatnam and with local merchants.¹³

Scattered references do not allow any deeper study on the affairs of chief merchants at Vizagpatnam. However, the name of Budde Narrain stands out in the history of early economic history of Vizagpatnam for the period under study. It is not clear when Budde Narrain joined the company service. His name was mentioned in the context of non-payment of debts to the Company which stood outstanding for over eight years. In 1698 CE alone, he owed the company a sum of 63,914:6:8 pagodas and did not pay the debts owing to "constant succession of war and famine, seconded with scarcity of cotton." Simon Holcombe, the chief of Vizagpatnam who appointed Budde Narrain was always suspicious of Budde Narrain and constantly sent reports of his private transactions to Madras council.¹⁴

It is clear that for unknown reasons, Budde Narrain left the Dutch service and joined the English East India Company at Vizagapatnam. Budde Narrain who was the chief merchant for the Company for more than a decade fell in disfavour of Simon Holcombe. Simon Holcombe, the politically motivated chief of Vizagpatnam favoured Jagappa, a prominent Brahmin which abruptly ended Budde Narrain's career. Jagappa was a typical example of those many social elements who provided capital, knowledge and support to European companies in pre-modern India. Jagappa mediated between the English company and local chiefs and heralded a new phase of collaboration between local politics and English commerce. He stood as surety to the parties in various economic transactions between the company officials and the local chiefs.

The trade at Vizagpatnam was dominated by Jagappa in the first decade of the eighteenth century. His mercantile activities in textiles and grain spread as far as Ganjam, Kalingapatnam and Sonapur. While there is no information on the volume of trade he conducted, sources reveal his unscrupulous ways of eliminating other merchants of Vizagpatnam and its adjacent Bhimlipatnam. However, we have no information on whether he traded with the Dutch at Bhimlipatnam. In a petition of Freeman, the Chief of Vizagpatnam to Madrasapatnam Council, Budde Narrain & Co graphically described how they became the victims of Jagappa's manipulations in trade which ousted him from chief merchant ship.¹⁵ The main strength of Jagappa lay in the close political relations he maintained with politico-military entrepreneurs and the company at Vizagpatnam. Other prominent merchants who traded with the English Company were Consium Linganna, a raw cotton merchant, Gunny Narso, traded in grain and cotton, and Cossavavera who brought cotton to Vizagapatnam.

Private trade was an important component of Vizagpatnam port. From the point of view of Coromandel merchants, the difference between company trade and the private activities of English factors was quite hazy. All most all the Indian merchants such as Budde Narrain, Jagappa, Linganna traded openly with the private trade of Richard Brown, Sherars, Samuel Fleetwood, Simon Holcombe etc. The appointment and the subsequent dismissal of Budde Narrain from chief merchant ship was due to some differences in private trade conducted with Simon Holcombe. Private trade which centred around Vizagapatnam was mostly

carried in rice and grain to be sent to southern Coromandel. There is also no doubt that the Vizagpatnam and Bengal links which got crystallized in the eighteenth century brought private traders directly into the intra-Asian network as well. In addition, some of the private merchants took adjacent places on revenue farm from the Mughals.

The Company soon realized that the most of the cloth production areas were located in the areas dominated by the local raju's and compulsions of procuring the merchandise pushed the companies to establish direct contact with them. This collaboration helped the English Company in many ways. Firstly, as the records themselves testify, transportation of goods from the hinterland to the port went unhindered in an otherwise war ravaged economy. Secondly, the relations also brought the companies closer to the local Hindu merchants who in turn had close relationship with the chiefs of the region. It is a more or less established fact that Hindu merchants derived specific advantages of working with European companies and vice versa. During this period the chiefs of coastal Andhra especially maintained Hindu merchants for the sake of finances and for the necessary expansion of commercial sector on which their politics depended. Jagappa is just a case in point.

Thus, the local merchants played a crucial role in changing the economic and political fortunes of European companies at the Vizagpatnam port in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They not only acted as merchants but were also involved in wholesaling, retailing, brokerage and banking.

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CEREMONIES OF VANNIYAR COMMUNITY CHILDREN

V. Kathiravan

In Vanniyar community peoples are several features of the social customs have either disappeared or were transformed during the last twenty years. Some of their traditional practices have survived the past social customs, infinite and contradictory in nature and content that is to be found among the various branches of the Vanniyars. This paper is tried to concentrate upon from the birth to sacred thread ceremony.

Customs and convention of a country will reflect the civilized and standard of the place. India is an ethnical museum filled with various kinds of people. In Tamilnadu also customs and convention has played a vital role. The standard of the community will be measured through their customs and convention. The social framework of the Vanniyas has several unique features. These distinct features were firmly entrenched in the usage of the ancient Telugus. Several features of the Vanniyas and their social customs either disappeared or were transformed during the last twenty years. Some of their traditional practices have survived the past social customs, infinite and contradictory in nature and content that is to be found among the various branches of the Vanniyas. From cradle to grave, they attach importance to customs and ceremonies. Their life from birth to death witnesses many ceremonies¹. The Nayak rulers observed the practice of 'opening new accounts on the day of Deepavali festival every year thereby they started their financial statements from that day onwards.'² Since then the traders and merchants, especially, the Vanniyas also observe that practice and open new accounts on that day of lights³.

Birth Ceremonies

Ceremonies are observed from birth to death a person. After a baby born following methods are observed. After the birth of the child, the mother is given native medicine for nine days. Pollution lasts for sixteen days, and till then

no one is permitted to go near her. On an auspicious day the new born child is put to cradle. The silk coloured cotton saree of the mother, which was used during her marriage, is used for making cradle. No special ceremony is attached to the naming of the new born. The child is usually named after the grandfather or grandmother in the father's line or family deities'. Now days fancy names are being used.⁴

Sugar Water Eating for Infant

In Vanniyar community peoples birth celebrations are always simple. Eating honey the first drop, the drop is eaten to elder person are worth full and corrector person. The eleventh day after the birth of the child or after two months arrangements are made to name the child. As per the horoscope of the child he or she is named in this ceremony.

In some parts of south India especially Tamil Nadu cradle ceremony is also very popular. On the eleventh day after the birth of the child the baby is placed in a cradle for the first time.

Family and friends are invited to bless the child on this occasion. Food is prepared and parties are thrown. In the olden days this ceremony was performed in the house itself. Even today a small puja is arranged in the house to thank god for the baby. The puja is also performed for long life of the baby. The baby is made to wear new clothes.

The act of informing the boy's family of the childbirth by the girl's family. Though the information can be passed on through mail or telephone, it is a pleasant formality to inform the boy's family in person. While visiting the boy's family, betel leaves, betel nut, fruits, sugar and sugar candy are to be taken. It is upto individual preference to take sweets. Usually 3 or 4 elderly person go in person. Also, it is better to inform

the boy's family in advance of the arrival, so that they can be prepared with coffee and snack, as they need to reciprocate the honour.

Kaappu

It is customary to do Kaappu on the 7th day after the child is born. Traditionally, the kaappu and jewellery that adorn the first baby are passed on to the next babies in the family. This is considered lucky and is called 'Aghi Vandhadhu'. It is the responsibility of the baby's aunt (father's sister - athai) to get the kaappu. She needs to buy golden bangle, golden ring, silver kaappu, mupurikaappu (made with gold, silver and copper twisted together). Anything beyond this is upto individual convenience. Katti Paruppu and kaapparisi should also be made and brought.

In a ural (mortar), keep a Chombu (vessel) with water and place neem leaf in that. Give neem leaves to small children and ask them to go around singing 'Aambilai Petha, pombalai petha, adupangaraiyil pillai petha' and doing kummi. An elderly woman should hold a measuring cup (padi) and place some coins in that and shake it well. The coins are to be distributed to the kids that did kummi. Mix katti paruppu and kaapparisi with neem leaf and then give it to a boy child. Request him to chew and then spit it in the room entrance. Impersonate an ammi Kuzhavi (pestle) as a baby. Bathe it, wipe, apply mai (kajal), feed milk with paaladai/sangu and then place a folded saree on the ural and place the kuzhavi on top of it. An issueless woman is requested to do this. When it is done, elders bless the person to beget children at the earliest. In olden days, seclusion of the new born with its mother in a separate room was practised. Due to this reason, the mother places kaappu on the baby's hands and legs. In order to make mai (Kohl/Kajal) apply pure castor oil in a ladle used to turn dosai and show the ladle on top of a burning lamp. When, it gets dark, add a drop of castor oil and make the mai. The mother applies the mai in the eyes and then places the neem leaf kaappu in the hands and legs of the baby and then places the other ornaments. Prepare harathi in a tray and add neem leaf, a small piece of charcoal, sand (earth) from the entrance and take harathi for the mother and the newborn and then pour it out in the entrance. Honour should be reciprocated to the athai (newborn's paternal aunt) who brought the kaappu depending on the

ability of the girl's family. Along with thamboolam, it is customary to give katti paruppu and kaapparisi.

Punyakavachanam

It is customary to perform punyakavachanam on the 11th day after the childbirth. The expenses for this are borne by the boy's side. The baby is given a bath and placed in a muram (a traditional plate like tool usually made of bamboo used for dehusking grains). After this, the baby's mother can see the baby only after her bath. The mother is made to take oil bath. As soon as she finishes bath, a savory dish is given to her. This is called 'Thula Poosuvadhu'. Then, hand over the baby to the mother in her arms. Watching this is considered good (visesham). The girl's family needs to buy new dresses for the newborn, the new mother and father. And it is customary to keep a pair of paruppu thengai along with coconut, fruit and betel leaf in the manai. It is also customary to make jewels for the baby. The expenses for the priest and food is taken care of by the boy's family. Also, the boy's family needs to do viraidhanam to all the guests by giving them a 25 paise coin placed in paddy. The Jaathakaranam and namakaranam for the baby are to be performed as per the individual family tradition. That evening, thottil (cradle) is placed. For this, place a tray spread with paddy beneath the cradle. In it, write the baby's name. The baby's mother and others should repeat the name of the baby in the baby's ears three times. Line the cradle with a silk saree and then place either sweet payaru sundal or kothukadalai sundal as per family tradition in the head side of the baby. The sundals can either be tied in a cloth or kept in a small bowl and placed either on the cradle or beneath it in the head side. Invite women to sing and given vethalai-pakku (betel leaf and betel nut). Then, take harathi.

Ear-Boring Ceremony

The ear lobes of both the sexes are pierced. On that day the child is taken to the temple of the **family deity**. There the child is tonsured and made to take bath. The goldsmith performs the operation with a very fine golden wire, and the size of the hole is gradually increased from time to time. The hole is generally made larger in the ears of girls, so that they could wear larger ornaments or ear ring. Guests are also invited to a non-vegetarian feast

which ends the ceremony. *Kapparisi* (Sweet rice) is offered to the assembled and the gusts.⁵

Sacred Thread

In Hinduism the sacred thread is a thin consecrated cord, composed of distinct cotton sands, worn to symbolize the coming of age. The sacred thread is known by many names (varying by region and community), so many communities are used to wear seared thread on their back. Boys after attained certain age they will be offered this thread. Vanniyars also followed this custom any practice.⁶

Several features of the Vanniyas and their social customs have either disappeared or were transformed during the last twenty years. Some of their traditional practices have survived the past social customs, infinite and contradictory in nature and content that, are to be found among the various branches of the Vanniyas.

Now a days all the ceremonies were disappeared gradually because of the changing attitude of the youngsters. They have left their ancestral profession and have migrated towards the urban area. They are not aware of the old customs, ceremonies. Moreover they were not ready to spare their times to perform any such rituals.

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"PROGRESSIVE SHARE SYSTEM" – A CONSTRUCTIVE ASSESSMENT METHOD PRACTICED FOR AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION DURING MEDIEVAL TAMIL COUNTRY

M. Kavitha & S. Ganeshram

Introduction

The information about the land tax assessment and levy of tax on cultivated lands in the medieval period is available in plentiful in the epigraphs. The assessment and levy of land tax was not flat on lands throughout the village or country. It differed, at least, according to the types of lands namely wet, dry, garden, irrigational facilities, nature of crops and so on. Besides this, permanent and progressive assessments were the other two methods of assessment exercised on the cultivated lands. In the case of permanent assessment, the land tax was fixed and immutable for years irrespective of the quality and quantity changes brought in the land. This permanent assessment or permanent tax is referred to in the epigraphs as *nilai-irai*¹ or *ninrirai*.² In certain instances the tax due from specified area of land was fixed perpetually as a *nilai-irai*, a permanent settlement.³ However, it was practiced in a limited manner.⁴

But the concept of progressive assessment or progressive share system was exercised particularly in the cases of reclamation of land and founding of new settlements. Reclamation of forest and waste lands to convert them into cultivable lands was an important aspect of agriculture of Tamil country since ancient times. It seems that it was rigorously occurred during the medieval period of Tamil country. Forest or uncultivated waste lands were reclaimed to convert into cultivable lands to fulfill the increasing needs of the agricultural products and for new village settlements. Epigraphs of medieval ages illustrate that such efforts had been made from time to time to increase the area of cultivation and the rulers were keen in doing so and encouraged such efforts in the form of concession in taxes and favorable terms of leases. The reclamation activities undertaken by the State, Local administration and other landlords certainly, it seems, resulted in expansion of agricultural activities.

Varam (Share) System

In the medieval Tamil country, the temples, Brahmanas, and *Vellalas* were the biggest landlords in the society. Lands were also owned by small peasants, who cultivated on their own. Royal officials also held large lands under them for their service. In addition to these, kings also held substantial extent of lands under them as crown lands. Generally the lands donated to the temples were distributed to tenancy or cultivated directly by the temple under the supervision of its administrators,⁵ the reason being the lands and villages granted to the temples were scattered in a vast stretch of lands. Naturally these lands had to be cultivated through tenants.⁶ Traditionally, the Brahmins were meant for learning and teaching the *Vedas* and *Sastras* and spiritual worship in religious institutions. Making use of the *Sastric* denial preventing the Brahmin to till the soil,⁷ the Brahmins did not cultivate the lands on their own. The other non-Brahmin landlords, like the big *Vellala* landowners, in order to keep up their caste pride, never tilled the soil. It hardly needs emphasis that the State servants who were granted lands and the Kings who held crown lands would not have tilled the lands on their own. Religious institutions, individuals, tenure holders or the king as land owners who could not have been directly involved in cultivation, it became necessary for them to depend on people, who were the actual tillers of the soil. It can be postulated that the actual work of cultivation could have been done by the employment of agricultural labourers or by tenant cultivators. Tenancy introduced relations between at least two different sections of the society, namely, the landowners and the tenants.

The system of sharing of produce between the landlords and the tenants was known as *Varam*. The share was divided into two principal shares, namely, a major share and a minor share. The major share was received by the landlords from the cultivating tenants and was denoted in the inscriptions by the term *melvaram*. Y. Subbarayalu says that "the term *melvaram* is usually taken to denote the government share. By extension it also denotes the share of the assignee or landlord also."⁸ The minor share was retained by the cultivating tenants and was denoted by the term *kilvaram* or *kudivaram*. Pertaining to this concept, Burton Stein states

that "The use of the terms *melvaram* and *kudivaram* to refer to major and minor income shares and the terms referring to the right to enjoy these shares were *mijatchi* and *kaniyatchi*." ⁹ On analyzing some of the Vijayanagar inscriptions in which villages donated to the temple by the kings, T. Subramanyam Naidu states that "Whatever the nature of the tenure under which village land was held, broadly the income from the land was divided into two shares, namely, *melvaram* and *kudivaram*, the former went to the owner and the later to the actual tillers of the soil (cultivators). This system remained practically intact till the British period."¹⁰

Progressive Share (varam) System

The concept of progressive *varam* system was exercised by the State, Local assemblies, landlords, particularly, in the cases of reclamation of lands and in garden cultivation where long-term money crops were cultivated. Fallow lands which had been newly brought under cultivation were assessed for the *melvaram* progressively in proportion to the yield of the crop. In the case of reclamation of forests, wastes or uncultivated lands to convert into cultivable lands, a lot of efforts were needed. When a new settlement occurred in a place, the new settlers had to do similar hard work to bring the land to cultivation. So it took time. Similarly, when trees such as the coconut or areca palms were newly planted in gardens, it would take a few years to come to yield. It seems that the landholding temples took this into account. So, in such cases, the cost of reclamation or the waiting period had been compensated by offering a progressive increment in rent. The rent increased gradually till it reached the normal rate of the *melvaram*.

State, Landowners and Progressive Share System

The progressive assessment was exercised by the State as an encouragement or stimulation for the new settlers. The State asked the donees to pay in graduated scale considering the time span required to settle and involve in the agricultural activities. The Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates, dated 1022 A.D and issued in the reign of Rajendra Chola I with an objective of creating an *agrahara* which was later distributed to 1080 Brahmanas. The new *brahmadeya* was required to pay the agricultural rent progressively

at 1/4th for the first year of creation of *brahmadeya*, 1/2 for the second year, 3/4th for the third year and full assessment for the 4th year onwards.¹¹ The total extent of land available for grant was about 2,516 *veli* and odd. This was required to fetch as rent of 51050 *kalam* and odd of paddy and as *min-pattam* of 32½ *kasu* and 65 *akkam*. This works out to slightly more than 20 *kalam* of paddy per *veli* on an average. Thus the *brahmadeya* was not an *iraiyili brahmadeya*, that is, not exempted from agricultural rent and assessed for land-tax. However, the rates were increased only progressively in order to reduce the difficulties that might result out of the change of proprietorship and it was perhaps expected that by the beginning of the fourth year the brahmanas who were now the new proprietors would have settled on their new possessions. This low rate of assessment could be a special one obtained for *brahmadeya*.

The temples leased out their garden lands to the tenants to cultivate the coconut and areca palms. An inscription from Srirangam, dated 1140 A.D and issued in the reign of Kulothunga II, records the leasing of temple lands to the kovanavar who were to plant coconut and areca palms thereon and to pay a specified portion of the yield to be counted at the temple granary, year after year. While collecting *kadamai* tax on areca palms on the *agavarru* lands, 100 areca nuts per head of areca for the first year of yield, 200 areca nuts per head of areca for the second year, 300 areca nuts per head of areca for the third year and from the fourth year onwards 400 areca nuts per head of areca to be counted. Similarly, for areca palms on the *kollai* lands, 80 areca nuts per head of areca, for the first year of yield, 120 areca nuts per head of areca for the second year, 240 areca nuts per head of areca for the third year and from the fourth year onwards 300 areca nuts per head of areca to be counted. In the case of coconut tree, if it yields full, 1 *ma* of *kasu* per tree had to be paid.¹² Another twelfth century epigraph gives us a passing information that in case of *kamuku* (areca) trees were grown in a land, no tax need to be paid for five years from the date of planting of the trees.¹³ The above two inscriptions show clearly that the type of lands, time taken by plants to grow and yield to full capacity were considered while the stipulation was set on the basis of progressive assessment.

Another inscription from Srirangam, dated 1212 A.D., issued in the reign of Kulottunga III registers a remarkable illustration of fixing the apportionment of the produce from several classes of temple lands, between the temple and its tenants.¹⁴ The full assessment for the reclaimed lands, including *punsey*, *arridupadugai*, *odaf* and *kuttam*, is stated thus: for paddy cultivated *karmaru* lands, 100 *kalam* of paddy for *kar* and 100 *kalam* of paddy for *maruvu* per *veli* for lands cultivated with single crop (*oru-poo*) 100 *kalam*s of paddy per *veli*. It is stipulated that one-fourth of this assessment for the first year of reclamation and cultivation, one-half for the second year, three-fourth for the third year and full assessment to be levied from successive years. A progressive mode of assessment was stipulated for areca palms thus : 100 areca-nuts per head of areca for the first year of yield, 200 areca nuts per head of areca for the second year, 300 areca nuts per head of areca for the third year and from the fourth year onwards 400 areca nuts per head of areca to be counted.¹⁵

Later Pandyas also seemed to have exercised the progressive assessment concept in a wider way. Two thirteenth century inscriptions of later Pandyas attest to this. An inscription from Kurralam, Tirunelveli district, gives us information about certain lands which were purchased from the merchants of Sundara pandyapuram for the temple of Tiukkural mudaiya-nayanar and leased to Andapillai and his decedents on condition that the taxes to be paid to the temple. It was stipulated that the donee should pay 1 *kalam* of paddy and 1/20 *kasu* per *ma* in the first year after reclamation, 2 *kalam* of paddy and 1/10 *kasu* per *ma* in the second year of reclamation, 3 *kalam* of paddy and 3/20 *kasu* per *ma* in the third year of reclamation and 4 *kalam* of paddy and 1/5 *kasu* per *ma* in and after fourth year of reclamation.¹⁶ Another inscription from Anaiyur, Madurai district, records the rates of taxes payable by the *patiyilar* on the lands allotted to them and brought under cultivation at half the usual rate of the first year, three-fourth for the second year and full rate for the subsequent years.¹⁷

A thirteenth century Tirukkalakkudi record, issued in the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, states that the lessee or tenant should enjoy the lands after repairing the tanks in disuse

and bringing under cultivation such lands as are covered with jungle. In such case, the tenants should pay the following *melvaram* to the temple: 1/10 in the first year, 1/9 in the second year, 1/8 in the third year, 1/7 in the fourth year and 1/3 as a permanent *melvaram* for all subsequent years.¹⁸ Similarly, an Inscription from Kuttalam, Thirunelveli district, issued in the 3rd regnal year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya, records that the village assembly bought a piece of land from the people of Sundara-Pandyapuram and let a portion of it on permanent lease to a certain Anda-Pillai in exchange for a fixed annual rent in paddy and money on every *ma* of cultivated land. It was also stipulated that the lessee would pay on every *ma* of waste plot that he brought under cultivation at the rate of: 1 *ma* of *achchu* and 1 *kalam* of paddy for the first year, 2 *ma* of *achchu* and 2 *kalam* of paddy for the 2nd year, 3 *ma* of *achchu* and 3 *kalam* of paddy for the 3rd year and 4 *ma* of *achchu* and of paddy for the 4th and subsequent years.¹⁹

The Vijayanagar rulers, like their predecessors Cholas and Pandyas, differentiated the fully developed cultivated lands, uncultivated waste brought under cultivation and forest reclaimed. They offered concession in assessment of these lands which was the stimulation factor for the individuals to reclaim lands in future.²⁰ An instance of reclamation effort by the State through its officials is illustrated by a 15th century epigraph which states that some villages near Valuvur were lying fallow owing to the flood in the river Kaveri and the land and irrigation channels had silted up and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields for a considerable period. The State took efforts to reclaim the lands and the tenants were rehabilitated on certain favourable condition. The State offered concessions to the tenants as half of the usual dues during the first year and three-fourth in the following years. Besides this, other concessions on money collection was also offered to the tenants. This concession of charging half the rates of assessment during the first year was extended also to other waste lands, which might similarly be brought under cultivation year after year.²¹ The striking feature of this instance is that the person who was chiefly responsible for the reclamation, of these lands, was given the special privilege of collecting *kadamai* from all the tenants who cultivated under his direction.

Specific mention is made that this offer was to induce others in future to undertake such reclamation.

Another 15th century record dated 1402 A.D belongs to the time of Bukkaraya Udaiyar II, son of Harihara II, states that some villages (*paru*) near Valuvur were lying fallow owing to the flood in the river Kaveri and the land and irrigation channels had silted up and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields for a considerable period." These lands were now reclaimed and the tenants rehabilitated on certain favorable conditions which were thus enumerated in the record: The first year of holding, 1/2 of the usual dues only could be collected both for *karand pasanam* and 3/4th from the following years ; Of money collections, *kudimai* and *kanikkai* being declared *ningal*, half of the *palavari* and *pudivari* alone could be levied; The tenants, too, would be assumed at half rates during the first year as *kadamai*, *arasu-peru*, *vassal-panam*, *ayam*, *pulvari* and other such taxes, while from the following year they would be required to pay 3/4 of the rates except in the case of *pulvari* which remained the same; *Magamai* and *kanikkai* would be treated likewise. The same concessions would be allowed also in the case of lands belonging to temples and Brahmans.²² Yet another instance in 1514 A.D when one Namasivaya Nayaka received a village as an *ulavu-kaniyatchi* (land with the right of ploughing), he was required to pay the upper share of 10 *panams* and 10 *kalams* of paddy in the first year, but it was raised to 50 *panams* and 50 *kalams* of paddy in the 5th year.²³ It is possible that the tenant had to bring the uncultivated land to plough. So, for the intervening period of 3 years the rates of taxes increased progressively.

Conclusion

The above discussed inscriptions pertaining to the progressive assessment / share system shows that sufficient time was given to the cultivators by the State or the landlords to reclaim the lands. After the reclamation, the rent had been increased gradually over a specified number of years until the required *melvaram* rate was reached. But the number of years and the rates varied from place to place. Moreover, the rulers were also very keen in keeping the arable lands under continuous cultivation and

reclamation of cultivable lands. This is simply because of economic motive i.e., the king gets revenue from the cultivated lands. If lands left uncultivated, it is not only difficult to realize the revenue but also leads to confiscation and such complications. Thus they gave much attention in reclaiming lands which were once under plough than the lands to be brought fresh under plough by reclaiming forests which cost more. So, in

order to increase the revenue, the State and landowners adopted / exercised a constructive produce-sharing tool called "Progressive Share System" with the tenant cultivators. It seems that this tool was really productive in agricultural expansion during medieval times, at least, from Imperial Cholas through Later Pandyas till Vijayanagar rule i.e., from 11th to 16th century A.D.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY ON WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL INDIA TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

B. Lavanya

Historical investigation into a plethora of aspects pertaining to women has become a new area of research since last decade. Globally this has been a fertile ground for new methodologies, field studies, theories and perspectives. Indian historiography, especially that of the medieval period is not far from this trend and has been marked by a range of researches and studies on Women in Medieval Indian history. The present paper, "Historiography on Women in Medieval India – Trends and Prospects" attempts at evaluating broad contours of these writings while fathoming new depths of women's lives which still remain unexplored.

The main feature of writings on women is that they focus on few stereotyping of women such as their role in society, her position,

privileges and marginalized roles such as dancing girls and concubines. An important influencing factor in Medieval India is the cultural impact of the mutual interaction of Islamic and Hindu Civilizations and the resultant influence on women of medieval India in the Hindu/Rajput society as well as, the Islamic society. Some key aspects such as their tastes and preferences, centrality and marginality to various social and economic processes and their objectification as objects to enjoyment and procreation still need to be seen. The paper raises these unanswered questions and takes up fresh investigations.

Here are few trends on writings on Women's History. For instance Sudha Sharma in her book "The Status of Muslim Women in Medieval India" examines the economic, cultural,

political and social positions of Muslim women in medieval India. It explores the changes that took place with the advent of Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Afghans and Persians whose customs and traditions influenced the existing Islamic society. Though Islam improved the position of women by instituting many reforms, the Islamic religious texts laid down the minutest code of conduct for women, the slightest deviation from which was considered irreligious. Such rigidity, coupled with the apathy of the ulemas, led to the weakening of position of women. The work goes on to show how the diktats of the Quran were subjected to many interpretations down the ages, affecting the status of women in various ways. The book also highlights the economic, cultural, political and social positions of Muslim women in medieval India. It explores the changes that took place with the advent of Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Afghans and Persians whose customs and traditions influenced the existing Islamic society.¹

For instance though Islam improved the position of women by instituting many reforms, the Islamic religious texts laid down the minutest code of conduct for women, the slightest deviation from which was considered irreligious. Such rigidity, coupled with the apathy of the ulemas, led to the weakening of position of women. The book goes on to show how the diktats of the Quran were subjected to many interpretations down the ages, affecting the status of women in various ways.

In another interesting work of Anjali Verma on 'Women and Society in Early Medieval India: Re-interpreting Epigraphs' examines women and society in India during 600–1200 CE through epigraphs. It offers an analysis of inscriptional data at the pan-India level to explore key themes, including early marriage, deprivation of girls from education, property rights, widowhood and satī, as well as women in administration and positions of power. The volume also traces gender roles and agency across religions such as Hinduism and Jainism, the major religions of the times, and sheds light on a range of political, social, economic and religious dimensions.² A panoramic critique of contradictions and conformity between inscriptional and literary sources, including pieces of archaeological evidence against traditional views on patriarchal stereotypes, as

also regional parties and disparities, the book presents an original understanding of women's status in early medieval South Asian society. It will be immense useful to the researchers and scholars, as it throws light on ancient and medieval Indian history, social history, archaeology, epigraphy, sociology, cultural studies, gender studies and South Asian studies.

Another important work of Bhuvan Chandel and Shubhada Joshi, "Women in Ancient & Medieval India (History of Science, Philosophy & Culture in Indian Civilization)" looks at the role played by women in different ages of History.³

The work on "Role of Women in Medieval Indian Politics" by Poonam Pant project effectively the role of women in the early Turkish period, under the Khiljis and under the Mughal Emperors from Babur to Jahangir. The role of Shah Turkan and Raziya in the background of initial simmering political discontent leading to major political consequences in the court politics have been assessed with necessary details. The contribution of women in court politics from Khilji to Lodi rule has been properly analyzed.⁴ The position of women in politics has been examined throwing fresh light on the existing political development and cultural life of the region.

Professor S.N. Sinha, remarked that during the period from Babur to Akbar, the role of royal women became more prominent. The high water mark of influence of royal women was reached in the reign of Jahangir with Nurjahan often directing the imperial politics. The work also deals with royal harem which by and large acted as a centre of manipulation and intrigues in politics.

Devika Rangachari work on "Invisible Women, Visible Histories: Gender, Society and Polity in North India, 7-12th Century AD, examines certain gendered aspects of the early medieval period in north India (between the seventh and twelfth centuries A.D) through a study of prominent but representative regional kingdoms located in Kashmir, Kanauj, and across Bengal and Bihar. By examining important epigraphic and literary sources pertaining to these polities in as comprehensive a manner as possible, it shows that gender is a cardinal angle from which to view this period

and, additionally, that the same set of sources can yield differing interpretations. It also highlights the indifference of most secondary sources towards gender and related issues. The book, therefore, strives to address a lacuna in the historical reconstruction of the society and polity of this time-span. Although early medieval Kashmir, Kanauj and Bengal-Bihar are linked by their status as important regional powers in this period and by their close political interactions, the book shows that the role and status of women differed considerably according to their regional contexts. The picture, therefore, is not a unified one, thereby stressing the fact that sweeping statements on women cannot be made to apply to early medieval north India as a whole as has hitherto been the trend. The problems and possibilities involved in a gender analysis of this sort that examines the role and presence of women vis-e-vis men is highlighted, in the process. Areas with the potential for future investigation are also indicated. The pivotal importance of gender in any historical reconstruction of the early medieval period in north India is thereby underscored.⁵

The book aims to bring "a gendered perspective" to the social and political history of North India in the early medieval period, "not merely to locate important women figures in Indian history but to acknowledge the agency of women in any context."⁶

Rangachari seeks to challenge "the apparent irrelevance of women to the political and social order" of medieval times.⁷

Another important work on "Devdasis in South India a Journey from Sacred to a Profane Spaces" by Rekha Pande S. Jeevanandam traces the gradual transition of the devadasi system from the early medieval to the modern society from sacred to profane spaces. In early medieval period these were women with a lot of wealth and standing dedicated to temples. The intervention of the colonial power introduced new economic patterns that influenced new kinds of social structure. The nation building process of the 19 century C.E. was largely constructed on female sexuality that brought concepts such as 'social purity', 'good women', and 'motherhood' to the forefront. This further weakened the social acceptance of the devadasi women. In the early 20 century C.E., devadasi

lost both their social and economic base and became common prostitutes and eventually the devadasi institution faded away. This study uses qualitative methods, especially the methodologies of History and Gender Studies. Besides archival research, this research also carried out unstructured interviews with the last surviving devadasis. This book would be a very valuable resource for students and researchers of History, Women's history, Women's studies and Religion.⁸

Shalini Bharti's work on "Women Attire in Miniature Painting: With Special Reference of Rajasthan deals with the gradual development of Rajasthani Miniatures and dress trends of women in Rajasthani Painting."⁹

Another interesting article on "Rebels Conformists? Women Saints in Medieval South India" by Vijaya Ramaswamy brings to light on the bhakti or devotional movements in medieval South India, which witnessed the emergence of Śūdra saints, anti-caste leaders, and women saints. Given a patriarchal social set-up which denied freedom to women, spirituality provided the only means of self-expression. Women saints ranged from the conformists who were either the wives, daughters, or sisters of male saints and the rebels who broke every social norm including the discarding of clothes. Some of the saints looked upon themselves as brides of the Lord. The compositions of rebel saints use mystic imagery and reflect their social alienation. It is interesting that not only the conformists but also the rebels have found acceptance in the modern Hindu pantheon.¹⁰

Leslie Orr work on "Donors, Devotees, and Daughters of God: Temple Women in Medieval Tamilnadu" observes that, the figure of the devadasi, or 'temple-woman', who entertained Hindu gods at festivals, hardly needs an introduction. Because of her supposed sexual availability, the devadasi became a potent and notorious symbol of the corruption of Hindu society. Together, colonial officials and Indian reformers legislated the devadasi out of existence and sanitized her dance traditions. More recently, scholars have reacted to this legacy by stressing the importance of the devadasi's ritual dance and sexuality in royal and temple ritual. What unites both of these interpretations is their assumption that the devadasi institution as 'discovered'

during the colonial period reflects an India-wide tradition that stretches back to the early reaches of Indian history.

This book, through an exhaustive and detailed study of medieval inscriptions, effectively challenges the image of the devadasi inherited from modern reform and recent scholarship. Orr maintains that inscriptions, unlike literary texts and normative representations, reveal the actuality of temple women's lives, as they record specific events involving real people. Orr has examined the entirety of the Chola (c. 950-1250) inscriptional corpus (and a good deal more). The choice justified by the evidence itself, since the Chola records give a more complete profile on 'temple women' than north Indian inscriptions, (though other south Indian languages have rich stores of evidence which remain to be tapped).

The book places the history of temple women within the context of temples emerging as the dominant centres of economic and political power as the Chola state declined. The 'gender' perspective claimed by the book seems to amount to little more than comparing demographic profiles of men and women in inscriptions, rather than seeing gender as a set of ideologies and practices that form subjectivities and agencies. Orr's indifference to the more 'symbolic' or 'discursive' elements of gender and dismissal of textual evidence has sadly handicapped a study which otherwise may have added something to what most accounts of women in medieval India are vitally missing. It is healthy to use inscriptions as a corrective to the idealizing and unrooted nature of textual analysis, but it is hardly adequate to ignore such sources altogether. What the inscriptions can tell us is in many ways as fragmentary as the literary sources. Even more fundamental is Orr's seeming understanding of 'agency' and disempowerment as mutually exclusive categories, in a sort of statistical zero-sum game. The overarching theoretical framework of the book, to demonstrate that women exercised agency, is pursued at the cost of theorizing their oppression. Agency is hardly so simple, as most forms of oppression sustain themselves by actually bestowing certain types of agency to their victims. This is precisely how ideas of servitude and bhakti in medieval India functioned at once to 'empower' subaltern

classes and compromise their autonomous agency — making bhakti perennially availability for both elitist and subaltern agendas. The complexity of the temple woman's position, one feels, is missing from this book.¹¹

The work on "Status of Women in India" Status of Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern, by Chandrakala. S. Halli, Dr. Shridhar. M. Mullal highlights that the most of the social reformers tried to uplift and restore the women's glory through preaching, press and platform. Among them a few notable reformists are Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswarachandra Vidya Sagar, Swami Dayanad, Kandukuri Veersalingam, Duragabai Deshmukh, Jyotiba Phule and Ramaswami. Raja Ram Mohan Roy succeeded in making Viceroy Lord William Bentick, to declare the sati system illegal. In the patriarchal family and society of our country for centuries, the law of man in regard to the role and behavior of women have been rigidly adhered. The state never set out to restructure fractious of authority within the family or other resources for many political and academic reasons the specificity of women's oppression and exploitation and role of the state remained substantially unexamined to bring an end to the oppression of women in our country, several reformers tried their best to influence the state.¹² Nevertheless, it was Dr B.R.Ambedkar who had been successful to influence the state to come the rescue of the women of our country. The purpose of the present chapter is to examine that Dr. B.R Ambedkar's efforts in understanding the complete reality about the status of women in India through a comprehensive Hindu code bill was on his pragmatic approach to recognize, restructure and reform the patriarchal family for repairing the dilapidated component of Indian society, namely, the women.

With the coming of Muslim rule, medieval India witnessed enhanced dependency of women on men. The Islamic custom of Purdah (veiling of women) forced the public world to be separated from the private world, with women confined to the latter. Following its subjugation by the Muslims, and fearing adverse outcomes for its women, a large part of the Hindu India accepted the practice of veiling. Through this privatization, Indian women were forced to trade their mobility for safety. Repeated invasions by the Muslims further pushed the Indian women towards inhuman "traditions" such as child

marriage, the dowry system, purdah and sati (the immolation of the widow on the dead husband's pyre). The challenge of Islamic aggression also made Hindu India defensive and introverted causing a desperate return to orthodox Hindu beliefs and practices and further constraining the status of Indian women. Thus, during the medieval period, Indian women lost their earlier status and were at the lowest ebb. However, women like Razia Begum rose to become a ruler, Chand Bibi, Tara Bai and Ahaliya Bai Holker, left their great imprints for their ruling capabilities. In Bhopal also, Begums or princesses ruled. With the advent of Islam, once again, women like Jahanara, Begum Mumtaz and Noor Jahan enjoyed respectable positions in the country. These remarkable ladies though strict Muslims, publicly administered justice with their faces covered by veils or burkas.

Menon A.S interesting work on "The role of women in Kerala: a historical perspective, in: Women in development: perspectives from selected states of India," focuses on the role of women historically in Kerala state, India. Detailed histories of Kerala first appeared during the Sangam period. A matrilineal culture was evident among early Chera rulers and was established in the late 12th century. Women held relatively high status during the Sangam period. The professional courtesan class, and later Devadasis, emerged as an influence on society. Devadasis, or temple dancing girls, gained and then lost respect during the post-Cheras period. Namboorthiri Brahmins, as the landed leisure class, and local feudal chieftains were influential. Devadasis amassed wealth and sociopolitical influence and neglected the worship of gods. During the Medieval period, only Namboorthiri women observed purdah. There were some notable female rulers. During the female rule of Umayamma Rani, during 1677-86, the southern part of the kingdom was invaded by a Muslim from Tamil, who was routed. Social reforms appeared after this event. The royal house of Travancore was dominated by male rulers who were noteworthy for liberal and progressive administrative and social measures. The movement for social change was given impetus by the last Travancore ruler, who was a woman.

She gave women the right to inheritance and held an All-Women's Conference in 1935, which legitimized the women's movement. Early social reform movements began in the mid-19th century. During the post-Freedom Struggles of Gandhi, women became involved in politics and administration in Kerala. Women have had exclusive festivals and roles in festivals for centuries. Several women were recognized outside the state as social reformers.¹³

Dr B Lavanya work on "History, Miniature art, and Women: Medieval Deccan 15th-17th century A.D" Offers a historical, chronological, thematic and critical evaluation of women in the region. This work features miniature paintings that present a kaleidoscopic picture of women.¹⁴

Another enlightening work on "Female Ascetics in Hinduism" by Lynn Teskey Denton, provides a vivid account of the lives of women renouncers—women who renounce the world to live ascetic spiritual lives—in India. The author approaches the study of female asceticism by focusing on features of two dharmas, two religiously defined ways of life: that of woman-as-householder and that of the ascetic, who, for various reasons, falls outside the realm of house holdership.¹⁵ The result of fieldwork conducted in Varanasi (Benares), the book explores renouncers' social and personal backgrounds, their institutions, and their ways of life. Offering a first-hand look at and an insightful analysis of this little-known world, this highly readable book will be indispensable to those interested in female asceticism in the Hindu tradition and women's spiritual lives around the world.

The work on "Women in Indian Religions by Arvind Sharma", deals with the position of women in various religions throughout India like in Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Bahai and tribal religions.¹⁶

There are many studies which have contributed to the general understanding of women in history. There is a need to evaluate and encourage the uses of new sources and hypothesis. The purpose of this presentation is to flag off the new trends and stimulate discussions.

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THE PRACTICE OF CONSECRATION AND SACRIFICES IN VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Munireddy

INTRODUCTION

In ancient and medieval era at the time of constructing tanks, ponds and swimming pools there was a tradition to sacrifice the life a pregnant women, children and animals. It was accepted by the society in those days. During the period 1336 to 1565 AD, also we can come across such tradition of human sacrifice.

Religion is so harmoniously and intricately webbed into the life of the Hindus that no activity of them can easily be separated from their injunctions. The life of a Hindu is closely associated with his religion, its tenants, ideal and sanctions. Accordingly enterprises even with regard to the mundane ones like the construction of irrigation work and other related ones could not be disassociated from the sanctions of religion or dharma. So, elaborate, sometimes simple, religious ceremonies and procedures came to be prescribed in ancient scriptures which were invariably observed in all the activities including the construction of tanks, well, amicus, canals etc. But often there were variation in details of performances, but of local

nature.

'Earliest accounts of the procedure of dedication to a well or tank, in literature are found in Sankhyayana's Grihyasutra.... During the whole ceremony, Varuna is invoked in several verses from the rigveda. At the same time other gods are also propitiated. Agni-purna [ch.64] states that varuna is closely associated with the water [tank, pond, well]... it prescribed the immersion of the image of varuna in the well or the pool, or tank since it consecrates the water-monument Performing All that, it was believed, would bring more religious merit than by the performing of the **aswamedha** sacrifice since water was of vital necessity to life, growth and fertility¹.

Though not so elaborately but definitely some kind of religious ceremonies were performed invariably during the Vijayanagara period, in all instances that pertained to the construction of irrigation works, as testified by the tradition and practice continuously followed even now, in this region. Yet all those activities did not find mention in the contemporary

epigraphically records. At the same time auspicious moments, as prescribed in the scriptures, were selected at the time of commencement of the undertaking or consecration of such works after completion. Even for the conducting of the rituals also, auspicious timings were observed. Those practices too must have been followed necessarily and on all such occasions as testified again by the continued tradition²

Such beliefs had the endorsements even in ancient scriptures of the land. 'In Regveda there is a legend of a human sacrifice to Varuna Yajurveda refers to human sacrifices being offered in order to strengthen such vulnerable points as fortifications, city-gates and dams...., For this, the victims had to be buried in the foundation of the new construction.....'³.

In the year 1369 A.D. when Bukkaraya I was the ruling monarch the famous tank of Porumamilla [Ananthasagara], in cuddapa district was constructed by the prince, Bhaskara Bhavadura, Udayagiri-governor. The relevant inscription mentions the auspicious time of its construction as Saka year. Most likely, the auspicious time recorded must be referring to the completion and consecration or commissioning the tank to the use of the villagers.

It may be recalled here that the tradition with the Hindus is to perform ritual practices at every stage which included, in the case of the irrigation works, the ones at the time of the commencement of the first digging, laying the first stone for building the embankment-wall, fixing the first stone of the sluice, on seeing the first inflow of water, on completing the whole scheme and so on. Since the above inscribed record furnishes so many other details including the land-grants etc ⁴. Another inscription of the year 1394 from Tumkur district, gives some details on the same point. It was issued during the reign of the king Harihara II of Vijayanagara ⁵.

The Hindus entertained certain beliefs and practised sacrificing animals in the course of religious ceremonies. That was to pacify the evil spirits. That was particularly so in the case of the irrigation works with which the evil spirits were believed to be associated and dwelling in them. Such animal sacrifices were resorted to with the conviction that the bad effects caused by the evil

spirits would be warded off or mitigated on being appeased with the sacrifices etc. Whenever a tank or pond was not able to retain water or could not get filled up to the marked capacity, it was believed that it was the work of some evil spirit associated with the irrigation work. Under such circumstances, the people resorted to make sacrifices of animals and at times even of human beings including young children⁶.

Those beliefs were upheld in the subsequent vernacular literature as well as in folk literature and they are numerous. As detailed in one of the Kannada folk songs, that one Mallanagouda of Kallanakeri village constructed a tank. But the bund could not withstand the force and the thrust of the water as a result of which it got breached. Even repeated attempts to rectify the breaches were not successful and it got breached every time.

Thereupon an astrologer was consulted who recommended human sacrifice to overcome the problem. But no person was prepared for the sacrifice. At last, taking into consideration the general welfare that was involved in it, one young lady named **Bhagirathi**, the youngest daughter-in-law of the village headman, volunteered to sacrifice her life and she was sacrificed too. And thereafter, as was the practice, a small shrine in memory of that lady might have been built at a suitable place on the tank-bund or nearby and installed within a sculptural representation of that lady, commemorating the sacrifice of life made by that young lady for the welfare of the villagers etc ⁷.

There were instances of animal sacrifices too, for similar purposes, particularly of sheep, lambs, cocks or he-buffaloes. Till recently such sacrifices were of common practice when the tanks became full and there was overflowing above the surplus weir. In such cases, it was considered as one of the thanks-giving and adoration, to the spirit of the tank or the god/goddess. One such instance is as reported by an Englishman. According to that one chikka Odeya, minister of the king Bukkaraya of Vijayanagara built a tank in the year 1364 A.D. and the life of a girl had to be sacrificed at the time of erecting the embankment of that tank ⁸.

Within the citadel part of the Vijayanagara ruins, there is a big tank, now known as 'Public Bath'. ' In the bed of that tank, at one place, a

chamber beneath it in which were some bones and a well preserved skull were found... it apparently belonged to a man of short stature.. it might be the skull of a person who was sacrificed in connection with the building of the tank ... the remains of a solitary individual ...' as reported by Alexander Rea in 1904-05⁹.

The tank now known as 'Rayara kere' seen on the outskirts of Hospet, which place was once part of the metropolitan city of Vijayanagara, has already been referred to above. Paes the Portuguese chronicler who visited the Vijayanagara city between 1520 and 1522 A.D. has gone on record with interesting details regarding the construction of that big tank. The relevant recording states, the tank burst two or three times and the king asked the **brahmanas** to consult their idols as to the reason why it burst so often and the **Brahmanas** said that the idol was displeased and desired that they could make a sacrifice, and should give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at gate of the pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done...'

The tradition in respect of the tank of Penagalur, Cuddappa district, relates about the human sacrifices. According to that, the tank breached at several places, a year after its construction. The breaches were reported to have been closed successfully only after sacrificing seven daughters of its architect. An inscription of the year 1637 A.D. while listing the obligations of the shepherds to be carried out at the time of village festivals, mentions about the practice of sacrificing goats at the sluices of the village tank and so on.

In connection with the construction of a tank at Rayalacheruvu, built by the king krishnadevaraya, a folk story is current in that region. When the tank was first built by the king Krishnadevaraya, a folk story is current in that region. When the tank was first built, it leaked persistently and no remedy was effective. It was

revealed in a dream to the king himself, that only a human buried alive in the bund of the tank would be effective and stop the leaking. One of his daughters coming to know of that, offered herself voluntarily to be sacrificed for the welfare of the villagers. So, the daughter of the king was buried alive in the tank-bund, at the spot where it was leaking and so on ¹⁰.

Apart from the above said aspects in Karnataka state Kolar district's village by name Masti in that village the daughter-in-law of that village head [king] she sacrificed herself by jumping in to the tank for the sake of wellbeing of her village people. And also in a tank near Takel [Kolar district] village in the process of construction of the tank another two women sacrificed their lives for the sake of tank construction. The story was mentioned by Dr. K.Y. Narayanaswamy in his historical works¹¹. Those beliefs and practices were popular till recently. In another appalling incident of suspected 'human sacrifice', the body of a girl baby without ahead, presumed to be that of a one-year, was found floating in the NTR water reservoir near Kalvakuntla in Penumuru mandal of Chittoor district in A.P.¹².

Conclusion

As already stated, variant versions of such sacrifices made both of animals and humans, for the safety and effective functioning of the irrigation works were numerous found in folk traditions and folk literature. In those days self sacrifice for the sake of rivers and ponds are treated as religion and humanity. The social beliefs were not only practiced by men but also by women. It was so significant in respect of upliftment of the society. In spite of these Apart from King and Subordinator even the common man also expected the idea logy and social thinking. In today self full society leading life in a scientific way can never seen. Thus my intention is to tell human beings, being the members of the society is to inspire and develop the people to involve in social thinking for the purpose of betterment of the society.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF DHARMAPURI AND KRISHNAGIRI DISTRICTS AS FOUND IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

S. Nagaraj & L.Perumal

Introduction

Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri districts have some peculiar characters in Social structure. Being situated in the northern part of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh constitute its boundaries in North eastern and north western sides. The Mullai tract induces the settlement and migration of shepherd class societies. Thus Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri districts had witnessed the migration of Telugu and Kannata speaking peoples at later stage. Some ancient clans mentioned in Sangam literature, are found mentioned hero stone inscriptions. Most caste societies were mentioned in temple inscriptions. Here I haave made an attempted to reveal the social structure of Dharmapuri district as found in the inscriptions.

Ancient clan societies in Sangam Age

In Sangam Age Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri districts are parts of Thagadoor Nadu, ruled by the Adiyaman clan. Sangam literatures evidenced many clan societies lived in Thagadoor region. They were noted as "border side ancient tribal clans" The clans referred so were Thiraiyar, Adiyar, Kalvar, Mazhavar, Aruvalar, Oliyar, Vadukar, and Thondaiyar. Amongst, the Vadukars it was said that they are living in the place where the language is transforms. Profession of these clan societies were cattle rising, cultivating millet crops and domesticating, training, selling wild animals.¹

Adiyar the ruling clan of Thagadoor Nadu

Sangam literature recognized Adiyar clan was the ruling clan of Thagadoor Nadu till they received defeat in the hands of Chera king

Peruncheral Irumborai.² Thagadoor was the present Dharmapuri region.

In tradition they were called as Velirs; more over considered Chieftains, ruled small territories within the large kingdoms. Vels origin is described in a couple of verses by poet Kabilar in the Purananuru. The account makes it appear as if their origin of Hoysolas the progenitor of the clan springing from the sacrificial pit of a rishi and their being connected with a pursuing tiger which was smitten by the perused prince. Pulikadimal being one of the titles of the early Velirs – or even that the Velirs were the original Hoysalar.

Adiyaman Neduman Anji and his son Pokuttezhini were two illustrious from Adiyar clan and praised by poetess Avvai. She called Neduman Anji chief of Malavar.³

Communities in Sangam Age

Most authors believed that during Sangam age literature provide data regarding the caste system but they are not specific and clear caste system. Although there was a large measure of flexibility in the social structure of Sangam age, the basic beginnings of caste system are noticeable.

Vellalas

Tolkappiyam's identifications of the Vellala with Sutra have caused confusion. The identification of Velir with the Vellala is by no means clear. The attempts to connect Vellalars as pure Dravidians and has got connection with Velvi by M.Srinivasa Iyengar and several others view hold that the Vellala of Tamilagam were originally the Sudras of North who migrated

from the Gangetic valley to south and some others have postulated the view that the Velirs came from Indus valley region. The Identification of Velir with the Vellalar is by no means clear. Etymological attempts connect Vellalars with 'Velvi' seem unconvincing. Kanagasabhai's association of the name with 'Vellam' is more rational. The Vel Chieftain of the Sangam age were of the Velir group but were not Vellalas. For instance Ay Vels belonged to the shepherd class. On the whole it seems incorrect to identify the velirs with vellalas.⁴

The presence of Sangam age clan societies in hero stone inscriptions

In Thagadoor region the clan societies were existed till 10th Cen. CE.⁵ up to this period the herostone inscriptions of this area mostly records about 'Thorupusal' i.e., feud on cattle lifting and retrieving. Leaving an idea that during the Pallava regime and early Chola regime too the cattle rising was dominant profession of the clan societies settle in this area, which seems the continuance of Sangam age profession. Thus most inscriptions account on the cattle feud and people involved in cattle feuds. The inscriptions also reveal about the kinds of animals in the feuds such Annthoru, Pandrithoru, Marithoru, Erumaithoru⁶. The first three types were found in Chengam inscriptions.⁷

Collective message from herostone inscriptions reveals that the Sangam era clan societies continue their existence up to Pallava reign. They continued their cattle feuds.⁸ Some names of these clans were replicated in the hero stone inscriptions as found in Sangam literature, some of them were in corrupted in form. The names of Mazhavar, Vadugar, Kalvar, Paraiyar, and Banan are clearly spelt. Whereas clan names Aruvalars, Thoontaiyars, Adiyar were spelt corrupted. According to Dr. R. Poongundran, the clan names found in herostone inscriptions Bangalars and Pallis were not found in Sangam literature.⁹ Bangalars was mentioned in Silappathigam.¹⁰ According to him though Silappathigam written immediately after Sangam era, it's elaborate denotes about the Sangam era was understood. Pallava reign inscriptions speak on them in plenty. Likewise the name Vel continues its existence in the inscriptions. The Venadu, Velkalinadu, Velur, the names of nadu divisions and place name found

in inscriptions clearly explains that they are associated with Velirs.

Mazhavar

An inscription of Thagadoor region records about 'Mazhavur' It seems to be associated with Mazhavar, people mentioned plentifully in Sangam literature. Chera kings were called "Mazhavar Meimmarai"¹¹, which disclose that Mazhavars were security warriors. Both Adiyaman and Ori of Kollimalai were praised by the poets as "Mazhavar perumakan". Which mean to leaders of Mazhavar. In the beginning the Mazhavars engaged in the profession of guarding the 'kaval kadus'. The 'kaval kadu' denoted the forest peripheral area where the cattle were rested and cattlesheds. Malavers were described involved in both the Vetchi and Karanthai feuds.¹² Linguistically it is explained that 'Zha' in Mazhavar is transformed to 'Ra' which formed "Maravar". Thus the word Maravar is pseudonymous of Malavar is certain.¹³ Malavers were said wanderers, having a habit of not staying in one place. They lived in Thagadoor nadu as well as in Thondaimandalam employed in guarding the Kavarkadu and the Krumpus. Pallava king Simha Vishnu was praised for his won over Malavers.¹⁴ Though the record illustrated the name Malavar, this may be corrupted form of Mazhavar, However it must be noted here that nowhere in Sangam literature we could find any short of description about either Mazhavars let a pastoral life, or they had having any relationship with any pastoral communities.¹⁵ In course of time even though, Mazhavars appeared had became a separate clan; they must have separated from Kovalar clan to form new clan. They continue their association with the pastoral peoples, professionally engaged in protection of cattle and cattle related feuds.¹⁶

Artisan groups

The inscriptions that are recording on taxes mention two kinds of taxes imposed on the artisans. They are 'Pattadai'¹⁷ and 'Thattarpaattam'¹⁸. Among these the Thattarpaattam was a tax imposed on the Goldsmiths.¹⁹ According to Y. Subrayalu and Noburu Karashima the Pattadai was a tax imposed on artisan people, whom involved in various kinds of profession, or involved in different kinds of occupation²⁰. However

T.N.Subramaniyam claimed that it was a tax on use of threshing floor.²¹ It may be noted that the terms like Pattadai aayam and Pattadai nulaayam, associated with Pattadai were identified as the taxes imposed for tax on silk cloth and tax on silk thread respectively²². It clearly indicates that the word Pattadai means to industry; here it refers silk weaving industry.

Likewise the terminologies Pattadai Sitraayam,²³ Pattadai Sungam²⁴ and Pattadai thandal²⁵ were prefaced with Pattadai means to tax on a kind of industrial units. The pattadai sungam and pattadai thandal were according to Y.Subrayalu equal to pattadai vari means to tax on different kind industries carried by artisan people.²⁶ Hence, this views of definition by Y.Subrayalu and Noburu Karashima is acceptable. All theses indicate that various artesian groups had lived in Thagadoor nadu. However no proper names of industry, proper names of the communities or group of merchandize is mentioned.

Principal Profession of Ancient clans.

Cattle rising were principal profession of the ancient clans in Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri districts. The Mullai tract found elsewhere in this region advanced this profession. The modern caste societies developed in course of profession

and the development of agriculture. It was duly happened in medieval period particularly from the Imperial Chola reign. Trade routes in these regions induce the passage of business and artisan communities. Opportunities paved the way for their settlements.

Conclusion

Inscriptions in Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri districts may be grouped in two kinds. 1) Hero-stone inscriptions and 2) The temple and other source inscriptions. They show two different kinds of messages in revealing the social structure of this region. The hero stone inscriptions reveal the existence of ancient clan societies. Some of these societies existed from Sangam Age. The temple and other types of inscriptions mention the modern caste societies. The Mullai found elsewhere in these regions induce the settlement and migration of shepherd class societies. Most of these societies were settle before 10th Cen. CE. The modern caste societies developed in course of profession and the development of agriculture. It was duly happened in medieval period particularly from the Imperial Chola reign. Trade routes in these regions induce the passage of business and artisan communities. Opportunities paved the way for their settlements.

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HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF NON- BRAHMIN ZILLAH CONFERENCES OF 1917- A NON- BRAHMIN SOLIDARITY MOVE

P. Nagoorkani

The purpose of this paper is to trace the genesis of non-Brahmin movement which took its organizational shape through various Zillah conferences which were held at the different parts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency. The growth of the non- Brahmin awareness was the result of many factors like the spread of western education, the role of Christian missionaries, the domination of Brahmins in administrative and educational spheres and so on. Motivated by these developments, the non - Brahmin leaders seized every opportunity to promote the cause of welfare of the non -Brahmins.

The spirit of Swadeshi movement in Tamil region yielded wide spread consequences, which gave birth to emergence of many educational institutions which in turn encouraged the spread of Dravidian awareness.¹ Following this, in 1909 Minto-Moreley Reforms were introduced which gave special representation and communal electorates to the Muslims² The non- Brahmins considered the 1909 Act as an opportunity to give pressure to the government to grant more communal representation for them.³

In the same year an attempt was made by two Non-Brahmin lawyers- P. Subramanian and M. Purushotam Naidu to form an organization under the name of Madras Non- Brahmin Association.⁴ Later it was called the Madras Dravidian Association. The association included every caste and race in the Madras Presidency except the Brahmins.⁵ Subsequently the Madras United League changed its name into the Madras Dravidian Association.⁶

In 1915 the Non- Brahmins also published a book in Madras entitled "Non-Brahmins Letters" which contained twenty one letters. In July 1916 the Madras Dravidian association established a hostel for the non- Brahmins in Madras City. It gave accommodation to the college students who came from the various districts and rural areas without caste distinction. The hostel was called "Dravidian Home" which was nurtured and maintained by C. Natesa Mudaliar.⁷ In September 1916 Annie Besant formed the Home Rule League.⁸ Its birth

coincided with hectic activities connected with the Non- Brahmins Movement

The Non- Brahmins felt that the activities of the Home Rule Movement in the event of reforms would result in the ascendancy of Brahmins in the administration of the Madras Presidency. It made the Non- Brahmins leaders to feel that there was great need among them to unite and counter act Annie Besant's Home Rule Movement.¹⁰

Accordingly, some prominent Non-Brahmins leaders like, T.M.Nair, an eminent physician and P.Theagaraya Chetty and a group of about thirty Non- Brahmins gathered at a conference in Madras on 20th November 1916. They started a joint stock company under the name of South Indian People Association and the newspapers, the *Justice*, the *Dravidian* and *Andhra Prakasika* in English, Tamil, And Telugu respectively, to propagate the creed of the Association.¹¹ The men who came forward to join the S.I.A. were drawn from the most diverse grounds. A group of lawyers and bureaucrats and a host of journalists attracted to the S.P.L.A.'s patronage potential. The South Indian People Association was named as the South Indian Liberal Federation. In due course, it came to popularly known as Justice Party after the name of its English daily, *Justice*.¹² Soon after the formation of Justice Party, its urgent need became propagating its ideals among the people. At the beginning of propaganda work, they took to newspapers by writing articles and issuing statements.¹³

The Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu announced on 20th August 1917 that the policy of government was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self governing institutions, with the view to the progressive realization of representative government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.¹⁴ The announcement was followed by a series of "Non-Brahmins Conferences" in different parts of the Madras Province to urge moderation in reform so as to secure self government and equal opportunities

for all groups in the Non- Brahmins community.¹⁵ On the same day when Montagu announced the reform scheme in London, the Non- Brahmins held the first conference in Tamil region.¹⁶ Since that time onwards the Non - Brahmins began to gather mass support and infused awareness among themselves by sponsoring Zillah conferences in which the local Non- Brahmins' leaders also took an active part in shaping the Dravidian consciousness.¹⁷

In their effort, they first convened a Non - Brahmins zillah conference at Coimbatore on 20th August 1917. Presided by the Raja of Panagal, M.R.Kalinga Rayar delivered the welcome address. In this presidential address, the Raja of Panagal attacked the Brahmin domination and condemned the Brahmins for enslaving the rest of the mass by means of education and teaching of religious tenets. He concluded that if the Non-Brahmins were given opportunities to study Sanskrit and to teach the Vedas, they also could come up as well citizens. But the Brahmins were preventing the Non-Brahmins in doing so. He also replied to the various questions raised by the Brahmins and furnished the reasons for the anti- Home Rule movement. He remarked: "We want home rule. We want it by gradual means". He added, all the groups of society should be given equal opportunities and equal status and then only they could attain progress. On the second day of the conference eleven resolutions on various issues were passed. Measures were insisted on free and compulsory education, communal representation, gradual reforms and moderation in demands.¹⁸ T.M. Nair, speaking at the conference said that the sentiment of the Non-Brahmins had been existing in the country "for generation" and that it was openly expressed then because "non - Brahmins were looking to the British Government for protection to hold scale evenly and to mete out justice, but when they saw a movement progressive whose object was to undermine British influence and power in this country, they thought it their duty to rally round the British Government and to support them."¹⁹ The *Madras Mail* also notified that "the sentiment underlying the movement is the deep - rooted fear and distress, the Non- Brahmins community have of Brahmins domination This understanding sentiment has been in existence for ages..."²⁰

The second zillah conference was held at Bikkavel in the Godavari Zillah presided by Chellapillai Kumararaja on 27th and 28th October 1917. M.Venkataratinam Naidu gave welcome address. Since this was the first Non-Brahmins conference held in the Godavari Zillah less than 2,000 members represented. P. Ramarayaingar and A.P. Patro also attended. The president, in his address, vividly described the history of the origin of Non- Brahmins movement.

The third Zillah conference began on 3rd November 1917 and went on for two days at Pulivendala of Cuddappah Zillah in the Rayalaseema region. K. Subba Reddiar convened the conference. P.Duraisamy Naidu gave welcome address. This conference gave a clear outline of the Brahmanical outrages in various fields against the Non-Brahmins. T.M. Nair and P.Theagaraya Chetty attended the conference from Madras.

The fourth Zillah conference was held at Bezwada on 11th and 12th November 1917 with P. Theagaraya Cherty as the president of the conference and K.V. Reddy Naidu as the president of reception committee. Volunteers came from six Telugu zillahs. K.V.Reddy Naidu in his welcome address attacked the attitude of the Brahmins. P. Theagaraya Cherty in his presidential address underscored some reference from the past. He explained the reasons for the success of Alexander's invasion into India and pointed out the disunity of Indians as one of the factors. He further said that because of the *Ashwamedha Yaga*, the Brahmins divided the country during the time of King Porus and consequently Chenghiz Khan captured India easily because of the then prevailing internal disputes. Only during the British rule, the condition of change and peace prevailed, he argued. Besides he attacked Annie Besant in strong words. He remarked that she was the one who once argued that "India is a land of various religions and castes and it is the country which is not applicable for self rule or home Rule and now she is claiming home rule for the Indians". Above all, he explained how the Brahmins dominated the others through English education which was introduced by Macaulay. He also noted that since time immemorial the custom of the Brahmins was riding on the shoulders of others for their livelihood. Such a

physical workless group's duty was to learn education, and so they easily got education and came to the key position in the social ladder. He further insisted the Government to provide the same opportunities to the Non- Brahmins.

The fifth Non- Brahmin conference was held on the southern most part of India at Tirunelveli under the Presidentship of P.Theagaraya Cherty on 31 December 1917. Over one thousand members and one thousand volunteers attended the conference. The meeting was attended by various leaders and Zamindars of the Tirunelveli region. Among the dignitaries were Medai-Talavoy Tirumalaiappa Mudali and the Zamindars of Singampatti, Illavarsanandel and Kuruvikulam. This conference was the first of its kind in the Tirunelveli Zillah which is known for its bravery and patriotism in the past.

The sixth Zillah conference for non-Brahmins commenced at Salem on 9th December 1917. K.S. Durairaj presided over the function. He explained the benefits of the British rule and the activities of the members of the Congress and home rule movement to prevent such measures and their exploitation of the Non-Brahmins.²¹

In the zillah conferences, the Non-Brahmins leaders stressed the necessity of communal representation and communal electorates for the non - Brahmins. They constantly represented the issues to the British administrators and wanted for favor. On 24th December 1917 Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India and Montagu, the Secretary of State for

India arrived at Madras for suggesting constitutional reforms for India which included communal electorates.²² Various representatives called on and submitted their memorandums to them. Among all the petitions, the representation of the South India Liberal Federation was given due importance. Its recommendation was read by P.Theagaraya Chetty. It demanded progressive political development as suggested in the various Zillah conferences and insisted communal electorates and franchise on communal basis.²³

As a culmination of zillah conferences, the South Indian Non-Brahmins Confederation was held in Madras City on 28th and 29th December 1917 which symbolized the growing political awareness among the non-Brahmins. The meeting was held at Wellington Theatre at Mount Road, Madras, in which over 1,500 delegates participated. They discussed matters related to communal representation and communal appointment in the railways service, education, local self Government and handicrafts.²⁵ Thus the Zillah conferences of the non-Brahmins awakened the masses and served as a catalyst in focusing the demands of the non-Brahmins which finally paved the way for the ascendancy of Non-Brahmins in power in the erstwhile Madras Presidency. The historically significant Non-Brahmin Zillah Conferences laid the foundation for the Non-Brahmin Movement and Dravidian Movement in Tamil region. These conferences created political consciousness among the people of South India.

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FOLK DIVINITIES OF THE MUKKULATTOR IN THE MADURAI CIRCLE

S. Palanikumar & P. Balagurusamy

The *mukkulattor* are a union of three different communities living in Tamilnadu. They consist of three inter-related castes called *maravan* (warrior and mercenary), *kallan* (robber turned agriculturist) and *akamutaiyan* (literally homebound, may be in service of the other two)¹. Louis Dumont has written about the folk religion and religious gatherings², or communal festivals but a full picture of the religion of these people is an open field for investigation.

Apart from being known as *mukkulattor*, the *kallars* are brought under two other groups known as *icanāttu-kallar* (Thanjaurzone³) and *piramalai-kallar* (Madurai zone). The *icanāttu-kallar* are further divided into Gardharvakottai-kallar⁴, Nāttā-kallar, Thanjai-kallar and Icanattu-kallar. They take several family titles such as *kādarayar*, *pallavarayar* and *seturayar*⁵.

The religion of the *kallars* in general was mostly centered on the worship of the chief folk god, called Karuppu or Karuppanacāmi (the Black)⁶. They have their own *kuladevatas* round which the rituals of the clan are centered. The names of these gods and goddesses are interesting; e.g. *ViraPerumāl* (Heroic Lord), *Ayyanar* (Respectable Lord), *MaturaiViran* (Hero of Madurai), *CappaniKaruppu* (the lame Black), *CankiliKaruppu* (the Black tied with chains)⁷ and so on. The present article deals with a clan and folk god called *MaturaiViran*. During the period of *TirumalaiNāyaka* (1623-59 CE), the *Madurai* city and its neighborhood was molested by a band of the *Alakarmalai-kallans*⁸. In order to nab these robbers, *Tirumalai Nāyaka* sought the help of the *Nāyaka* chief posted at *Tirucirappalli*. He sent a warrior called *Viran*.

At this junction it may be imperative to say something about the lineage of *Viran*. He was a deserted child or orphan found by a cobbler-

couple in the forest⁹. The couple who adopted the child belonged to the *Tottiyam-pālaiyam*¹⁰ that lies on the way from *Tiruccirāppalli* to *Nāmakkal*. When the young one grew to manhood, he was handsome that could steal the heart of the princess of the *pālaiyam*, *Bommi* (means a "doll" in Telugu). When *Bommi* reached puberty she was kept in a woman's apartment (*kanni-mādam*) where only women were permitted. The only male was the watch and ward, the guard who belonged to the *pancama* caste (e.g. cobbler and drummer). *Viran* was a guard with whom *Bommi* fell in love. It was a social revolution of these times in the later half of the 18th century for a woman of the royal family to be in love with a man of the untouchable caste. The *pālaiyakkāran* chief did not approve the liaison. Therefore, the lovers had no option but to run away. *Viran* kidnapped *Bommi* and sought refuge with the *Nāyaka*. Because he was a valiant warrior, the *Nāyaka* appointed him on a select body of the *Madurai* army to trap the *Alakarmalai-kallans*.

These robber gangs were several in number and hiding in the caverns of the *Alakarmalai* hills. He was able to do his job successfully. In the meanwhile, *Viran* happened to meet a dancing girl in the court of *Tirumalai Nāyaka*. Her name was *Vellaiyammāl*. The name would reveal her identity which is popular with the *kallar* clans in *Madurai*. *Viran* and *Vallaiyammāl* fell in love. Thus, he came to take a second wife from another community, i.e. *kallar*. *Viran* even if brought up by a cobbler family was presumably *Nāyaka*.

TirumalaiNāyaka was already in love with the dancing girl. He did not like *Vellaiyammāl* loving *Viran*. The *Nāyaka* king under some pretext had to arrest *Viran* and bring him under trial. The reason was that he could not complete

the job of nabbing the *kallans* within the stipulated time. Viran was subjected the ordeal by removing the alternative hand and leg, known in Tamil as *mārukāl-mārukai-vānkutal*. Bommi and Vellaiyammal went to the mortuary and found Viran dead due to heavy bleeding. They also fell dead or committed *sati*, a custom that was in vogue in the 18th century¹¹.

Later, Tirumalai Nāyaka realized his folly but it was too late. Therefore, he ordered state honours be accorded to the dead Viran "Hero". He became the *kuladevata* of certain castes in Tamilnadu, including a group of the *icanāttu-kallans*.

Small village temples may be found for Viran all over the southern districts¹². There is small village called Devadānappatti on the way to Vattalakkuntu from Periyakulam. This village is mostly occupied by the scheduled castes and tribes. A temple for Maturai Viran is located on the old trunk road (not the present bypass). It is a small chamber about 15 X 15 meters. It houses the images of Maturai Viran and his two consorts Bommi, the Telugu and Vellaiyammal, the Tamil. This is a case of linguistic unity of the 18th century. The story also proves a man of the high

caste (Viran-nāyaka Vellaiyammalanulomaja in *dharmasatra* terms) or woman of the high caste getting married to high or low caste (Bommi + Viran-mādiyavādupratilomaja) husbands. Tirumalai Nāyaka approved the marriage of Viran with Bommi, who must be considered a social reformist of the 18th century. But personal prejudice would find him a despot in case of Viran-Vellaiyammal.

In course of time, the *maravas* accepted Maturai Viran as their *kuladevata* who brought the *kallans* under trial. The inner fact may be that the *maravas* and *kallas* even if they belong to same communal group under the *mukkulattor*, the former considered the latter lower in social cadre. The *piramalai-kallans* accepted Virabharā¹³ as their *kuladevata*, who to begin with was the warrior-God of the Nāyakas¹⁴. Similarly the Gavara-nāyakas are considered superior to other *nāyakas*, the *kampalattāretalii*. In spite of all the social reformation that had gone under Tirumalai Nāyaka still some people talk of high and low caste leading to the killing of young couples on caste grounds. Even if 100 EVR Periyārs are born there is no social redemption for India, north or south.

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1. For an authentic account of these communities see Louis Dumont, *A South Indian Subcaste. Social Organization and Religion of the Piramalai Kallar*. Oxford University Press: Delhi 1986. This book was written by a French scholar in the early 20th century, which needs to be revised in the light of the recent developments who seeking shelter under the banner of DMK or AIADMK are the rulers of the land. Dumont speaks of *kanci* (gruel) that they used to eat in those times who found today lodged in 5-Star hotels. A promiscuous community, it could adapt itself to the changing needs both social and financial status of the social organization.
2. The Munucāmi festival of Karumattur is very famous which members of the *piramalai* group celebrate with all grandness. Members of the community make it a point to attend this festival in their original home even if employed abroad.
3. N. Sasikala, a close associate of J. Jeyalitha till the latter's death belongs to this community.
4. Gandharvakottai is a village midway from Thanjavur to Pudukkottai.
5. *Rāyar* derived from *rāya* (e.g. Krishnadeva-rāya) is the Telugu-Kannada form of *rāja* who were feudatories under the major ruling powers of the land such as the Vijayanagara-Nāyakas. See R.K.K. Rajarajan, *Art of the Vijayagara-Nāyakas...* (Delhi 2006), Vol. I, chap I.
6. Raju Kalidos is of the opinion Māl/Viṣṇu (the Black, *karuppu* "black") is rooted in Karuppu. Vide, paper presented in the International Congress of the Historians of Asia, Indonesia 2012; published in R.K.K. Rajarajan et al., *Samāpti-Suprabhātam: Reflections on South Indian Bhakti Tradition in Literature & Art* (Delhi 2017), pp. 285-305.
7. The images of these folk goddesses are housed in various parts of the temple, including the temple cars. See R.K. Parthiban, "Nāyaka *Chefs-d'œuvre*: Structure and Iconography of the Śrīvilliputtūr *Tæp*". *Acta Orientalia* (Oslo), Vol. 77 (2016), pp. 145-91, fig[s]. 17 [1-22].
8. Alakarmalai is a famous Vaishnava-*divyadesa*, called Māriruncolai celebrated in the Tamil *bhakti* hymns of the Alvars, e.g. Periyalvar, Antal, Tirumankai and Nammalvar. The presiding God of this temple is known as Saundararaja (king of loveliness), folk Kallalakar (Alakar "the beauty" of the *kallans*)
9. Myth adds the child was an issue of a local king who was left in the jungle because he was born with chains (called *toppul-koti*) all over the body. During delivery if a baby is found with *koti-cutti* (i.e. the intestine of the mother wound all over the body), it was considered to cast evils on the family or clan and so the child was thrown away. The child may be short-lived or the family suffers due to death of elders.
10. It was a feudal fiefdom the Nāyakas. The Telugu speaking *pālaiyakkārar* were mostly of the *Gavara*, otherwise known as *Balija* derived from *bali* "sacrifice to the gods" or *mahā-Bali*, the *asura*-[Drāviḍa]-king who

- offered three strides of land to [Vedic]-Trivikrama (e.g. Vaṭakarai-Periyakulamjāmindar) and *Kampalattār* (e.g. Ettayapuram, and ViraPāndyaKattabomman of PāncālanKuricci, his fort reduced to dust in 1799). Vide, K. Rajayyan, *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamilnadu*, Madras 1974; S. Kadirvelu, *The History of Maravas* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Madras), Madras 1970.
11. There is no classical literature on MaturaiViran. Popular story telling books may be procured that tell the story of *MaturaiViran-katai*. This story was recast in the celluloid medium in a film acted by M.G. Ramacandran (MGR, later Chief Minister of Tamilnadu), Bhanumati and Padmini as MaturaiViran, Bommi and Vellaiyammāl in the early 1960s.
 12. Henry Whitehead, *Village Gods and Goddesses of South India*. Madras 1922.
 13. Temples of this caste group includes images of Virabhadra in their pantheon of gods. Vide, M. Loshita, "Folk Gods and Goddesses of Piṅamalai-Kaḷḷar", *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 105: 4 (2014), pp. 62-72.
 14. The Virabhadra temple in Keladi and Aghoresvara in Ikkeri, and the Muduviranna and Virabhadra temple on the hill-top of the Mātanga-*parvata* in Hampi/Vijayanagar are good examples in Karnataka. Virabhadra is the *kuladevata* of caste-Nāyakas in southern Tamilnadu: e.g. the case study of Bodināyakkānpati in Jeyapriya-Rajarajan, *Terrific Manifestations of Siva: Virabhadra* (Delhi 2009), pp. 54-57, 60, 97-99.

LOST AND FOUND : STRAIGHT FROM THE CAIRO GENIZA

Parul Srivastava

The Red Sea network offered linkages with the Mediterranean maritime trade through Egypt, which acted as a hinge between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Aden looms large not only in the Arabic and Persian texts, but in the documentary Genizah too.¹ In the *Tarikh al Mustabsir* of Ibn al-Mujawir (d. c. 1291) there is a whole description of the working on the port of Aden. The immense volume of the trade at Aden and the enormity of the customs it generated is quite evident from the fact that, in 1411, the port dues of Aden stood at 1,470,000 dinars, as per the calculations of the Sergeant.² Indian merchants (*baniyans* in arabic texts) regularly frequented this-port becomes evident from the mention of a specific quarter in Aden for Indian merchants.

Three ports in the southern part of *Konkan* rose to some prominence in the early centuries of the second millennium-*Balipattana* (modern *Kharepatan*), *Chandrapura* (Sindabur in arabic texts) and *Gopakapattana* (Old goa)

These ports were actively involved in an exchange of commodities. Among spices, the pepper of *Malabar* was highly prized. Pepper was a forestproduct procured in Kerala, but it went on to be a luxury item as it reached the markets of the Red Sea and then the Mediterranean, fetching very high prices and profits. The most systematic and elaborate instructions for safe sailings across the Indian Ocean by following the more or less predictable alterations of the monsoon wind system are available in the celebrated manual of shipping and navigation by *ibn Majid* who himself was a great navigator.³

The subcontinent's central position in the Indian Ocean and its two long coastlines jutting out far into the Indian Ocean facilitated regular movements of men, merchandise, ships and ideas from and to India over centuries. Indian coastline, dotted with numerous ports and harbours, was ideally located as stopovers for ships sailing across the Indian Ocean. Indian harbours known for their huge export and import trade, must have gained major economic mileage under such circumstance wherein round trips in an year were not possible due to the monsoons.⁴

A different type of merchant who appears in the commercial scenario of India, in around AD 1000 referred to as the *nauvittaka* in Indian sources and as *nakhuda/nakhoda* in Arabic and Persian accounts and the business letters of medieval Jewish traders. *Nauvittaka* was the one whose wealth (*vitta*) lies in his (possessing) ships or *nau* and the word *npkhuda/ nawakhidh* denotes the lord (*khuda*) of the ship/vessel (*nau*).⁵ However both these terms mean ship owing merchants who were present on the western coasts of India (*lathiawad-Gujarat* coast, *Malabar* coast and *Konkan* coast).

Now I'll throw some light on the term 'Geniza' and what does it mean. The word *genizah* comes from the Hebrew tri-consonantal root, *g-n-z*, which means "hiding", and originally meant "to hide" or "to put away". Later, it became a noun for a place where one puts things, and is perhaps best translated as "archive". It is a storage area selected for the temporary storage of worn-out Hebrew-language books and papers on religious topic. The Geniza was not an

archive, but it was a kind of 'waste paper basket', into which discarded writings were thrown once they had been torn apart so that all its contents were topsy-turvy.⁶ Of a letter sent from Aden, southern Arabia, to India, three fragments have been preserved in three different collections, and there are many more cases of documents pieced together from fragments preserved in two or three separate collections of manuscripts.⁷ The Cairo Genizah, alternatively spelled Geniza, is a collection of some 300,000 Jewish manuscript fragments that were found in the *Geniza* or store room in Fustat or Old Cairo, Egypt. These manuscripts outline a 1,000-year continuum (870 CE to 19th century) of Jewish Middle-Eastern and North African history and comprise the largest and most diverse collection of medieval manuscripts in the world. The Genizah texts are written in various languages, especially Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic mainly on paper, but also on papyrus and cloth. The Genizah gives a detailed picture of the economic and cultural life of the North African and Eastern Mediterranean regions, especially during the 10th to 13th centuries. It is now dispersed among a number of libraries, all over the world. The Cairo Genizah documents include both religious and secular writings, composed from about 870 AD to as late as 1880.⁸

Ages in general and within the Islamic world in particular. There was a rise of an affluent merchant class and it created close and productive links between the countries of Islam and the Far East on the one hand and Europe on the other. These documents had been originally preserved in the Cairo Geniza. A considerable part of the material preserved represents the remnants of archives of families or individual merchants. Once the pieces that originally had emanated from one and the same source have been reunited, many puzzles are resolved and rational stories can be reconstructed. The term India trade is taken here in the widest sense of the word, comprising of commercial activities and travel stretching from the ports of the Red Sea in the West to the shores of Sumatra, Indonesia, in the East. Most of the India traders, whose papers were preserved in the Geniza, were usually active along the western coast of India. Abraham Ben Yijii, who spent most of his seventeen years in the East on the Malabar Coast of Southwest India, is spoken to have been in bilad al-Hind or in al-Hind. The pivotal role of

Yemen, especially Aden, in the India trade is discussed repeatedly by Goitein. Al-Hind has usually been translated 'India'.¹²

Due to the problems of communication, letters were usually sent in duplicate or even triplicate in two or three different ships, and many statements referring to this custom are found in the Geniza papers. Copies of the same letter are often written in different hands, which show that a larger firm employed two or more clerks. The original, written by the head of the firm, would also be sent along. Business letters opened with polite and often very dignified phrases. On reading the introduction one can immediately recognize the respective social position of the two correspondents, as well as the state of business between them. The letters bore the sender's name on the left side of the address. The identity of the sender was maybe, recognized by his handwriting or that of his clerk. The first part of the main body of a letter acknowledges the arrival of the goods, letters or messengers sent by the addressee or announces their loss through shipwreck or attack by pirates. The letter then describes the actions taken with respect to the addressee's orders. In the second part, the writer would deal with his own shipments. Personal or communal affairs would also be referred to. Near the end, the presents accompanying the goods ordered would be enumerated, a section usually opening with the phrase: "I am enclosing also items of no value or significance whatsoever."¹³ In letters going between Aden and the Malabar Coast it is commonplace. Every letter concluded with greetings to the recipient's household (including his Indian business agent, who was legally his slave) and his friends.¹⁴

The second largest group of Geniza papers referring to the India trade is composed of documents of legal character. The Geniza records contain particularly rich information about the goods exchanged between the countries of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, their prices in the different cities in which they were traded, their modes of transport, customs duties and other expenses connected with them, and details about their relative importance.

Now I will be talking about Madmiin B. Hasan who was the sender of the 9 letters that I am dealing with. During the twelfth century, the city of Aden in Yemen was under the suzerainty

of the Fatimids, and later the Ayyubids of Egypt and formed a great emporium on the sea route to India. Already at the end of the eleventh century, a Jew acted as representative of the merchants in Aden. His name was Japheth, b. Bundar, the name being of Persian origin and, accordingly, his family is likely to have immigrated to Yemen from Persia. The representative of merchants represented foreign merchants in local lawsuits, supervised the sale and purchase of goods for overseas traders, took care of custom payments, stored the goods of clients in a large warehouse which also served as a clearing house for transactions and a post office, and functioned as a banker. Japheth's son Madmiin was the central figure in Yemenite Jewry during the florescence of the India trade. 15 Dozens of documents are connected with him, including letters written by him or his three clerks, letters addressed to him, court records and poems written in his honor. These texts are of the greatest value for the study of the socio-economic history of the India trade. Madmiin served as representative of merchants in Aden in the fourth and fifth decades of the twelfth century and was recognized as the official head of Yemenite Jewry⁶.

The other important player of this paper is Abraham Ben Yijii, who in this case, was the recipient of the 9 letters. The documents relevant to Abraham Ben Yijii and his family constitute perhaps the most important part of Goitein's book. Some eighty documents about Ben Yijii and his family have emerged from the Geniza, and the story of his life and his family makes an exciting tale. He was a Jew from al-Mahdiyya, Tunisia—a man of the world who traveled to Egypt, Aden and India, where he earned his living in an import-export business, as well as a bronze-ware factory that he owned.¹⁷ He participated in business partnerships on a tremendous economic scale with his Jewish colleagues in Aden, ventures that had interconnecting links with Jewish and non-Jewish merchants—Indian (non-Muslims), Muslims and Christians—from North Africa to India. At an early stage of his long stay in India he purchased a slave girl, whom he then manumitted.¹⁸ Ashu is not mentioned anywhere else in the entire body of Ben Yijii's documents although her children figure in it frequently. Ben Yijii's correspondents in Aden sent good wishes to their children but never mentioned her.

Ben Yijii had a household retainer—an Indian slave named Barna who helped him in the business.¹⁹ He was from Tulunad, India.²⁰ Slavery was quite normal in those days, and a slave could achieve a position of some respect in his master's house. Barna's position is evident from the regards sent him in letters addressed to Ben Yijii, in which the slave was even referred to as 'Sheikh Barna,' as if he were a distinguished merchant, or even 'brother Barna,' as if he were actually a member of the family.²¹ At the very beginning of his Indian career Ben Yijii apparently sent Barna to Aden as his personal representative in selling his merchandise there. Madmiin believed that Barna's irresponsible behavior—he seems to have been a chronic drunkard—was proof that Ben Yijii had misplaced his trust in the slave. Nevertheless, Barna remained in Ben Yijii's service for the length of his stay in India and even accompanied him back to Egypt.²² The Geniza documents provide no indication at all about how Bomma's path came to cross Ben Yijii's. From certain references in Ben Yijii's papers it seems likely that he took Bomma into his service as a business agent and helper soon after he had established himself as a trader in Mangalore.²³

As the three characters in the slave's name are B-M-A, Prof. Goitein suggests the name to be Barna, as derived from Brahma, the creator of the cosmos. Things do not get convincing for Ghosh unless Proi Vivek Rai of Mangalore University explains things to Ghosh. He tells that the correct name of the slave must have been Bomma. He was born in a matrilineal community, who worship spirit deities, '*Bhutas*.²⁴ Professor Rai explained that with the growth of Brahmanical influence, the Tulu deity *Berme* had slowly become assimilated to the Sanskrit deity *Brahma*.

In the second letter (Aden ca. 1133), the two ports on the western coast of India where *Ben Yijii* used to live, Mangalore and *Pandarina (Fardayana)* are repeatedly referred to. *Madmiin b. Hasan* again starts with the shipments he made to Abraham Ben Yijii. Sugar was delivered by Sheikh Abu Said in Mangalore. He sent red copper to *Fandarayana (Pandaraina)* in *Ramisht's* ship. Along with this he sent 100 Egyptian *Mithqals* and *Zabidi* Dinars in the ship al-Mubarak to Mangalore. Referring to a slight miscalculation, *Madmiin* says that; "my lord's

account is wrong...You only imagine it, I have the list". Further, he adds that no imports arrived from *Zabid* as everyone there was celebrating a holiday and they will sail only after it. *Zabid* is situated inland. Normally, the merchants of *Zabid* did business in Aden, before sailing to India. That year, because of the delay caused by Ramazaan, they sailed directly to India. Hence, goods manufactured in *Zabid* and ordered by Ben YijU, were not available in Aden that year. MadmUn incurred losses on ship which was in the business of pepper belonging to a merchant. He lost approximately 4000 dinars. He says "There has not occurred to anyone such a thing". Now we come to the last part of the letter wherein he mentions what all gifts he is sending to Abraham living in Mangalore. Along with Sheikh Abu Said b. Mahfuz, he sent half a basket of dates, rose water, 2 rubaiyyas of sugar and raisins and a rubaiyya of Soap. Interestingly, soap was an item of luxury which was not available in India. Good soap was precious because it was used for washing clothes, which could easily lose their colour if exposed to inferior cleaning agents. Soap was an important article of export from Tunisia to Egypt. The washing of the human body was done with {ushnan} soda ash.²⁶

In the third letter, MadmUn mentions the receipt of the letter and pepper as well as iron in the ship of *nakhuda Ramisht*. This is dated at ca. 1133-1140. He then lists the commodities that he is sending to Mangalore which included copper (packed in hides), copper bars, dates, mats(zodiac carpets), Abyssinian hide, *Maqta* cloth and two *niaari* kerchiefs and lead. Madmiin gives the entire calculation for their transaction in this letter and mentions that after these shipments, their accounts will be settled. Madniun cites that the iron which Bim Yijii sent to him through *Abu-1-Ghalib* has been received by him. Out of the 21 bahars that Ben Yijii sent, Madmiin got only 17. The Indian merchant informed him that the rest was in the highlands of India. He revealed to Ben Yijii that he had bought 3 bags of copper for him and that he had sent it in three different ships. He says that Abu Ghlaib, the captain of the ship also has a purse in which there are 20 Egyptian mithqals (Dinars) as well as 7 Maliki Dinars. Madman goes on to acknowledge that he has obtained Eggs (either a type of cardamom or a type of iron), Betel nuts whose quality was mediocre, four locks and two *Qas'a* bowls. The bowls manufactured from

Indian timber were a present from India. In the end, Madmiin declares the gifts that he sent for Abraham. He had sent two brazilwood boxes of sugar, two brazilwood boxes with raisins and three *dashts* of Egyptian *Talhr* paper of remarkable quality. Paper was quite an important commodity for the merchants who came from the far west to India. This was so because people in India wrote on leaves (palm leaves) which these merchants were not accustomed with. In the Middle East, on the other hand, paper was being produced on a large scale by the eleventh century and Ben Yiju must have become accustomed to it in his youth. Once he moved to India, his friends went through great pains to keep him well supplied and packages of paper were included in nearly all of the shipments meant for him. He asks *Abraham Ben Yijii* to accept his gifts and says 'If you have any need or service (to be done), I would be happy to take care of them. (35) May you have abundant well-being²⁸

The next letter dated ca. 1134 has again been written by Madmiin from Aden. Madmiin mentions the shipment of pepper that he has received in the most illustrious *nakhuda*, Ali b, Mansur al- Fawfali. He informs Ben Yijii that he owes him the price of Nougha which is a product of the highlands, wheat, 2 Egyptian futas and Red Copper. Madniin sent him Gold, Silver and clothes. He then goes on to talk about some personal things. He talks about his burden and says that his current state was such that only God would know. Madmiin then sends greetings for Ben Yijii 's son Sarur and his slave, Barna. In the end, he said that he is also sending some gifts for Sarur - Six rubaiyyas of sugar and raisins and a flask of rose water.²⁹

Moving on to the fifth letter which is the lengthiest of all the letters that I am dealing with. It is dated at ca. 1135. Abraham Ben Yijii used the blank space of this letter for making notes due to the non availability of paper in India, at that time. He saved whatever little paper he could, else he used to write on cloth. Ben Yijii 's expenditure for the preceding year and his settlement with Makhlu have been talked about by Madmiin b. Hasan. Saydan, who was a passenger on the boat carried 100 Egyptian Mithqals, one and a half bahars of drky and a basket made up of palm leaves. Madmiin talks about the losses that he incurred due to the

sinking of a boat on its way to Mangalore, India: 'Never has such a ship sailed to India.' He also talks about the bad conduct of Abraham Ben Yijii's slave, Barna, in Aden.³⁰ Barna took 8 dinars from Madmiin during his four months stay in Aden. He was usually drunk and whenever he came to meet Madmiin, he hardly ever understood a word due to the effect of alcohol. Madmun's complaints, however, do not appear to have excited an excess of wrath in Ben Yiju and nor did Madmun himself bear a grudge for long as in his later letters he was always careful to include a word of friendly greeting for Barna.³¹

Another thing worth mentioning is that in this letter, Madmiin is discussing political matters with Ben Yijii. He informs Yijii that there was a raid on the city of Aden by the ships of the ruler of the island of Kis (Qays), which by virtue of its location commanded the sea routes to the Persian Gulf. The Amirs of the small kingdom were amongst the most ambitious, pirates who made their living by preying on the rich merchant vessels that took the trade route.³²

At last, Madmiin requests to deliver letters sent in 4 boats to Ben Yijii's place of sojourn and in Mangalore. He also requests Ben Yijii to assist Abu alFawair who was Madmiin's representative, in all his errands in Mangalore. This is how he ends this letter. Ben Yiju seemed clearly fastidious about his clothing. Several of these letters and accounts mention imported Egyptian robes and fine cloaks while others refer to lengths of cloth and kerchiefs that may have served as turbans and Dabiqui shawls as well. It looks like that Ben Yiju like his fellow merchants continued to wear customary garments of the Middle East like robes, turbans etc, while he was in India.³³

The sixth letter is yet another business letter of Madmiin b. Hasan dated at ca. 1136 where he mentioned the items that he was sending to Mangalore for Abraham Ben Yijii. It involved two bags of lead, bars of copper, 40 Egyptian mithqal coins and 70 Malild dinars. He then talks about the shipment he received which was sent by Ben Yijii. In this he received white and red betel nuts and cardamom. Goods sent to Ben Yijii were dates, 2 futa robes, paper, raisins and sugar and a leather table cover. There was no drky in the market but Madmiin still sent some from his own stock from the previous year. Abraham had

earlier mentioned to send 20 dinars to his brother Joseph but Madmiin said that since no Jew came from Egypt: he was unable to send it. In the end, Madmiin asks him to assist his cousin's husband, Sheikh Mahfiiz, who was proceeding towards India. This suggests that this was his first trip to India. He is not called a nakhuda here, so it is likely that he was not yet a ship owner.³⁴

In the seventh letter, Madmiin acknowledges the receipt of Abraham's shipment wherein he received Pepper and red and white betel nuts. He then urged Ben Yijii to leave India. He says that Yijii had mentioned something regarding coming back to Aden but the 'only thing that prevented you was your fear that people would say'. He then says that he spoke with the 'auspicious lord' (Bilal b. Jarir, who was the Governor of Aden) regarding him and that he assured Madmiin of Ben Yijii's protection and safety. Madmiin says that 'You have nothing to fear' and that it's better than staying in India. This letter has been dated at ca. 1145 so that is 3 years before Ben Yijii actually left India. Ben Yijii had requested to send 40 Malild dinars to his brother Mevasser in Egypt but Madmiin was unable to do that because there was an epidemic in Egypt. He says that due to lack of communication from Egypt since the past two years, he has not been able to fulfill Ben Yishu's wish. However he goes on to mention that recently a small boat arrived in Aden with four people on board and they told him that the situation in Egypt had improved.³⁵

As far as this letter (eighth) is concerned, there is no fixed year which is mentioned. The years mentioned in Goitein's translation are ca. 1136-38 and 1139 or 1145-49. Here, Madmiin describes the highhanded tactics of Bilal b. Jarir who was the Governor of Aden and Madmiin's occasional business partner. He disliked Bilal's habit of demanding the first pick of goods in the port. Madmiin apologized for not being able to send any drky to Yijii. He then spoke about the general poor condition of the market that year. 'By God, this year there was in the city a great fall.'³⁶

Abraham Ben Yijii used the blank paper on verso to write business accounts for dealings in India. This is the last letter that I am dealing with. The dates given for this letter are, ca. 1137-39,

1145-1149. Madmiin tell Ben Yijii that the raw material for his factory had arrived in Aden. The merchants got the copper from the west which they in turn exported to India. There is a mention of pirates attacking a ship at the entrance to the Gulf of Broach and Cambay on the way out to India. Ben Yijii was unaware of the attack, so Madmiin was informing him as he had heard about it in Aden. "In his capacity as representative of the merchants in Aden, Madmiin distributed the loss from jettisoning Ben Yijii's consignment and applied it to owners of all of the ship's freight".³⁷ This was how communications concerning the events off the northern coast of India arrived in Malabar to the south via Aden!

From an incidental encounter in a manuscript, Amitav Ghosh tracks the lives of Ben Yiju and 'Bomma'. The trail is not very incomplete but is fraught with linguistic and other difficulties as well. Much of Bomma's life and that of his Jewish master Ben Yijii is sheer speculation. Ghosh pauses on a document revealing that Ben Yiju freed a slave named Ashu and that she probably came from the Matrilineal Nair community on the Malabar coast of India. He explores the relationship between Ben Yiju and Ashu and says, "If I hesitate to call it love it is only because the documents offer no certain proof."³⁸ Ghosh's book is both subaltern history and also is a reminder that history and fiction are inseparable.

The industrial and consumer goods sent to India were of the greatest variety, but their value, as a rule, amounted to comparatively small sums. They were used by the Middle Eastern merchants and their families, not by the local population. Mostly, gold and silver, in particular Egyptian gold pieces, the dollars of that period,

accompanied orders for Indian goods. Raw materials for the Indian bronze industry, however, were sent as an equivalent.³⁹

The letters exchanged between India and Aden contain interesting information with regard to the practice of seafaring and the social and economic conditions prevailing in southwest India. As was usual on the Mediterranean, a ship sailing on the Indian Ocean was normally escorted by another, smaller, ship, belonging to the same proprietor or to his partner. As a rule, ships traveled in convoys because piracy was rampant. Persons perishing and the loss of goods by shipwreck are frequently referred to. Yet the route between Aden and India must have been comparatively safe.⁴⁰ Otherwise, we would not find so many people repeatedly undertaking that journey. We encounter several tales of shipwreck shortly after sailing or before arrival, and diving operations undertaken to salvage at least a part of the sunken goods are reported for both the Arabian and the Red Sea coasts. At certain periods of the southwest monsoon season, the Indian coast is particularly treacherous. Geniza letters reveal a remarkable degree of inter-denominational cooperation, matched by almost complete absence of hostility against other communities. Partnerships and other close business relationships between Jews and Muslims, or Indian, or Christians were usual and the members of other religious communities are referred to with the same honorable and polite epithets as the writers' own brethren. The great dangers shared in common, the feeling that every one's lot was in the hand of the same God, certainly contributed much to that spirit of all-embracing brotherhood, which encompasses the India papers of the Cairo Geniza.

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HAIDARA NAME - A CRITIQUE

R. D. Pavamana

The history of 18th century Karnataka is significant from several perspectives. Two significant deaths at the beginning and the end of this century-death of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar in 1704 and Tippu Sultan in 1799 played a very important role in changing the course of history in South India, especially in Princely Stare of Mysore. After the death of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar lack of capable ruler led to the dominance of princely chieftains. Expect a few chieftains in the beginning the later ones had to confront challenging political circumstances and they utterly failed in this. Their failure resulted in the progress of Hyder Ali. Subduing the Wodeyars, Hyder Ali rose to the height of facing the British colonial rule. But he did not declare himself as sovereign king. He continued to rule under the guise of 'Kings Servant'. His successor became 'Sultan'. This period became the platform for Anglo-French wars (also known as Carnatic Wars) in south India. Anglo-Mysore wars were very significant in the history of South India and came to halt at the death of Tippu in 1799. In between these the

rise of the Marathas; their conflict with the Mysore rulers too gain historical importance. It is well known fact that after the collapse of the Vijayanagara empire many small dynasties claimed independent rule in South India and Karnataka. Many of them came to a close during the period of Hyder and Tippu. Others continued. In the background of these rise and fall of politics we have to understand socio-cultural and literary milieu.

Political condition of that period left impact on these languages too. Alongside traditional Kannada, Sanskrit of Vedic tradition, Deccani-Urdu of Bahamani influence, Marathi due to the contact with Marathas, Telugu in border areas and more importantly Persian as administrative language of Hyder Ali and Tippu. In addition to these Tamil and Malayalam too existed and were influential. Naturally, this led to the emergence of multi-lingual literature. This does not mean that multi-lingual literature did not exist prior to this development. During Vijayanagara period Kannada, Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil literature

had developed and neighboring Bahamani kingdom had encouraged Urdu Persian and Arabic literature.

With the accession of Tipu to throne not only the political sincere changed, but the socio-cultural conditions too changed. Persian being the royal language was popularized in administrative levels. Marathi also gained importance. The result was the decline of Kannada. But at the same time the Persian and Marathi languages had a great influence on Kannada. Some Kannada works of the period are in such mix language. One such work is Haidara Name written by Nallappa.

Though a good number of research works has been carried out on Hyder and Tipu it is surprise to know that there is very less mentions of Haidara Name. Buchanan who toured South India after the death of Tipu, did not mention Haidara Name in his report¹. Later Col. Wilks and Louie Rice also makes no mention of this book in their respective works on the history of Mysore². Renowned historian Dr. M.H. Krishna was the first person to refer this work and make use of .Later few scholars who carried out research on the history of Mysore have made use of this work which was in manuscript³. Though scholars lists the works of Hyder and Tipu period somehow this work has not been listed⁴.

Nallappa the original author of this book was basically from Tumkr of present Karnataka. Born in a traditional Brahmin family, Nallappa later joined the service of Haider Ali as a supplier of food grains to his army. Later he became a courtier of Haider⁵. Haidara Name which is written in Persian and Marathi mixed Kannada gives valuable details of Haider Ali and to some extent of Tipu. While speaking about the author and his work Dr.M.H. Krishna opines that *"though he gives the Mysorean's version of many events like Haider's divisive victory of the battle of Arni, he frankly admits also his defeats on many occasions. Thus, he is a true historian and not in any sense an apologist or enologist. His work is welcome as a corrective to the existing accounts of Haider's life which are to a considerable extent based on his enemies or of his own Moslem secretaries"*⁶.

Haidara Name is a Historical work written in Persian mixed Kannada. Though the chronology is maintained, we do not find the

mention of dates. It is interesting to no that while referring the dates the author uses Hindu Panchanga or Calander like *'Shalivahana Shaka, Akshya nama samvastra, Chitrabhanu nama samvastara, Margashira panchami* etc⁷. Haidara Namah starts with the family history of Haydar. His forefather Jathe Khan who hailed from Arabia to Bijapur, from there to Mysore. It gives details about the early life of Hyder Ali. It explains how Hyder Ali and his brother were serving under the Poligar of Doddaballapur and later were introduced to Dalavayi Devarajaiah of Mysore. It gives the details of wars of Hyder Ali including the war with Poligars of Shira, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballapura etc. While giving the details of war with Poligar of Chikkaballapur, it mentions that the sons of defeated poligar of Chikkaballapur were Punished⁸. But another contemporary work says that they were forcefully converted into Islam⁹.

In the next phase Haidara Name gives details about Hyder Ali's attack on Nagara or Bidanur. While giving details of the war it mentions the internal politics of Nagara principality¹⁰. The relationship of Queen Veerammaji and her servant Nambaiah, about the role of prince Chennabasavanayaka, and the details of war has been mentioned here. It is interesting to note that after winning the war, Hyder changed names of few towns in the Nagara region. For example *Bidanur or Bidaluru* was named as *Hyder Nagar*.

Apart from the above details Haidara Namah gives some interesting details about Hyder Ali and Tipu sultan. It explains in detail the wars fought by Hyder in his early times. It gives details about how Hyder Ali and his brothers were at the service of Poligar of Doddaballapur and later were introduced to Dalavayi's of Mysore, the battle of Devanahalli (which was a stepping stone for Hyder Ali's political career), later how he was promoted to various posts and later to Fouzdar of Dindigal and finally the Sarvadhikari of Mysore. Meanwhile Haidara Namah explains the wars fought by him mainly the Carnatic War, war at Tirichirapalli (Trichi), *Chinakurali* war and war with Marathas. It is interesting to note that the book gives vivid details about the war preparation, marching or army, organizing the war camp, construction of platform (Moharche) for cannons, food supply system to the war field etc¹¹. Along with it also

gives details about the secret meetings held during the war times. Not only the political career of Hyder, it also gives wide description of his personal life. We can find details like Hyder Ali's children, the marriages of his sons i.e., Karim Khan and Tipu.

The most interesting description given in Jung Nama is about the First Anglo-Mysore War and the treaty of Madras. It mentions that not only Tipu but his younger son Abdul Karim Ali Khan also participated in this war and Haider was not happy with the approach of Tipu in the war field. Further it gives the vivid description of the Treaty of Madras¹².

Haidara Name a work by a contemporary of Haider and Tipu gives very rare information about both. It mentions a verbal clash between Haider and Tipu which resulted in suspension of the Malavalli Jahagir given to Tipu by Haider and Tipu was house arrested for some time¹³. It gives vivid detailed description of Haider's army. The author mentions that there were Arabs, Habashis, Brahmin Harikaras or Postments, Boyi's or the Palanquin carriers, number of

elephants, camels, and interestingly existence of 'Kamati Kacheri' or office of daily laborers.

Apart from the political career of Haider and his military campaigns the author mentions some social beliefs of the time. It is interesting to know that Haider was afraid after seeing *Kalapurusha (Yama dharma)* in dream. It affected his health. After a colloquial ritual he regained his health¹⁴.

As a contemporary one Haidara Name is a most important work with regard to the history of Hyder. Being a contemporary of both Haider and Tipu the author gives a different version of some established facts of the history. The facts like the relationship Haider with Tipu, the relations of Hyder with Marathas and the British, the Nayakas of Keladi and Chitradurga and such other are normally not mentioned in general History books. Though one can find a number mistakes like not mentioning the dates, misspelling of names of the places and such as. But for a student of history Haidara Name is an important work.

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THE MILITARY USE OF ROCKETS IN PRE-MODERN MYSORE

D.A. Prashanth

This paper tries to address Tipu's technological achievements, in particular his efforts to introduce rockets as a missile. Apart from the rockets, his many other experiments with the then new technology distinguished him from the rest of the contemporary rulers in India and this was a fact which did not escape British notice.¹ Tipu's rockets have also drawn attention of commissioned British artists, James Hunter

and Hickey. But improvement of rockets was not a freak happening. It was only one of his attainments among many which speak eloquently about his inventiveness in the coming terms with the state of the art in science and technology. Tipu was not simply a king issuing orders to get things done for him but also a person who had the basic knowledge of science and technology. Major Dirom, who fought Tipu

in 1792 was astonished to come across a case of mathematical instrument in the Sultan's tent and wrote that this gives "Probability to accounts we have received that the Sultan has turned his attention to the Science of fortification and that he had been his own engineer".² Tipu's engagement with modern technology is well acknowledged in contemporary accounts of the British army men. Moore in 1792 found in indigenous machine, "Simple in construction as to be worked by a pair of bullocks, which bored at once fifty muskets and a gun. Tipu's guns are as good as any in the world."³

Tipu was not the inventor of the rocket. The Chinese origin of rockets or its pre-Tipu use has been chronicled among others by Joseph Nedham, Iqtidar Alam Khan, Roddam Narasimha, Arnold Pacey and F.H. Winter.⁴

First of all, I would like to stress that only during Hyder Ali and particularly during Tipu's reign the rockets drew attention of the west as formidable weapon. In difficult hilly terrains in particular, where manoeuvring heavy artillery was difficult, Tipu's rockets causes havoc among the British troops both physically and psychologically. Apart from Home's drawings, other British painters like James Hunter also made drawings of Tipu's rockets and rocket men. In the murals of Srirangapatna also there are numerous depictions. British military officers who fought him or even recent historians like Roddam Narasimha and F.H. Winter have given elaborate descriptions of the development and employment of rocket by Tipu. Incidentally, Winter drew heavily from the archives of Smithsonian institution in Washington D.C, where in the National Air and Space museum is on display two models of Tipu's rockets built to scale after the original ones preserved in the Woolwich Museum in England.

Both Moore and Diram's contemporary accounts of the wars against Tipu provide us an excellent clue that none of the British soldiers or generals employed in India had any knowledge about rockers. In fact major Dirom in the glossary of his accounts published in 1792 had to explain in detail what a 'rocket' means, because he believed that the term with some other local ones in his text, require clarification for his British readers. Subsequently, Moore's account of the war against Tipu, published in 1794, also

included a glossary which included an entry on rocket. It was in fact quoted from Dirom's work. The longest entry of the rocket in these glossary runs like this⁵, "A missile weapon, consisting of an iron tube of about a foot long and inch in diameter, fixed to a bamboo of 10 to 12 feet long. The tube being filled with combustible composition is set fire to and directed by hand, flies like an arrow, to the distance of upwards of a thousand yards. Some of these rockets have a chamber and burst like shells". The last sentence in the quotation contains valuable information. Tipu's rockets were not merely as incendiary, they could also lorry a pay load of destruction. Tipu's rockets then could also be considered as the first missile, because while the rocket could only carry itself, the propellant, its casing and the stabilizing stick, the missile is distinguished by its ability to carry something more like the sword or the bomb. Tipu also used sword fixed rockets. The glossary entry of rocket calls for looking at the etymology of the word rocket. It came into English vocabulary from the French "Rocquet". Tipu called rockets as Shuhab. Rocket may enter into English vocabulary from French but the French had nothing to do in improvements of manufacture of rockets in Hyder or Tipu's time.

There is a misconception about the link between Tipu's French connections and his rockets. Even a well meaning American historian of technology, Arnold Pacey, who demolished the myth of "Western-Modern" binary of technological superiority of Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was totally on the wrong track when he commented that, "French mercenaries in Mysore had learned to make them and the British ordinance office was enquiring for somebody with expertise on the subject. In response, William Congreve, whose father the senior Congreve was the head of the laboratory at Woolwich Arsenal, undertook to design on Indian lines."⁶

A vigorous programme of what we would now call research and development on rockets took place in Britain in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The cause for the revival of this interest did not lie in Europe but came from the reports from India, in particular Munro's book of 1789. Several rocket cases were collected and returned to Britain for analysis. The development was chiefly the work of William Congreve who was told that "that British at Seringapatam has

suffered more from the rockets than from the shells or any other weapon used by the enemy". "In at least one instance, an eye – witness told Congreve, a single rocket had killed three men and badly wounded others⁷".

Two of Tipu's rockets after his death found passage to England and till today they are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, which was founded by Capt. William Congreve. There is no doubt that Congreve's son, William Congreve Junior, saw and studied them. In conventional history, Congreve is called the Father of Modern Rocketry. But actually the honour belongs to Tipu and the transfer of technology of Rocketry from India to England constitutes on the 18th century reverse flow phenomenon in the sphere of technology. Congreve worked independently as an innovator cum-entrepreneur and wrote a number of treatises on the utility of using his rockets for the British army. These were all addressed to the Royalty for securing Government support⁸. Ultimately, his enterprise was recognized and he was allowed to make experiments in the Royal Arsenal. However, for a number of years, his attempts were aborted for a single reason. He was experimenting with paper cartridge till 1806 instead of containers made of iron as used by Tipu.

Congreve never acknowledged his acquaintance of Tipu's rockets but just once mentioned in passing that everyone knew that Indians have successfully used Rockets in war. The most comprehensive account of the early days or rocketry comes from the pen of F.H. Winter but Winter not only made mess about confusing Marathas with Mysoreans but also wrongly ascribed the supremacy of Tipu's rockets to the use of the bamboo, available in India, as the stabilizing stick. He ignored the use of iron containers. Congreve could not use iron

containers for the simple reason that in England iron-making at that time was at a much more primitive stage compared to India. Indian superiority in iron making has been narrated by Roddam Narasimha and Arnold Pacey.⁹

So, Tipu's rocket, transformed in Congreve hands came back to India and among their targets were seditious Indians and the Burmese. In the First Burmese war, the first steam gun boat of the East India Company, Diana built in Calcutta, comprised among others a detachment of Bengal rocket troops under Capt. Charles Graham. In this battle in 1825, the Congreve rockets proved very useful¹⁰. The trial took place at Dum Dum and Parlby's rockets provided worthier. An alarmed Congreve alleged fraudulent use and sole of his manufacturing secrets.¹¹ The colonial mechanism has always considered it wise to encourage their "home products" over local manufacturer even if initiated by one of their own race.

I am concluding my paper with a quotation from a letter from the Court of Directors written in 1800. The government in council deemed it "to be an object of essential importance that an investigation should be made on the valuable dominions acquired during the last and the preceding war with the late Tipoo Sultan". Accordingly Francis Buchanan, Major William Lambton, Capt. Mackenzie and Benjamin Heyne were entrusted with conducting investigations a Botanist, Zoologist and Surveyor that they could furnish the company "with the fullest information respecting the condition and resources of these valuable premises¹²". Obviously Tipu and after his demise his loyal artisans, left no clue to their achievements in manufacturing ventures in rocket. Otherwise, Congreve would not have had such a trying time even when he had access to live specimens to Tipu's rockets.

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TAMIL MUSLIMS' DIASPORA IN THE GULF - A SOCIAL MOBILITY

J. Raja Mohamad

The Tamil Speaking Muslims of Tamil Nadu are enterprising and always fond of diaspora. The spread of Islam in the 7th century C.E., paved way for the emergence of this strong trading community in the east coast of the peninsular India. After the birth the Islam, the Arab maritime traders came here as Arab Muslims and spread their influence where they had traditional trade contact. These merchant missionaries took efforts to take up the preaching of Islam among the people here, and many of the natives willingly embraced Islam. Some of the Arab Muslims who stayed here for a longer period contracted matrimonial alliance with the local women. The children born from such alliance together with the converts from other religions, inaugurated the Tamil Muslim society on the east coast of South India right from the eighth century, C.E. Muslim colonies sprang up along the stretch of the coast in the course of time. The people who came in to the fold of Islam - the Muslims- followed the suit of their progenitors, the Arabs and concentrated in oceanic commerce and other maritime activities. They undertook voyages for long distance places and established trade contact in the port towns in the Indian Ocean region so also in the in the Persian Gulf. Their ships carried commodities that were in demand in the western marts and their sojourn continued for centuries till about 19th century C.E. and thus the Tamil Muslims by traditions had an affinity towards the Arab lands¹.

The maritime people, the Tamil Muslims were ship owners, maritime traders and also undertook a number of other maritime activities and provided employment to thousands of people on the east coast. They lost their economic fortunes to the completion and economic and technological superiority of the European trading companies in India in the 19th century and went in search of better opportunities for livelihood and started migrating to South East Asian countries, Cylone and Burma.

The expertise of mobility imbibed in the Tamil Muslim community was attracted by the new economic opportunities open in the Gulf Countries and they were also included among the early migrants to these countries from about 1930. The shortage of man power had been endemic by 1960s in all the GCC countries – Saudi Arabic, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates – for all categories of work from professionals such as to doctors, engineers, architects, secretarial personal to semi skilled workers such as craftsmen, artisans, drivers, technical workers and unskilled workers for construction sites, farms, shops and households². The Tamil Muslims readily availed these opportunities and went in pursuit of the new economic ventures and the early birds got bigger worms. But the migration and related matters with regard to people to Tamil Nadu in general and the Muslims in particular, has not been studied adequately as that of the Kerala counterparts. At times the migration of the Muslims and their hard labor and their remittances are being misunderstood and even distorted. This paper is an attempt to elucidate a few facts on the subject.

From about 1970, the Gulf countries caught the imagination of the younger generation in Tamil Muslim society. The youth were ready to sacrifice their educations even at the secondary level. Hundreds in every town prepared themselves to fetch the fruits. In 1975, the cost of travel to the GCC countries was about 3000 rupees only including visa charges and agent's commission. The process of migration picked up and majority of the migrants were semiskilled and unskilled labor class. The attractive packages in the migrated lands increased the cost of travel and in the long run and it went up to Lakh rupees. Agency houses sprang up even in small villages. Those who do not have sufficient cash sold their landed properties and jewels of the woman folk or obtained loan at exorbitant terms. After remitting the required amount to the agent- middle man- they were waiting anxiously to fly to their dream

lands. After waiting for some time locally, groups of youth from villages travelled to Mumbai to be in touch with the main recruiting agency for month together for the arrival of visas. A vast majority among them had achieved the goal and many had to return home unsuccessful and also lost their money. Such sufferings of job seekers did not deter the fresh entrants and thousands of people were migrating from various parts of Tamil Nadu. The hard earned money of the early unskilled workers brought fortunes to their families and their sons also migrated in succession, of course these young people with a higher educational qualification as professionals for white collar jobs and they were well paid³. The coastal districts of Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram, Thirunelveli and South Arcot were on the lead in migration to the GCC countries. There was also migration from other parts of Tamil Nadu.

At present it is estimated that there are approximately about 3,50,000 Tamil Muslim migrant workers in all the GCC countries. But the number may go still higher. The correct data could not be arrived at and the variations are caused because many of the migrants had not registered in any departments of India or GCC government agencies. They are all in the category of domestic workers like house mats, cooks, gardeners and coolie laborers. The reports on Indian migration says that 'about 17 categories of persons have been exempted from emigrations clearance and are placed under the 'emigration clearance not required' (ECNR) category as per the Emigration Act 1983. Official figures only capture the flow of immigrant labor that fall within the ECR category⁴. Hence the problem in computing the correct data about the migrant workers persists.

Demand for the white collar jobs increased from 1980s in all the GCC countries and migration of this category of workers also increased. They were well paid in government departments and private undertakings. They were allowed to bring their families with them to the country of work. The religious identity of the Muslims did not confer them any special status in that they were also not granted citizenship in any of the GCC country except Oman. In general, life is comfortable to the professional and white collars in the Gulf.

Semiskilled and unskilled workers continue about 75 percent of the total number of expatriates among the Tamil Muslims in the GCC countries. Low skilled category of workers such as house maids, cooks and laborers for construction works etc., were needed to the growing industrial and domestic sector. Hence these categories of workers migrated in large numbers. Youngsters are willing to work even for meager sums. Thus the unskilled and semiskilled workers have a high rate of turnover as they work for a short period of contract and had to return home. However a large portion does manage to return under new contract after a period of not less than one year.

A peep in to the living condition of the migrant workers in the Gulf will go to show that how the unskilled and semiskilled workers who work in infrastructural and other developmental projects live under miserable conditions. They are accommodated in crowded small rooms in labour camps. Kitchen and sanitation facilities are inadequate. Their condition in the working place is also pitiable. Difficult circumstances such as inclement weather, inability to participate in social and recreational activities, lack of adequate medical facilities, long period of separation from their families and dear ones and the consequent emotional deprivations have been known to wreck their lives⁵. Besides these workers are subjected to several forms of exploitations by the recruiting agents and prospective employers. Confiscation of travel documents and passports, refusal to give the assured employment, nonpayment of wages, undue deductions from the meager wages, negative legal rights to seek remedy for complaints etc., are very common ordeals met by many workers. There are also cases of cheating and those without proper travel documents are detained on arrival to the country of work and deported to the place of origin, resulting in heavy loss of money. The migrant workers are not protected by any local law in the GCC countries⁶. At times the poor migrant workers become victims as ignorant carries of smuggled goods and thus their life and families affected beyond recovery.

A few interesting news items from Kuwait, the richest GCC country will not be out of place here. Kuwait is the first country in the Gulf to set a minimum wage for its hundreds and thousands

of domestic servants and it has listed the minimum salary as 60 Kuwait Dinars (\$198) a month from July 2016. But in practice as the Human Right Watch have reported, there are wide spread abuse of this law including non-payment of wages. For instance the plight of over 3000 Indian workers of Kharafi National Company in Kuwait can be cited. The salary of the workers is not paid for the a year. The company had declared lockout. The workers had resorted to protests. Among them there was considerable number of Tamil Muslims also. The visas of many employees had expired. The passports were with the company. They could not leave the country. They had to live in the fear of legal action for staying illegally in that country. In such a circumstance with the efforts of the social activities and the government of India, the Kuwait government initiated some sympathetic action to overcome the situation and a general amnesty was announced by the Kuwait government to protect the workers of this company. More such cases are also reported from Kuwait⁷ and as well as from many other GCC countries.

The professional and skilled and well paid migrants keep in close contact with the families in India. They go home for visits whenever possible. They are able to maintain social contact with similarly placed compatriots and nationals in higher level social cultural activities through various associations. Their associations have established large number of schools for the children of the expatriates. Importance is given for the study of Tamil language⁸.

The expatriates associations are set up among the Tamil Muslim workers based on their place of origin. They contribute their mite from their hard earned money for the welfare of the community at large. They undertake literary, religious and other social activities in the country where they work and help their fellow brethren in the alien land who suffer in extraordinary situations. They arrange literary meets, religious lectures, tours etc. They never forget their homeland. Guided by compassion and love for fellow human being they endeavor to address poverty, health and educational problems and offer sustainable solution that enables individuals and society to live with dignity. They support initiatives that promote economic and social justice. The expatriate associations offer scholarships to the poor students in the

educational institutions in various places in Tamilnadu, to peruse their education and also help the poor and destitute women and aged people and so on. Hundreds of poor students continue their higher education with such liberal assistance in various grades. A number of poor girls get the matrimonial prospects with their assistance. They rush with liberal donations during the time of national calamities and disasters. Their efforts to alleviate the sufferings the people affected in the recent floods, rains Khaja cyclone in Tamil Nadu are well known. They support the educational institutions and help for building their infrastructure. Alumni of schools and colleges who are employed in the GCC countries patronize the respective institutions and they attend to the needs of their alma mater. There are many examples of this kind almost in all the towns of Tamil Muslim settlements⁹. As an unique feature of educational service of the expatriate Tamil Muslims, the AIMAN – The Indian Muslim Association of Abu Dhabi – is managing an Arts and Science college for woman at Tiruchirappalli, where quality education is offered to about 1000 women, from educationally and socially backward sector irrespective of religion. This is a commendable effort in the history of the Tamil Muslim expatriates¹⁰.

It will be seen that the majority of migrant workers face a number of difficulties at various levels. But to them “sweet are the uses of adversity”. Yes, almost all of them prefer to continue this life. No doubt that they have worked for the economic development of the country of work and the sweat of each and every migrant is mingled in building the strength of the respective countries. At the same time it has given them a social mobility in their home town. It has given them the chance to climb up the hierarchical ladder economically with social standing. Their families live in comfort. Their children are given good education and thus shaping the future generation. There are many successful stories around warranting the attention of diaspora scholars. The remittance of Indian expatriates into India is very important for the economic development and in our nation building. In that the share of the Tamil Muslims is also considerable. However the expatriate Tamil Muslims often lack planning the future after immigration after some years. They spend lavishly on social function and invest the whole

earning in building houses etc. Many people after their return seek some employment here at a minimum wage. Hence they have to plan schemes for self employment ventures, farming etc., with adequate own funds¹¹. Further long separation of a man from the family for long period brings mental stress and psychological effect on his wife which has to be addressed in the proper sense.

However many challenges are ahead to the migrant workers in GCC countries as at present. The economic slump arising out of unprecedented fall in crude price and simmering geopolitical tension in the Persian Gulf region are sending shock waves to the migrant workers. This has resulted in pay cuts. Arabisation in GCC countries is eroding the job opportunities of the migrant workers. Emigration to Gulf countries has come down. The remittance of the Indian migrant workers has come down from 4,38,336 Crores (2013-14) to 3,66,593 Crores (2016-17). This will affect the house hold consumption. The rupee could come under pressure. The Indian and State governments will be burdened with

providing jobs to those who immigrated to home country and this situation will disturb the economic stability of the nation. Though all these of aspects are common to all the Indian migrant workers the Tamil Muslims will also be affected by this ¹².

Thus the Tamil Muslim migrant workers, as other migrant workers in the State, have contributed their due share in nation building with their hard earned remittances. They have also bestowed their attention for the uplift of the poor and under privileged and their services for the society during disasters have to be recorded faithfully in the history of Tamil Nadu.

However the status and matters relating to the migrant workers in Tamil Nadu, so also the Tamil Muslims, is not studied adequately and await the attention of the researchers and State government departments. Scholars should undertake detailed and intensive study on the Tamil Muslim Diaspora in the Gulf countries and such study will bring many new facts to the contemporary social and economic history of Tamil Nadu.

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TRIBAL STUDIES IN COLONIAL MALABAR IN KERALA : A HISTORIOGRAPHIC CRITIQUE

E K. Rajan

This paper is a historiographic critique of the tribal studies in Kerala. Here the focus of analysis is how the tribes are represented in various writings in colonial period. Moreover, these writings, by and large, remained within the colonial discursive paradigm. Main

argument here is that, despite the huge amount of literature on tribals, in all these writings tribals were treated as mere objects of analysis. These writings include ethnographic notes, monographs, administrative reports, census, missionary reports and other informative reports.

Tribal studies in India are largely a product of colonial ethnography. These studies in Kerala started with A. F. Jagor and Koerbin prior to 1880. Since then a number of such studies on various communities including tribes have been published in Kerala.¹ But it has to be admitted that except some scattered information there had been no historical works on tribes in Kerala. During the colonial period, ethnographic accounts of the communities of the three regions of Kerala, Travancore, Cochin and Malabar were written under the aegis of the ethnographic survey of India undertaken in 1901. But there are only few literatures that deal the tribes in Malabar.

Ethnographic accounts of the territory under British Malabar were incorporated in Edgar Thurston's work.² It was in his works the tribes of Malabar presented first in detail and in these two volumes of *Ethnographic Notes on Southern India* (1906) that he discussed the tribes of Kerala in detail.³ In this voluminous book Thurston has described the several customs like birth, marriage, death, slavery, sacrifices, infanticide and the like in a number of chapters. The customs of fire-walking, hook-swinging, earth-eating, fire-making, etc are also described in a series of chapters.

But a comprehensive study of tribes in Malabar appeared in Thurston's *Caste and Tribes of Southern India*, in seven volumes.⁴ These volumes give accounts of all communities in south India, arranged alphabetically and these volumes are the first work of this kind in India. This work prepared under the scheme for a systematic ethnographic survey of the whole of India in 1907, records various customs and practices of the tribes and castes of south India.⁵

Thurston had the advantage of being stationed in Madras as the superintendent of Government Museum and also as the superintendent of Ethnography. It is assumed that, in these capacities, he had the rare opportunity to become an authority of ethnographic study. Thurston had begun his field work as early as 1896 and the materials included in this work have been mainly collected during his visit to the tribal and rural villages both in connection with the collection of

ethnological specimen for the museum as well as ethnographic investigation. The data collected by him were also supplemented by correspondence with district officers and private individuals.⁶ But this might have been possible only in the case of elite communities in the plains.

He has given the description of the various tribes and their customs of all areas in Kerala, and thus has acquainted us with a first-hand picture, howsoever sketchy or elementary it may be in substance. The description on some tribes in Malabar like Paniyar, Adiyas Urali Kurumas and Kurichiyas were presented in a South Indian context.

In fact, his advantage as superintendent of government museum did adversely affect his work. Since he combined the job of superintendent of Ethnography with that of his full time work as superintendent of museum he could not get much time to do research, approximately he got only three months in a year, and in view of this also he failed to give full details of the tribes and castes covered in this book.⁷ In such a critical moment, in data collection for fieldwork he was assisted by K. Rangachari, who had worked much in his absence. In Kerala too he was assisted by L. Ananthakrishna Iyer who was engaged in similar ethnographic work in Travancore and Cochin. In Malabar, Instead of going to the interior tribal areas Thurston often came to contact with the landlords for information of tribe under their control.

As a project of South India it aimed for a horizontal spread and it covered all communities of the south and as such obviously lacked depth in description and interpretation of the customs and culture of the tribes. His work is not a historical work, but it contains the raw materials for history rather than history itself. It serves as a reference book for research scholars rather than a history of the tribes.

The accounts of tribal people in colonial Malabar were distinctly presented in the writings of William Logan.⁸ Malabar has been for many years a subject of profound interest and had attracted many distinguished scholars, explorers and missionaries. But no detailed study of the weaker sections inhabiting this region of Malabar has been attempted with the exception

of a few studies. When the Government of Madras planned to bring out a district manual relating to history, culture and administration of each district, the writing of Malabar Manual was entrusted to William Logan. His rich experience in the district over a period of 20 years as collector, magistrate, and judge and also as special commissioner made him a competent authority to write a work like this.

Many of such studies were conducted during the colonial period. Nevertheless, a few works are really academic and far beyond their original intent. For example, *Malabar Manual*, quite scholarly and comprehensive, is far more than a manual that the colonial administration required.⁹ As an official manual his study dealt with all important aspects of the district and it gives a geographical description and it also traces the religions, castes, tribes, manners, customs, etc., of the people. Colonial rivalry and British supremacy have been traced from contemporary writings and other original sources. As a manual, in this book he gives emphasis to political development but he has not refrained from an analytical approach in explaining the life and culture of tribals and low castes.

In this extensive study of the popular upheavals in Malabar of the 19th century Logan gives a special place to Wynad, the revolt under Pazhassi and the Kurichias and the cause of tribal revolt as agrarian discontent. The influence of the true spirit of a historian made this work a good piece of historical writing on Malabar and to a certain extent it was an attempt to give the real picture of Wynad, the largest tribal area in Kerala. It is not just a compilation of the available materials on the history and administration of the district, but it also throws light on how the tribals have been treated by the colonial rule and how these people resisted the alien rule. His wide knowledge, administrative experience and sympathetic understanding of the land and its people made his work as reference book of tribal life in Malabar. The qualities of this work make it an indispensable one for the scholars to understand the tribal people in Malabar. It was Logan who for the first time described the sufferings of the tribals in Wynad under colonial rule and he recognized the historicity of the tribal revolt against the colonial power.

Although he was considered as an authority on Malabar he was not clear about the early history of tribal people of this area. With all his limited knowledge of the ancient history of Kerala he tried to give an account from the early sources then available. His keen interest in the folklore, folk life and customs and manners of the people made him particularly devoted to these people. Only a few books that deal with Wynad taluk in Malabar had appeared in the early part of the 20th century. A book that gives account of Wynad and its people is of C. Goplan Nair.¹⁰ It is one of the earliest writings on Wynad which gives a valuable collection of information regarding the hill tribes and other people. There are other books that also give a passing mention of Wynad and its tribal people.¹¹ T.K.Gopala Panikkar gives only a meagre account of Wynad under Kottayam rule. In the discussion of the political aspects of Wynad it provides only a meagre account of the tribal people of this area.

All the taluks in Malabar District in colonial rule come under the description of Ward and Conner.¹² This memoir of Malabar can be considered as a pioneer socioeconomic survey of Malabar region in a uniform pattern of description. The survey was started by Lt. Ward in 1824 after the completion of the Travancore and Cochin survey and its report published in 1906. This work is mainly a geographical and topographical account, and gives no much space for tribes in Malabar but only 85 castes are mentioned as per the census of 1827.¹³

Though the literature dealing with Malabar is extensive, many of them are official compilations and there are only passing reference about the tribal people. *Malabar District Gazetteer* was originally written by C.A. Innes, a settlement officer in Malabar, in two volumes during 1904-05.¹⁴ As an administrative handbook it provides a brief account of its people for colonial purposes. In its taluk-wise description of people in Malabar it gives some idea about the tribals of Wynad in colonial perspectives.¹⁵ Unlike other writings, this book represents a period of transition in the historical writings of Malabar from manuals and legendary accounts to source-oriented study of the people, their institutions, and administrative systems under the British.

The missionaries were the first to practice the philosophy of tribal welfare in the mid 18th century.¹⁶ Missionaries of various kinds were active in Malabar. The first group entered Wynad in Malabar on 24th June 1796 under Rev. Dow, a servant of English East India Company.¹⁷ In the beginning their activities were in the form of periodical visit in different places of Wynad later they built Churches at Sultan Batheri in 1841, Vythiri in 1845, Mananthavadi in 1847 and Meppadi in 1872.¹⁸ Although the missionaries mainly concentrated on proselytizing, they have collected some data regarding the tribals. Later the writers on tribals by using the data have highlighted the welfare activities of the missionaries. But the intention behind these activities was ignored by them.

In comparison to the north-eastern part of India the contribution of missionaries to tribal historiography of Kerala is very less. The missionaries who claimed to have come close to the tribals were imaginative and their activities in Kerala caused a change in the course of history of the downtrodden. Social upheavals, growth of education and health status provided by these missionaries led to the breaking up of the forces of traditional Hindu caste control.¹⁹ But in the beginning of the 20th century the Latin Diocese included the

spread of gospel and conversion in their activities. Fr. Jefrino wrote some notes in the form of diary records about the Kurichias of Kambalakkad areas of Wynad. Although the missionaries have been primarily interested in evangelization, it was followed by welfare activities. For both type of work, spiritual and material, they did realize the importance of understanding the people's culture and language. This awareness inspired them to write several original books on tribal culture.²⁰ But in Kerala such approach did not enable them to introduce a local historical tradition and historiography dealing with the life and culture of tribes. Although they could not write much about the tribals they developed a new attitude which was certainly better than suffering under the Hindu caste system.

To sum up tribal studies in colonial Malabar was colonial ethnography as part of colonial administration. All these ethnographic descriptions were the present status of tribals as information at that time but not an analytical study in historical perspective. In all these writings tribals were treated as mere objects of study. Although these writings were not histories of tribes the valuable information provided by them were extensively used scholars for writing history of tribes.

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GENESIS OF TAMIL MOVEMENT

G. Ravi

Rise of nationalism in the last three centuries would know that language rights have been forefront in many struggles of national self-determination in the world. In the Nineteenth and twentieth century, there were many uprisings and revolutions centered on language and cultural rights in multi-ethnic empires. In Madras Presidency, the Tamil Language movement of 20th century has a history that is every bit as glorious and as bloody as our own movement.

Tamil is a very ancient language. Linguistically Tamil and other major South Indian languages like Telegu, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu belong to the Dravidian branch of world languages which is distinct and separate from the great Indo-European branch of languages to which many of the European and Asian languages like Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, etc.,. Earliest written artifacts of Tamil goes back to 200-300 BC and the classic work of Tamil literary text, the Sangam Literature, is generally dated 500 BC to 200 AD. Many anthropologists claim that history of Dravidian languages goes back to the ancient Harappan civilization (2500-1500 BC) but that claim is disputed by many others too. As such, as an ancient but still living language, it has maintained its tradition, Uniqueness. Tamil is recognized as one of the very few classical languages of the world that are still being widely used.

The ancient lineage of Tamil and the distinctness of Dravidian languages from the Sanskrit based counterparts had always been great source of conceit for Dravidians in face of repeated Indo-European aggression and expansionism from the north. Though, a group of people continuously accentuated Sanskrit is a holy as well as mother of all Indian Languages. But it was opposed by the Tamilians. In due course of time, efforts were made by a few scholars to adorn Tamil language's beauty and purity. At this moment great veterans emerged and restored the literature which ultimately led to the independence of Tamil language.

Later part of 19th century eye witnessed remarkable changes in the history of Tamil literature in terms of growth in education and advancement in printing and press. European

Tamil scholars too acknowledged that the South Indian family of languages kindled the feelings of Tamil literates, which led the Tamils to renovate Tamil antiquity and their past glory in their language and literature. Caldwell again observed:

A virgin soil is now for the first time being ploughed, turned up to the air and light and sown with the seed of life; and in process of time may reasonably expect to reap a rich crop of intellectual and moral results.¹

Growth of Tamil Language

Ancient Tamil literatures were procured through the manuscripts on palmyra leaves. However, most of them were in brittle and scratched condition due to the troubles of insects, pests, etc. In certain cases many of them were not protected properly. As another handicap, most of the palm leaves were in the old and dilapidated condition and found very difficult to trace out matters. Mishandling of the manuscript and preservation of copies were other problems for deciphering the subject matter. Moreover, as these manuscripts were re-copied on different times it led to the problem of missing verses as well as interpolations. Hence it became a very difficult assignment for a scholar to undertake the publication of a classic work from manuscripts. This led one to search and gather more versions as possible to compare, assemble and then to produce the final text.² However, Arumuka Navalar was the pioneer to do this hard task and later, C.W. Thamocharan Pillai (1832-1901), U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar (1855-1942) and others had followed in his footpath.³

Robert Caldwell (1816-1891)

Robert Caldwell was born in Ireland. He had joined as a member in London Missionary Society in 1834. Later, he studied religion in Glaxo University. Afterwards, he got an opportunity to come to India to preach Christianity. In 1838 he reached Madras and met Doru, an English man and learnt Tamil from him. Later he had determined to observe peoples' culture and their social life and for a better understanding of their language, he travelled by walk from Madras to Tirunelveli.

Besides preaching Christianity, he studied Tamil in an orderly manner and published works called *History of Tirunelveli* and *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South India Family of Languages*. In his second work he disguised Tamil as the most highly cultivated *abintra* of all Dravidian idioms and dispensed with Sanskrit. According to him Tamil not only stood alone; but had flourished without others' aid.⁴ Again if one gets rid of the Sanskrit derivatives from Tamil language, they endow the simple life of the Tamils.⁵ Moreover, in the primitive Tamil mind, its manners and religion and ancient vocabularies of the language were unique without much mixture of Sanskrit.⁶

G.U. Pope (1820-1908)

G.U. Pope was born in 1820 in England and had his education at Hoxten College. As a member of western mission, he came to Madras and was appointed as a missionary preacher at Tirunelveli in 1839. From that time onwards, he began to study Tamil language from Ramanuja Kavirayar.⁷ Subsequently he engaged himself in the teaching profession at Ootacamund and then in Bangalore. Later in 1882, he returned to England, where he worked as a lecturer in Tamil and Telugu in the Oxford University.⁸ While working in the Oxford University, he had published the English translation of *Tirukural* (1886), *Nalatiyar* (1893) and *Tiruvagasam* (1900). Again he had published a work on *Elementary Tamil Grammar* in three volumes which was admired by Thiru V. Kalyanasundaranar. According to Pope, Saivism was the old pre-historic religion of South India and prevailed from pre-Aryan times. He required the Tamils to look back with pride to their ancient religion and the philosophy propounded by their ancestors.

Arumuga Navalar (1822-1876)

Arumuga Navalar was born at Jaffna in Ceylon in 1822. When he was a youth, Christian missionaries published Tamil version of The Bible and preached Christianity among the Tamils. As an indirect method to challenge such works the Hindus wrote prose and preached *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha*. Arumuga Navalar had strong faith in Saivism.⁹ He started printing press and published Tamil classics – the *Tirukkural* and *Tirukkovai* in 1860 and 1861 respectively. Again he published works on

Saivism and Tamil Grammar in the Question Answer format. In general his works were very simple and lucid in style. Hence he was honoured as the 'Father of Tamil Prose' and was adorned with the *Navalar* title from Thiruvaduthurai mutt.¹⁰ His tireless service to Tamil impressed C.W. Dhamotharan Pillai and U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar.

C.W. Dhamotharan Pillai (1832 – 1901)

C.W. Dhamotharan Pillai was born in 1832 in a hamlet near Jaffna. He began his life as a school teacher and later concentrated on published Tamil works. In 1853 he had published a minor ethical work, *Neethineri Vilakkam* with notes in 1853. Later he got B.A. Degree from the Madras University in 1858. After graduation he qualified himself as a lawyer in 1871 and entered the Judiciary of the princely State of Pudukottai.

Dhamotharan Pillai followed the foot steps of Arumuga Navalar.¹¹ First of all he had concentrated upon grammatical works only. He had collected a number of palm-leaf manuscript copies about *Tolkappiyam* and versions of its commentaries. He studied books related to it in a most critical manner and analysed systematically and later published it. His other work, *Chollatikaram* bears the commentaries of *Cenavaraiyar* and *Naccinarkkiniyar* and was published in 1868. His other works *Porulatikaram* and *Eluttatikaram* were published in 1885. Besides these, he had published *Viracoliyam*, written by Puttamittiran in 1881 and *Iraiyana Akapporul* in 1883 and *Ilakkana Vilakkam* written by Vaittiyanata Tesikar in 1899. Beyond this, in 1887 he had published a book called *Kalittogai*, one of the Eight Anthologies assigned to the post-Sangam period (250 – 600 A.D.).¹² Again, he brought in print the *Culamani* in 1889.

U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar (1855 – 1942)

U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar was born in 1855 at Uttamakanapuram, a village near Kumbakonam in Tanjore district. He studied Tamil grammar and Tamil literature from his guru Minatchi Sundaram Pillai of the Tiruvaduthurai mutt during 1871-1876.¹³ As a result of it he was appointed Tamil pandit in 1880 in the Government College at Kumbakonam. During his service he himself engaged in collecting palm-leaf manuscripts.

As a teacher in the College, he rendered yeomen service to Tamil Literature. During his tenure he found that the various Tamil works belonging to the Sangam Age were known only by name and through quotations in commentaries and other such treatises; but could not expose to the common man its uniqueness of good grammar and literature. Again the Sangam literature was not taught in student-oriented method though it dealt with social, political and economic life of the ancient Tamils. It was not taught in a glamorous way to enable the modern people to enjoy the subject matter. Hence he wanted to change the method of learning Sangam literature, so as to make it easily understandable with the subject matter. With this in mind he met Salem Ramaswami Mudaliyar, a scholar in Tamil literature. He explained the glory of Sangam Tamil literary work *Chivakachinthamani*.¹⁴ He believed that there would have crores of Tamil works in scattered form. He undertook a series of tours and travels in saving important works from imminent destruction. As a result of it he had brought out the first printed editions of eight major works *Chivakachinthamani* in 1887, *Pattuppaattu* in 1889, *Silappatikaaram* in 1892, *Puranaanuru* in 1894, *Purapporulvenpamalai* in 1895, *Manimekalai* in 1898, *Ainkurunuru* in 1903 and *Pattiruppattu* in 1904. In his writings, he took much care to incorporate the biographical introduction, glossary, index and many other relevant details for the sake of the readers.

The writing of U.V.Swamynatha Aiyar had a wider appeal among the Tamil scholars and the general public. His publications of classical works provided a revelation of the splendour of their heritage to the scholars who began to devote their attention towards Dravidian civilization. They portrayed Tamil entity and culture as a separate and distinct one from the Aryan and Sanskrit culture. According to them the Dravidian civilization came to be represented as of immense antiquity and as located only in hypothetical southern continent called Lemuria, now supposed to have submerged beneath the Ocean.

The publication of ancient Tamil classics stimulated a resurgence of interest in Tamil literature. Coincidence with this interest in Tamil literature and language was the earnest attempt

to delve into the Tamil past to discover the origin, growth and decline of Tamil civilization. The first theory outlined by Caldwell that Tamil culture had a separate and independent existence before the coming of Brahmins into South India, was widely interpreted more enthusiastically in the light of the rediscovered ancient Tamil literature. It led the Tamil scholars - P. Sundaram Pillai (1855 – 1897), J.M. Nallaswami Pillai (1864 – 1920) and other Tamil scholars who attempted to show that the Dravidian religious system was distinctive. They were boasting that it was superior to the teachings of the Vedas and was propounding the *Saiva Siddhanta* philosophy.

The renaissance of *Saiva Siddhanta* philosophy started with the founding of associations in different parts of Tamilnadu. As early as in 1883 a *Saiva Siddhanta Sabha* was founded at Tuticorin for the revival and propagation of Saivism. Under the auspices of the Sabha a Tamil Veda Recitation School was started in 1903.¹⁵ In 1886 another *Saiva Sabha* was established at Palayamkottai. The object of the Sabha was the propagation of the principles of *Saiva Siddhanta* which was the religion of the Dravidians. The founding of the *Saiva Sabhas* indicated the beginning of the attempt to revive and establish Saivism which came to be interpreted as the original religion of the Dravidians. Besides these, it prepared to spend its funds for the cause of Tamil language and the betterment of social conditions of the Dravidians.¹⁶ This Dravidian philosophy was advocated by Max Muller, one of the pioneer exponents of Indian philosophy, who emphasized that in South India there existed a philosophical literature which possessed original indigenous elements of great importance for historical purposes.¹⁷

Apart from the language prominence of Dravidians, the Tamils wanted to establish their racial superiority also in the Tamil society by pointing out the Brahmanical hegemony. Accordingly the Tamil scholars found that the Aryans had established over Tamil society on the basis of caste by birth and declared that they were superior in terms of getting gifts of land and tax free land from the Tamil rulers. By enjoying all these, they led a joyful life. During the British period, their predominant position in society leaned towards Western education and ultimately they occupied almost all Indian high

positions. Their over domination warranted to the intervention of Indian judicial system by way of Aryanised form of Sanscritisation. In Tamilnadu this type of influence materialized during the ancient period. Again in Tamilnadu, the Tamil castes corresponding with the Kshatriyas and Vysyas and people were given only the status of Sudras which was placed next to the Brahmins in social ranking. It was not digested by the Tamils.

In view of these the educated Dravidians or non-Brahmins by the beginning of the 20th century questioned their inferior position assigned by the Aryans. Hence the educated Dravidians, being large land owners (zamindars) and merchant classes clamoured for political power and governmental influence in terms of their wealth and status in society. As a result of these, the Tamil researchers and its' lovers decided to eliminate the dominant position of Sanskrit in the Tamil language and to propagate their antiquity. For this they organized the Fourth Tamil Sangam, Pure Tamil Movement, Tamil Protection Conferences and other methods on the one hand and made an attempt to form social organization for early political dominance.

Thus it is not surprising that when during the later parts of Nineteenth century, as the educated Tamils began to internalize modern ethnic-nationalistic ideals imported from Europe, linguistic identity became a key cornerstone of their nationalism. Tamil nationalism got an added impetus from the eternal Dravidian-Aryan conflict when rising Indian nationalism in response to British rule in India was given a monochromatic pan-Indian hue by Hindu nationalists in late 19th century by promotion of an Aryan-Sanskrit heritage as the foundation of Indian and Hindu identity. Moreover monopoly domination of Brahmins in education and employment in the early decades of 20th century fuelled resentment among educated non-Brahmin upper castes who equated Brahminism with Sanskritism. National political leadership added fuel to the fire when leaders like Gandhi and Nehru insisted on making Hindi the common language of whole India to politically unite the diverse population. In 1918 Gandhi established a Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha to propagate Hindi in the South and in 1925, the Indian National Congress adopted Hindi as the official language of all its proceedings instead of English. Dravidian nationalists saw these instances as the new phase of the age-old Northern chauvinistic attempt to dominate the South and extinguish its distinct identity.

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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS AND THE CHOLAS

[The Interference of the western chalukyas of kalyani in the Affairs of the vengi chalukyas]

T.R. Reddappa

Introduction

The Eastern Chalukyan Kingdom founded by Kubja Vishnuvardhana a brother of Pulakesin II continued without break from the 7th to the 11th century A.D. Tailapa II brought about the fall of the Rashtrakuta power in western Deccan in 973 A.D. He revived the Chalukyan kingdom and founded in Kalyani Kingdom of the Chalukyan dynasty. The relations between the Kalyani and the Vengi Chalukyan kingdoms were inimical¹

To the south of the Vengi Kingdom were the Cholas who became dominant having brought about the fall of the Pallavas. Raja Raja who is considered the greatest Chola ruler ascended the throne of Tanjore in 985 A.D. He conquered and consociated the southern Mysore under his rule. This Chola advance into Mysore brought them into conflict with the Kalyani Chalukyan power². He took advantage of the situation when the sons of the Eastern Chalukya Danamava, being deprived of their parental kingdom by Jata Choda Bhima, sought his help. He espoused their cause and entered into matrimonial alliance with them. He gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimaladitya, the younger of the two princes and his was but a beginning of series of diplomatic marriages between these two dynasties³.

This Eastern Chalukyan alliance with the Chola Monarch had its far-reaching consequences. It deprived the rules of Vengi much of their individuality and autonomy. Vengi ceased to be an independent kingdom and became a protectorate of the Chola Empire. The formation of the Chola-Chalukya alliance and the establishment of Chola ascendancy over the entire coastal Telugu country upset the political equilibrium of the southern Deccan and plunged the land into interminable dynastic wars⁴.

The first of the series of Kalyani Chalukyan invasions which was to devastate Vengi during the next century and a quarter occurred during the early years of rule of Saktivarman I, Satyasraya the son and successor of Tailapa II, sent an army led by one of his generals, Baya Nambi to invade

the Eastern Chalukyan Kingdom. In 1006 A.D. to overthrow the Chola-Chalukyan alliance and bring the East coast under his control. The general entered Vengi from the south. Reduced the forts of Dharanikota and Yanamadala to ashes and established himself at Chebrolu. Rajaraja distracted the attention of Satyasraya by sending his son Rajendra Chola to invade Rattapadi in the west and thus compelled him to withdraw his army from Vengi for the defence of his realm⁵.

At the close of the reign of Vimaladitya, the succession to the Vengi throne was in dispute. His son Rajaraja Narendra through the Chola princess Kundavai, was appointed crown prince and succeeded his father on the throne of Vengi. But Vijayaditya VII, who was the step brother of Rajaraja Narendra seized power with the help of Jayasimha II, the western Chalukyan ruler. Rajaraja Narendra naturally sought the help of his maternal uncle and overlord, the Chola emperor Rajendra Chola I, sent a powerful army against Rattapadi, to divert the attention of Jayasimha II and prevent him from sending effective help to Vijayaditya VII with this the king of Kalyani was compelled to take steps for the defence of his Kingdom⁶.

Rajaraja Narendra was constantly beset with difficulties during his long rule of 41 years. His half brother Vijayaditya never gave up his designs upon the throne. He managed probably with the help from the western Chalukya court to oust his brother. Rajaraja Narendra did not enjoy peaceful reign about the year 1042 A.D. the new ruler of Kalyani, Ahavamalla Somesvara I, with whom Vijayaditya VII allied himself sent an expedition against Vengi. Rajendra Chola I sent some Chola forces to Vengi under his Brahman general Rajaraja Brahmamaharaja. A bloody battle took place at Kalidindi in the West Godavari district. The result of the battle was indecisive. A full prevailed in the warfare after this battle.⁷

Rajadhiraja I the son and successor of Rajendra Chola I, in his eagerness to restore the

Chola hegemony over vengi to its former absolute State led an expedition into the coastal Telugu country. He fought a battle at Dhannada and compelled the western chalukyan army along with vijayaditya VII to retreat in disorder.⁸

He then entered into western chalyukyan dominions and set fire to the kollipaka fort on the frontier between the kalyani and vengi territories. This relief for Rajaraja Narendra, however was only temporary for in 1047 AD itself Vengi and Kalliyani were lost by the cholas. The western chalukyas held them almost up to the end of chola virarajendras reign. It is very strange that some how Rajadhiraja I suddenly lost interest in the vengi affairs and never made any attempt to re-establish his authority in the Telugu country. Rajaraja Narendra realised that to continue fight with the western chalukyas was waste and hence concluded peace with Somesvara I. In order to show his respect towards karnatakas. He assumed their titles like 'Satyasraya kulasekhara' 'Samastabhuvanasraya'. Somesvara appointed one of his pradhanis Narayanabhata as the sathanapati in the court of Raja mahendravarman to look after his Imperial affairs. This Narayanabhata was a distinguished scholar. He assisted Rajaraja Narendra's court poet and purohit Nannayabhata in the composition of his Telugu Mahabharata.⁹

The death of Rajaraja Narendra in 1061 AD. Offered another opportunity to the kalyani court to strengthen its hold on vengi. vijayaditya VII seized Vengi and with the consent of his suzerain of kalyani whom he had served loyally for several years established himself permanently in the kingdom. Meanwhile prince Rajendra, son of Rajaraja Narendra through the chola princess Ammangai was brought up in the chola harem. He married Madhurantakidevi the daughter of the new chola ruler Rajendra II who was the brother and successor of Rajadhiraja I¹⁰

In order to restore him on the vengi throne the chola ruler Rajendra II sent his son Rajamahendra and brother Virarajendra against the western chalukyas and vijayaditya VII. The chola forces marched against Gangavadi and drove away the Chalukyas. Virarajendra then marched against vengi and probably killed

Saktivarama, the son of vijayaditya VII, meanwhile Rajendra II died and as his son Rajamahendra had predeceased him his brother Virarajendra went back to Gangaikondacholapuram and coronated himself there in 1062-63 AD. fortunes fluctuated for the Eastern Chalukyas. Rajendra during this period for sometime he was allowed to rule vengi.¹¹

On the death of Somesvara I in 1068 AD Vikramaditya VI one of his three sons began to pursue his plans for securing the throne of kalyani for himself. Accordingly he first got vijayaditya to make his submission to virarajendra chola and make peace with him and soon after followed the same course himself. Virarajendra even gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya VI.¹²

On the death of virarajendra and the assassination of his son Adhirajendra in 1070 AD Rajendra Chalukya, a descendant through his mother from Rajendra chola I, went to the south and established himself with his uncle vijayaditya VII and allowed him to rule vengi during the remaining years of his life with vijayaditya's death in 1075 AD the Eastern Chalukyan line came to an end. Vengi became a province of the chola Empire, Kulottunga Chola I administered the province through his son by sending them as viceroys. However there was a prolonged fight between him and vikramaditya VI over the possession of vengi which frequently changed hands. This perpetual struggle between the two great rulers ended in the vengi kingdom slipping out of the chola hands.¹³

Conclusion

Thus during the 10th and 11th centuries fortune favored for a time the Eastern Chalukyas later the cholas in the possession of Deccan. There had been through a conflict between the Eastern chalukyas the western chalukyas and the cholas were a saga of constant military strifes and struggles only to conquer the territories and remain in power. In course of their struggle for power the entire south Indian political structure participated in one way or the other contributing to the overall political developments of the times.

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THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE CHOLAS IN PANDYA COUNTRY DURING THE 11th and 12th CENTURIES

P. Sangaralingam

Introduction

Dindigul has been located in the important commercial trade route it has importance both politically and economically. Dindigul or the place which is mentioned here as the research area is a natural valley. To the north of Dindigul is Rangamalai hills and Karumalai hills, to the south is Sirumalai hills, Perumalai hills, Kalugumalai hills and Siddharmalai hills and to the east is Karandahills and Ayyalur hills and to the west is Palani hills and Perumal hills.¹ This valley is located at 9.26', 10.34,' west longitude and 75.23', 77.20' east latitude.² There is no perennial river here as it is surrounded by mountains and hills.

Even though this place is located amidst administrative centres like Madurai, Uraiyur, Karuvur, political environment of the Pandya Kings dominated there. The "Velaangal" ruled over the "nadas" created by themselves and they administered this areas with autonomy. They were the supporters of the Pandyas.

Ancient Period and Sangam Period:

The megalithic cultural centres which have been found in the research region tells us that this area has got historical importance. More than hundred megalithic sites discovered³ here testify the historical significance of this region. The importance of this region in the Sangam period has been evinced in Silapadigaram and

Aghananooru.⁴ The Sangam period poets such as Paanar, Kabilar, Arisilkilar and Perunkilar wrote songs in "Purananuru" in praise of the chieftains of Panrimalai's Panni, Pothini malai's chieftain Velaavi, Avaiyarkudi's Perum Pegan.⁵

Early Pandyas period:

In Dindigul region there were many small administrative divisions called "nadas" which were headed by "Velaans"(chieftains). They were called with the names of their countries prefixed to their names. In the research area, there were different nadas called Andanadu, Pallinadu, Dhuvapathinadu, Karaikottunadu, Adambanadu, Vaigavurnadu, Perungalnadu. The chieftains of that area were hence called Andavelaan, Palli Velaan, Dhuvapathi Velaan⁶. These Velaans were Pandya's administrative pillars, army generals, chief executives and this is known from the inscriptions.⁷ But they ruled their region with good administrative skills and autonomy. And it is seemed that there were small wars called Thorupoosal (Cattle Trooping) and this is evinced from the hero stones.⁸ They constructed Siva temples in their regions and called them by their names like "Dhuvapathi Velaan edupitha Dhuvapathieshwaram".⁹

To the south of Dindigul is Pandya's capital Madurai. To the north and northeast sides are Adambanadu and Pallinadu; To the east is Dhuvapathinadu and to the west is Andanadu

and Vaigaavurnadu. In the centre Karaikottunadu is located. The chieftains of these nadus such as Pallivelaan, Andavelaan, Dhuvarapathivelaan got many victories for the Pandyas in the war between Pandyas and Pallavas that lasted more than 250 years in the history of Tamilnadu. The chieftains who headed the wars of Pandyas brought more and more wealth for the temples treasury. This was known from the inscriptions of Thiruvellarai,¹⁰ Lalgudi,¹¹ Uraiyur¹² and Javanthipuram¹³ which were inscribed during the period of Varagunan II. Above all that, they had been the Chief Ministers of Pandyas. For Pandyas, they headed the Wars of Kongu area, Cheras Vizhingam War and Sinhalese War.¹⁴ When Veerapandya, the Pandya king was staying in Andanadu and he was presented with the Sivakasi Coppler Plates¹⁵ and this proves their popularity. At the same time, they created irrigation facilities to improve agriculture. Then they gave protection trade guilds¹⁶ and improved the industrial and economic development. Thus the above said Velaans were part and parcel of the early Pandya rule from AD 600 to AD 1100, for more than five centuries, in administration and implementation of people welfare measures.

Chola Pandya Rule: From A.D. 1000 upto 1190

Cholas flourished during the Medieval Tamil History and waged wars continuously with Pandyas. Paranthaga Cholan I called himself "Madurai Konda Kopara Kesari" ¹⁷ (A King who conquered Madurai). When Rajarajan I attacked Madurai, the Kongu-Chera King Amarapuyangan, who was in marital alliance with Pandyas, rush to their help but was pathetically defeated.¹⁸ The inscriptions in Thadicombu, Dindigul bare notes about Amarapuyanga Sathurvedhi Mangalam. ¹⁹

The defeated Pandya Kingdom was changed as Raja Raja Pandi Vazha Nadu. From the era of Rajendran I,²⁰ the Chola Princes who ruled Madurai called themselves Chola Pandyas.²¹ This continued for nearly 200 years. To continue this rule, they adopted many diplomatic straggles and we come to know of this through inductive methods from the inscriptions of Chola Pandyas.²²

In support of the Chola Pandyas in Madurai a big Chola Army was stationed at Madurai and the surrounding areas. Because of the

continuous efforts to invade Pandya Kingdom the Cholas try to create a conducive base for them. This resulted in the creation of New Velaans in the Dindigul region by the Cholas as it has been done earlier through Chola Pandyas to protect their descendants. The creation of the new Velaans was necessitated because the Cholas required their army for some other conquests.

During the reign of Chola Pandyas the Pandya Kingdom was renamed as "Raja Raja Vazha Nadu"²³. During the era of Rajendran I Pandya Kingdom was named as "Raja Rajan Mandalam" (Zone). The research area was divided into two parts such as Pandya Kulasani Vazha Nadu and Madurandaga Vazha Nadu.²⁴ The areas of the southern side of Vaigai river was called Madurandaga Vazhanadu and the Northern side as Rajendra Vazhanadu. In this context, the Chola Chieftains like Kaadavarayars, Pallavarayars, Malavarayars, Sethirayars, Kalingarayars²⁵ and the like belonging to Tiruchi, Jayangondam, Vallam, Thirukattupalli regions were continuously sent to Dindigul region.

New Nadugal (Petty Kingdoms) were created inbetween Adambanadu, Pallinadu, Dhuvarapathinadu which where in the North and North-East region of Dindigul. Andanadu, Perungalnadu of the Western Region of Dindigul and Karaikottu Nadu which was at the Central Region, on one side and the Kingdom of Pandyas with Madurai on the other side to prevent the influence and support of them to Chola Pandyas.

Sempatti, Nilakottai, Athur, Sithayankottai, Ayyampalayam, Vathalakundu, Periyakulam, Allinagaram²⁶ and Andipatti which are the Souther and South-West regions of Dindigul were thick forests then. In this region Atroornadu,²⁷ Thirunedungalanadu,²⁸ Kallaganadu²⁹ and the like were created. Atroornadu consisted of the present day regions Athoor, Sempatti, Nilakottai, Kannivadi, Moolachatram and Reddiarchatram. The inscriptions at Atroor and Athilakshmpuram confirmed that Kadavarayas and Kalingarayars looked after the administration of this region. Nedungalanadu created by Sethirayas consisted of regions upto Sithayankottai, Ayyam palayam,³⁰ Vathalakundu and Periyakulam.

The present Sithayankottai is nothing but the Sethirayankottai of the Past. Malavarayas created Kallaganadu that consisted of Ammayanayakanur, Kuruvithurai, Mettupatti, Siddargalmalai, Nilakottai and Pallapatti. They have name their Siva temples as Sethiraya Easwaram and Malavaraya Easwaram. The absence of the names of Chola and Pandya Kings in the inscriptions of Rayas exhibit their autonomous status.³¹ These three regions were inbetween Madurai and the other nadus in Dindigul Valley. The inscriptions of this region bear the names of a certain sect of people and their names.³² This inscriptions reveal that the people and their descendants of this 'inbetween'

buffer region played a very vital role in the creation of it.

The movement of this people to worship their family deities in places like Tiruchy, Thirukattupalli and Vallam³³ ascertained that they have migrated to Dindigul region from there. They have created a great impact in the political happenings of this region and became protectors of the Pandya Kingdom.³⁴ Now they are become the sons of this soil. It is no exaggeration to say that the political diplomacy of the Cholas in the creation of the buffer region helped them to occupy the Pandya throne for nearly two hundred years.

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RYOTWARI REBELLION - THE 1837 REVOLT OF SOUTH CANARA

Satish Gatti

The contemporary colonial administrators try to find the cause for the revolt within the native society. They regard reestablishment of Haleri rule and the inability of the natives of Amara Sullia and Puttur to cope with colonial administration as the reason for the rebellion. Richter tries to limit the event as 'Gauda affair'. Among the native writings, the Yakshagana written on the event narrates it as a revolt is of the ryots. In its introductory part the revolt equated with robbery. It may be because of the erroneous reading of the colonial records. The historical novel written on the event by Niranjana and Neerumarga narrates the event as a revolt of the ryots. The dissertation of the Bilimale portrays the event in relation with the Gowda community. He regards the event of 1837 CE as responsible for the creation of enmity with Gowda community and the colonial government. For D.N.Kristnayya, M.G.Nagaraju, the reestablishment of the Haleri rule in Kodagu was the prime motive for the revolt. Deviprasad equated the rebellion with the freedom movement. Shyam Bhat N in his dissertation states that the rebellion is backward looking. For him it was an attempt to reestablish Haleri rule over Coorg. At the same time he also finds some features of peasant uprisings in it.¹ My argument was that 1837 event was primarily ryots rebellion with a glossy outer cover as reestablishment of the rule of Haleri dynasty. Ryots strongly opposed the ryotwari settlement imposed over them. The critical analysis of the causes and events in the colonial writings reveal the real reason behind the 1837 revolt.

An analysis of the Causes

Partha Chatterjee in his work *A Princely Imposter*, the secret history of the Indian Nationalism shows several instances of native attempt to gain power was treated as attempt from the imposters.² Similarly the leaders of the revolt of 1837 like Aparampara, Kalyanaswamy and Puttabassappa for the colonial administrators becomes imposters. But for the ryots of South Canara the leaders of these revolt like Aparampara, Kalyanaswamy and Puttabassappa were genuine or not, becomes not so important. The Head Seristadar of Puttur, in his report opines that, if strict action was not

taken against the rebels the same ryots were capable of again raising a war against the government either by making use of the name of Kalyanappa or by any other, feigning himself as the descendant of the Raja of Coorg.³

The contemporary colonial writings list some of the important causes for the rebellion. Though in justification tone they argues that it was an attempt to establish 'Haleri rule' or try to limit as a 'Gowda affair'. Still their writings reveals other causes which directly linked with ryots and ryotwari system. As a colonial administrator, M Lewin, the Collector of South Canara states that, the principal complaints from Lower Coorg he received was about the tobacco monopoly, judicial system and most importantly for the revenue system.⁴

Tobacco Monopoly

The colonial official, Maltby E opines that during the rule of raja of Coorg there was no strict rule applied over the cultivation of tobacco. Based on the necessity the raja of Coorg collected tobacco leaves from the people. The company government through tobacco monopoly tries to restrict the rights of the ryots in tobacco cultivation. The ryots of Amara, Sullia considered it as an attempt to abridgment of their former right and waited right opportunity to oppose it.⁵ For Lewin the grievance against tobacco monopoly is more theoretical than real. He states rather than considering a freak impost company changed the mode of taxation over tobacco and it was responsible for source of annoyance among the people of Amara Sullia who considered it as privation of right.⁶ According to Lewin the people of Canara oppose tobacco monopoly because it upholds the interests of the foreign countries at the expense of their own.⁷ Under the company government bad tobacco which was rejected as unfit for consumption was burnt, there by compelling ryot to cultivate and sell only good quality of tobacco.⁸ Brown F.C. as a critique of colonial policy states that monopoly of salt and tobacco fueled the rebellious mood of the people. According to him, 'the monopoly of salt enforced by penalty prohibiting the natives from touching the sun evaporated sea salt at their own doors;

that of tobacco enforced by prohibiting them from growing a leaf of the plant on their lands; thus asking it profitable to the smuggler to introduce and sell American Tobacco in India⁹ The opposition to American tobacco cultivation and monopoly over it can be observed as back as 1830 CE. The colonial judicial official Mr. Baber while answering before enquiry committee states that, tobacco in western coast treated as a necessity of life and if slaves do not receive tobacco with their rice, will run away from the masters. He also informs that for cultivation in comparison to American tobacco, the Coimbatore tobacco was preferred by the ryots. The assassination of Ramappa, tobacco manegar of Kantamagala, shows that as a colonial representative, the native officials exploited the native people in the name of tobacco monopoly.

Judicial System

It was in 1836 CE Lewin received petition from the reputed person of Puttur against Company Judicial system and argued in favour of the Panchayat system.¹⁰ The people of the Amara, Sullia (lower coorg) forbade the Company courts citing it as against to their honour to attend it. Though Lewin considers their number is not large.¹¹ Lewin identifies the company judicial system one of the reason for the revolt yet he argues that the defect is not in the company judicial system, but with the people of South Canara who were considered as 'barbaric' people one who were completely ignorant about the principles and working of company law, which is according to him, highly refined and complicated system of law.¹² Quite contrary to Lewin's opinion the head Sirestadar, Devappiah states that the ryots were greatly annoyed by decrees and public sales for defaulting the land revenue,¹³

Revenue Assessment

The analysis of the contemporary colonial reports shows how the ryots were aggrieved against the colonial government. The collector of South Canara, Lewin states that, the ryots of Puttur complained about the failure of sooghee crops during the jumabundy.¹⁴ He also mentions that after the transfer of lower Coorg to Canara, the revision of the land assessment was in operation throughout the district and which had produced a feeling of discontent in Canara. He

further states that these revision of revenue have a most extensive operation in lower Coorg.¹⁵ According to Lewin, the plan of a fixed and unalterable payment of the revenue demand and an abandonment of the ancient practice of remission at the annual settlement however good and reasonable had created discontent among the people. He further states that, the ryots of lower Coorg compared their situation to the rule of Raja of Coorg with the company rule and found the relative advantages in the rule of the Raja of Coorg.¹⁶ Brown F.C. notes that, an assistant collector from Canara observed that he would willingly serve there without pay, provided the government would allow him to trade. The assistant collector makes profit by buying grain when the crops are cut and sell it towards the end of the season.¹⁷ This example suggests that the colonial officials misuse the vulnerable situation of the ryots for their profit.

In a contrary to above opinion, Maltby, the sub collector, lists the benefits received by the ryots of (lower Coorg) Amara, Sullia after annexing it to Canara. He states that since company rule there was no increase of land revenue, by which the landholder have been benefitted. According to him, the company government abolished tax on the house and a duty formerly levied on grain and other produce when exported to the coasts.¹⁸ The land holder of the (lower Coorg) Amara, Sullia after its annexation to Canara relieved from the oppressive tax of sending labourers to work for the Raja of Coorg. He further states, it was rigoursly imposed and cause much hardship for the cultivation their lands.¹⁹ Maltby opines that, the ryots were also subjected to further demand for supplies of fruit and vegetables and building materials. As an evidence for this Maltby reports that the Principal Collector, Mr. Viveash when addressing the board on the 23rd August 1834 CE about the benefit of the (lower Coorg) Amara, Sullia received by annexation to Canara was that 'the extra taxes from which the ryots are now relieved amounted upon moderate calculation to 30% on the revenues.²⁰ According to Maltby, the dearness of labour, distance of a market, unhealthiness of the climate from the surrounding jungles and limited population made cultivation difficult in (lower Coorg) Amara, Sullia. He opines that in situation like the above the strictness in the revenue system will check the increase in the cultivation.²¹ Maltby as a

solution against disturbance also suggests that as a revenue system annual settlement pursued in reference to the extent of land under cultivation. As a fixed rent to improve the property of the land holder he suggest that it is applied only when revolutionary officer in charge of these matters.²² Maltby states that the company's policy of raising land revenue was responsible for the decrease of cultivation.²³

Brown F.C. as a critique of Munro's ryotwari states that the disturbance occurred mainly because of the revenue policy. According to him, the Gowdas of the (lower Coorg) Amara Sullia, after paying fixed maximum money assessment, they represented their inability to pay further revenue to the company government. Brown states that as other sources exhausted and with no money they were unable to pay revenue in cash. When company government confiscated their moveable and immoveable property in lieu of their revenue they revolted against the company government.²⁴ Brown F.C. though company official, yet he was also landlord at Malabar so he knows the problems of revenue assessment which was introduced by Thomas Munro in the name of 'Ryotwari'. About the problem of cash economy Brown F.C opines that 'in a country where there are no roads, there can be no towns, where there are no towns there can be no trade where there is no trade, there can be no exchange no exchange, no money, and where there is no money, that men must be reduced to barter, as they are throughout the Peninsula of India, to barter with the other, the little surplus they have left for the supply of their half dozen wants. To insist on having his revenue in money therefore is insisting on having that which the native cannot get, nor can be given could be coin his blood into drachmas.'²⁵ Thus, the Madras system of annual surveys and settlements, an operation sufficiently trying to temper a body of rude farmers and made them revolt against the company rule.²⁶ Brown F.C. opines that in Canara throughout all classes a deep, intolerable feeling of hatred and distrust at the insecurity of property, and the destruction of all confidence and all enjoyment produced by these annual surveys and assessments and any attempt to rid them off will be considered as relief. And this relief is the revolt of 1837.²⁷ He also states that no country in the world can pay such a tax as 'a fixed maximum money assessment on the land.'²⁸

Devapaiah, head seristhadar of Puttur, states that the followers of the Kalyannappa mainly include the ryots who belonged to Gowda community in Bellare, Sullia and Puttur, who were well skilled in their use and the public servants who generally served in the durbar of Coorg.²⁹ They were annoyed with Company rule because there was no reduction of revenue in lieu of their services which they received under the rule of the Raja of Coorg.³⁰ Thus the ryotwari revenue system played an important role in 1837 CE to instigate ryots to rebel against the colonial authority.

The Events - The ryots participation

The 1837 revolt though originated with the idea of establishing Haleri rule over Coorg. The events of the rebellion show that the discontent of the ryots played prominent role in this rebellion. The name of Kalynaswamy as successor of Coorg certainly inspired the ryots of (lower Coorg) Amara Sullia. The report of the event narrated by Devappaiah, Head Sheristadar certainly shows the grievances of the ryots were far more important than the establishing Haleri dynasty at Coorg.³¹ On 27th Mr. Lewin the collector of South Canara made *jummabandy* at Puttur where he received the complaints about the failing of the *Sooghee* crop. Later events of the revolt were reported by Devappaiah, the Head Seristadar. He states that after receiving order for preliminary enquiry for annual *jummabandy* from collector he went to Bellare on 28th March 1837 CE. On 29th March, he finished *Jumnabandy* of 24 villages out of the Bellare *magane*. On the same day at night he received complaint from ryots of Panja *magane* led by *Patel Occanna Bunt, Mochittaya and Vasudeva* about great loss that had been sustained in the *Sooghey* crop. Devapaiha states that on 30th March morning many armed men plundered the *Peshcar's* office at Bellare. On the morning of the 31st Kalyannappa left Bellare for Puttur. Nearly 1500 men assembled from Bellare, Panja and Amara. On 31st Kalyanappa went to Caipungal and to Puttur the number of his supporters increased to 3,000. After availing information about the strength of the company troops at Puttur and Mangaluru as very limited he attacked Puttur and pursued the company troops as far as Pane Mangalore. In Pane Mangalore his party increased for about 4,000 men of whom 500 to 600 were armed with matchlocks rest with

knives and sticks. Later the rebels attacked Mangaluru. For nearly two weeks, it was in the hands of the rebels.³² The rebellion spread to Kasaragod, Kumbala, Mulky and Uppinangady.³³

The thousands of men along with Kallianayppa were not trained soldiers but ryots who were unable to pay higher land revenue in the form of cash to the company government. The ryots of Mangaluru, Bekal, Bantwal taluks where the one who joined the rebellion, and were considered as rebels who raised war against the state. The charges of committing robbery, murder and serious assaults was also imposed on them. With the arrival of company army, the houses of the ryots/ rebels were plundered and their property was attacked. The

leaders of the revolt hanged some of them others were sentenced for jail and transported beyond seas.³⁴ The ryotwari revenue settlement insisted the ryots to pay revenue in cash and not in kind. The people of Amara Sullia and Puttur region paid their revenue to the Raja of Coorg in kind. The selling of agricultural products became compulsory for the ryots to pay the revenue. The limited and far away markets made the ryots easy prey to the moneylending class. All these features of the ryotwari revenue system were responsible for the 1837 rebellion of South Canara. Thus, 1837 revolt of South Canara associated with the new revenue policy of the colonial government, which was popularly known as 'ryotwari', hence it was known as 'Ryotwari Rebellion'.

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GROWTH OF MODERN EDUCATION AND RISE OF NATIONALISM IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY – AN OVERVIEW

S. Sheeba & S.S. Sundaram

Introduction of modern education

The introduction of modern education was an event of great historical significance for India. It was definitely a progressive act of the British rule. Three main agencies were responsible for the spread of modern education in India. They were the foreign Christian missionaries, the British Government and the progressive Indians.¹

The Christian missionaries, who did extensive work in the sphere of the spread of modern education in India, were inspired mainly by proselytizing spirit, to spread Christianity among the Indian people. They sincerely believed that their campaign to convert the Indians was a civilizing mission. They attacked polytheism and the caste inequalities among the Hindus for Christianity fundamentally stood for one God and social equality. These missionaries were among the pioneers of modern secular education, the educational institutions started by them also gave religious instruction in Christianity. Though their aim in starting these institutions was religious, these missionary organizations played an important role in spreading modern education among the Indians.²

The British Government was, established a network of schools and colleges in India which turned outers of thousands of educated Indians versed in modern knowledge. In spite of the limitations and distortions of the education imparted which were the object of criticism of Indian nationalism.³ There were other motives also which encouraged some of the British statesmen and leaders of English thought to endorse the introduction of modern education in India. These enlightened Britishers, were

convinced that the British culture was the best and the most liberal in the world and that if India, South Africa and later on the entire world, were Anglicized culturally it would pave the way for the social and political unification of the world. The British were inspired by an almost missionary zeal for spreading British education and culture.⁴ Macaulay's arrival to India, he designed the scheme of education for Indians in good faith in order to help the roots of the British Imperialism grow deeper into soil of India. But it was beyond for his imagination that one day his own scheme will be a major cause for the down fall of the British Empire in India.⁵

The third powerful agency in spreading modern education in India was the Indians themselves. Rajaram Mohan Roy hailed the English education as the key to the treasures of scientific and democratic thought of the modern west. He declared that perpetuation of the old system of education in India would only perpetuate superstition and authority. If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian Philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuator their ignorance.

Woods despatch on education, 1854

The next important step concerning the education in India was taken by Sir Charles Wood. The Despatch was usually called the Magna Charta of Indian education because of some larger tasks it set forth to the government.⁶

The Despatch stated that the educational system in India was organized for the triple object of (1) spreading western culture. (2)

securing properly trained servants for the public administration, and (3) doing their duty to the sovereign by the Indian subjects.⁷ The Despatch further stated that the Government should assume direct responsibilities for the education of the masses including the women.

It was Woods Education Despatch of 1854 laid the foundation of the structure of the modern educational system in India. The growth of education gathered momentum after 1854. The significant role of modern education in the social, political and cultural advance of the Indian people, helped for the development of society.⁸

Impact of education for the growth of nationalism

The English languages as such played no less important role in the development of Indian nationalism. It cut across provincial barriers and served the purpose of a lingua franca, a common all Indian language for Indians living in distant and different parts of the country and speaking quite different tongues and dialects. It was largely through the medium of English that educated Indians began to meet each to discuss their common problems and to feel a sentiment of oneness and community. They began to meet on common platforms to devise plans for the upliftment of their country.⁹

The Nationalist Movement in India was the out come of a large number of factors and the most important among them and not the least one was British imperialism. British imperialism helped the process of unification of the country. The improvement in the means of Education and communication also quickened the nationalist movement in the country.¹⁰

Emergence of nationalistic thinking and formation of associations

The emergence of nationalistic thinking was the off-shoot of the spread of western education in the country. The spread of western education and western thought during the 19th century imbibed a modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist political outlook to a large number of Indians.¹¹

They were admired by the contemporary nationalist movement of European Nations. Rousseau, Paine, John Stuart Mill and other Western thinkers became the political guides. It

was the English Education, which gave birth to a critical attitude towards religion and a spirit of inquiry into the origin of state and society with a view to determine their proper scope and functions.¹² To put in a concrete form the replacement of blind faith in current traditions, beliefs and convention, characteristic of the medieval age by a spirit of rationalism which seeks to inquire and argue before accepting anything were the most important impact of western education in India. The root of progress in social, religious and political spheres in life was first laid in Bengal by Rajaram Mohan Roy, the prophet of the Indian National Movement. The Brahma Samaj at first manifested itself move in religious and social ideas but later on it also profoundly affected the political consciousness of the people.

As a result of the visit of Kasab Chandra Sen in 1862 the Veda Samaj was established at Madras as a Branch of the Brahmo Samaj. With effort and enthusiasm shown by the retired Munsif Kasi Viswanatha Mudaliar the Veda Samaj was converted into the Brahma Samaj of South India. In collaboration with Major Appavu Pillai after his return from Burma to Bangalore, various part of India, from there they rendered services for the growth of nationalism.

While some nationalist men of North India had taken such initiatives, the South Indians did not keep quite. A similar attempt was taken in Madras as early as 1884. It was heralded by a few intellectuals like Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty, P.Ananda Charlu, P.Rangaiah Naidu, and G. Subramaniya Iyer and by their efforts the Madras Natives Association was formed on Feb 26 1852 at Madras.¹³

The chief object of this association was to petition to the British Government. The grievances and the aspirations of the inhabitants of the city of Madras.¹⁴

With the lamented demise of Sri Lakshminarasu Chetty in 1868 the Madras Native Association languished and at last became defunct.¹⁵ In the meantime some of the lending western educated Indian families, who dominated their government service and professions of their districts moved to establish their presence and ordinants at the emerging centres of provincial affairs.

Madras - The birth place of Indian National Congress

The city of Madras was the birth place of Indian National Congress. The annual convention of the Theosophical society met at Adyar, a suburb of the city of Madras in December 1884. Seventeen of the Theosophists who were "good and true" gathered in the house of Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao and resolved to form themselves into a group of provincial committees, which perhaps formed the nucleus of the Indian National Congress.¹⁶

Delegates from Madras

While the first Indian National Congress which met from 28th to 30th December 1885 in the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay, was presided over by W.C.Bannerjee, Chennai sent its representatives to the first session of the Congress. The delegation included G.Subramania Iyer, the editor of The Hindu. M.Veeraraghavachariar, Dr.S.Subramania Iyer, P.Rungaiyah Naidu and P.Anandacharlu. Thus the Indian National Congress came into existence as an organisation of educated Indians "for the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India". In the words of A.O. Hume the Congress served as a safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by the action of the British Raj. After the Birth of Indian National Congress the political activity in Madras almost synchronised with its programme till the forces of linguism and communalism showed their ugly heads at the beginning of the present century.¹⁷

To falsify the notion that "Madras was benighted" the nationalists of Madras hosted the third session of the Indian National Congress which met on 27, December 1887 in Mackay's Garden presided over by Badruddin Tyabji, an ardent Muslim nationalist from Bombay.

Madras at the turn of 20th century

Political remonstrance through newspapers, Public meetings, conferences, representations and petitions was the normal feature of the Indian public life at the beginning of this century. The annual session of the congress became not only impressive but immensely popular. In fact it had much propaganda value. It is a pity that Congress had not owned a single newspaper of its own but

many congress men had vernacular as well as English newspapers published by them. Efforts were made to distribute them both in India and England. Some publishers were patriotic; they issued handbills and pamphlets about the aims and objectives of the Congress. Renowned among them was G.A.Natesan of Chennai who published a plethora of mass and cheap congress literature.¹⁸

National education

According to Mrs.Besant an educational system should inculcate the spirit of patriotism among the students. She condemned the existing educational system as backward, reactionary and unpatriotic. As the students' were the raising hope of India, she decided to replace the existing educational system by introducing national education. She said that Love for motherland, patriotism and devotion to the country should be taught in the national schools and colleges.¹⁹

In March 1918, National Education week was celebrated to popularise the concept of National education among the students and parents. These National schools attracted the attention of the students. In Tamil Nadu alone several such schools were started which taught the spirit of nationalism and patriotism to thousands of young students.

Hence Arundale, the organising secretary of the Home Rule League urged the people to compel the Government to appoint Indians as Heads of Schools and Colleges. He demanded that Indian Language should be taught to the Indian children and the teachers should cultivate a great love for India and the Indian child.²⁰

English education and the national movement

A review of the progress of western education in the nineteenth century reveals that how far it effected in transforming the Indian mind for the inclusion of Western ideas. What the revival of Greek learning had done for the usherment of Modern age to Europe was done to India by the spread of Western thought. Religious and social reformation, enlightenment or rationalism in outlook and patriotism as a principle of social motivation were powerful impulses due to the study of European literary, especially the English literature, Philosophy and Science.²¹ Therefore it is historically true that

western education made a definite contribution to the evolution of a modern society and the unification of the peoples of India. It has to be recognized that the process of education suffered from serious defects, which were reflected in individual and collective conduct.²¹

The arrival of Lord Curzon to India and Viceroy was turning point in the History of education in India. "He said there exists a powerful school of opinion which does not hide."²² The University Act of 1904 was passed on the basis of the recommendations of the Government of British India. Lord Curzon carried out many other educational reforms like the establishment of the Schools of Arts, Agricultural Education, Foreign Scholarship, creation of the department of Archaeology etc.

He did not favour India's slavish attitude to English models. A National Movement against English education resulted from the policy of the British to divide Bengal in 1905. Soon it became a source of strength for national education. The Jallianwallabagh massacre converted even the loyal supporters of the British into national revolutionaries. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, by then the undisputed leader of the Congress, launched his first nation wide satyagraha.²³ Gandhiji called for a total boycott of schools and colleges as part of this movement.²⁴

Wardha scheme

The most important scheme of national education was contributed by Gandhi which came to be known as Wardha Scheme or Basic National Education. He initiated in the column of the Newspaper, namely by Harijan for a discussion of the Indian educational problem. Hamia Milia, Vishwa Bharathi Kalashetra and various institution were started all over the country.²⁵

A further setback, for the expansion of education was caused by the revised Grant-in Aid codes framed between 1904 and 1908. Finally, the defeat of Gokhale's Bill for introducing compulsory education dissolved all hope of making the Indian masses educated.²⁶

Modern Education in India, Main Criticisms

Since modern education was introduced in India to meet the needs of Britain as already enumerated above, its progress had been restricted and its character, from the standpoint of the progress of the Indian people, was unsatisfactory. Because of the main purpose of the inauguration of modern education the mass education had been seriously neglected.²⁷

After more than a century of the British rule, 94 percent of the India population remained illiterate in 1911 and 92 percent in 1931. The Number of students receiving education in primary and secondary schools amounted to 13.5 million only or 4.9 percent of the entire population in 1934-35. Even of these, two-thirds who studied in primary schools did not study beyond the first year and less than one fifth reached the final year.²⁸

Thus modern education played a contradictory double role. Introduced at the outset with a view to meet the political and administrative needs of Britain and even to strengthen the bond of the British rulers and the Indian rules, it also helped Indian nationalism in its struggle against British rule.²⁹

Advantages of the modern education

The advantages of the knowledge of English were almost immeasurable. It gave access to Modern English Literature, one of the richest, if not the richest, it was the literature of the British nation, it laid the foundation of modern democratic, scientific and rationalist culture which it further developed and enriched during its subsequent periods.

Conclusion

The study of the English language thus provided an opportunity to study the social liberation, natural-scientific and rationalist philosophical literature in that language. Thus study helped to build up a democratic and rationalist outlook. If the social liberation philosophy became a weapon to achieve individual and national freedom, the rationalist philosophy became an instrument to liberate the mind from dark superstition.

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INTRODUCING THE ARCHIVAL HISTORY OF KERALA : A STUDY

J. R. Shyma Jacob

The wide use of archives and exploring into the archival wealth today is closely connected with the changes in the notion of historiography and historical method. Extensive and elaborate data are available today for a researcher and a historian. They could be contemporary or original, oral history or published works and much more or all together. With the use of such new data, topics of thesis in history keep multiplying and even micro topics are concentrated by the researchers. The unknown pasts is constantly verified and redefined by the scholar and is trying to interpret data and facts with his unquenchable thirst to bring out the dark corners of history.

The record keeping practices, developed by Sumerians and Hittites and were inherited by Egyptians and improved upon by the Greeks and particularly by the Romans. Until the collapse of Roman authority the Catholic Church kept these practices alive. Latter they were adopted and perfected in nation states that developed in Western Europe. The advantages of concentrating the archives of individual officers

in a centralized repository were first recognized by the Spanish in 1543 A.D but it was not until the end of 18th century that the French during the course of their revolution created a national system of public archival administration directed by a central agency.

The Asian Countries were the active spectators of the art of writing and archival institutions. The materials used for writing by them are metal, stone, wood, brick, bark, parchment, palm leaf, paper, Cardboard and linen. The inscribed seals of Indus Valley Civilization reveal that Indians applied the art of writing more than five thousand years ago. The Vedic Literature, Jain and Buddhist writings give a plenty of information that the ancient Indians preserved their writing and transmitted them from one generation to another. In South Indian, the Sangam literature produced in palm leaves evidenced that the palm leaves occupied a unique place in the area of writing material ¹. Till the invention of paper, all the administrative transactions and literary contributions were made on palm leaves and parchments. The

Muslim rulers in India introduced paper for writing administrative activities and were followed by European settlers. During colonial rule, paper was the chief writing material.

The advent of Europeans, particularly the British witnessed the production of Records in large scale due to administrative growth in various dimension and direction. They paid special attention for preserving their records by establishing archives both in national and regional levels in the western model. The National Archives was set up in Calcutta in 11th March 1891 as the Imperial Record Department (IRD) by the British Government of India to primarily safeguard the rich documentary heritage of its largest imperial colony². IRD was shifted to Delhi 1930's and after independence was re designated as National Archives of India (NAI)³.

Apart from NAI, many of the states also have their own archival department that account for and safeguard the regional, national and colorful documentary heritages of our ancestors. Madras Record office was setup in 1909 A.D. The archives in Kerala, apart from the various aspects of their historical value, contribute to a great deal towards the general development of the cultural, social and educational sides of life. Kerala has a rich tradition for the availability of palm leaf manuscripts. The enormous growth of Palmyra trees in South Travancore supplied the needed raw palm leaves for the day to day writing of the Government as well as the people. Thus the Travancore state produced a lot of palm leaves manuscripts and they emerged as potential source of information for reconstructing the political, Socio economic history of Travancore from ancient period onwards. We get vivid pictures of the common men of Kerala in those days and get a comprehensive study of what had happened and how they had withstood struggles that resulted in the downfall or creation of kingdoms and empires.

The rulers of Kerala gave special attention for the preservation of documents. The Department of Archives was established in 1964. A.D but there was record centres in this part of the country even prior to it perhaps as century ago⁴. The Central Vernacular Records Office, Travancore was established in 1887 by centralizing the Travancore government records during the region of Maharaja Sree Mulam

Tirunal (1885-1924 A.D). It shows the archival consciousness of our predecessors. Thus Kerala had a achieved a unique position in record keeping by establishing a repository to preserve records long before. The princely states of Travancore and Cochin were under hereditary rules were as Malabar was a part of British India under their control. The records of Travancore were kept in its central repository at Thiruvananthapuram and those of Cochin and Malabar at Ernakulam and Madras respectively. The present centres at Thiruvananthapuram and Emakulam were started earlier than that of the centre at Kozhikode. The Archives Department is now under the administrative control of the Cultural Affairs Department of the State Government.

Before the formation of Modern Travancore by the Maharaja Marthanda Varma (1729-1758 A.D), the administration of the State was greatly interrelated with that of Sree Padmanabha Swami Temple which had a distinct system of maintaining its own records. It was only with the emergence of the state on the decline of the burrows that the system of preserving the records of Government obtained anew outlook. Records relating to important political events like the waging of war, conclusion of treaties, employment of diplomatic tactics began to be preserved in the palace itself. It was known as Cellam Vaka or palace records⁵. These palace records continued to serve as State Archives upto the formation of the Huzur Cutcherry. The Huzur Cutcherry was first organized during the period of Dharma Raja (1758-1798AD) under the able Diwanship of Raja Kesava Das. In 1865 A.D, the design for the Huzur office building was prepared by Barton, the then Chief Engineer and based his proposal upper storey was set apart for the records. This magnificent building presently the main central block of the Kerala Government Secretariat was inaugurated in 1869 by Maharaja Ayilyam Tiruna1 (1860-1880A.D)⁶. The Huzur Central Vernacular Records, the central repository established in the quadrangular two storied building inside the north western corner of the Fort and present Central Archives is the successor of this old institution. It may be seen that the majority of the records preserved here is in Cadjan palm leaves and related to the period upto the year 1900 A.D pertaining to the subsequent years are in paper.

The records of the Travancore state fall into the four major categories- Huzur Cutcherry Records, Settlement Records, Departmental records and Judicial Records⁷. These records of the Huzur Cutcherry are very informative both from the political and administrative point of view.

A good portrayal of the records especially those relating to the administration of Padmanabha Swami Temple are grouped as Mathilakom Records⁸. It is the most authentic record connected with the temple and the royal family of Travancore. Palm leaf manuscripts around three lakhs, tied up go there a group of 500 to 1000 and called as Churuna are written in Vattezhuthu, Granthavari, Tamil and old Malayalam Languages⁹. These records shed light on Kerala history from the period 1400 A.D onwards. All the important events occurred in Travancore are mentioned in these manuscripts. These records are considered as the official code and used for taking important decisions. The two officials, 'Karanakkanakkan' and Pandara kkanakkan' were appointed to record the valuable information. The Officer Karana kkanakkan was appointed in the year 1587 A.D During the reign Maharaja Udaya Marthanda Varma. The major incidents like Trippadithanam, The revenue administration, wealth preserved in the temple, famine and the social aspects like caste system are mentioned in the manuscript account. Ulloor S. Parameswaryyar and Suranad Kunjan Pillai translated some manuscripts¹⁰. Dr. M.G. Sasibhooshan and Dr. R.P. Raja compiled some accounts connected with the later period of Maharaja Marthanda Varma.

The main series of records in Central Records Office, Ernakulam are Huzur Cutcherry Records, Records of the Saravadhikaryakar's office settlement Records and Miscellaneous Records¹¹. Those records could be used with great advantage for the study of political administrative and social history of Cochin State. The Miscellaneous Series deserve special mention it contains very valuable information regarding the affairs of the Dutch and the English. The records of the Malabar Collectorate are lodged in the Kozhikode office.

The scientific organization of archival repositories and historical research are to some

extent inter depended Archival institutions already struggling with massive backlogs of unprocessed physical collections are now responsible for electronic collections that grow exponentially and require new formats with astonishing frequency¹². The records available to a researcher in well arranged and classified form facilities his work and undoubtedly helps to attract more people to the field. IN the same way the use of records by historians for research purpose paves way for better organization and maintenance of records. To cope with the cleaning of large accessions and to provide adequate protection against insects' air cleaning and vacuum fumigation equipment has been installed in a archival repositories¹³. Now digitalization process is going on the Archives department. The function of the Department includes collection, conservation publication, research and preservation of public records, semi public records and private records of the state. Most of the records including paper records and manuscripts are in a brittle condition. An immediate ongoing process is necessary for the up keep of these valuable records. Considering the necessity the Kerala state Archives is institutional member in the International Council on Archives which is an International body of about 170 member countries in the world which is aimed to promote the archival heritage in the world¹⁴. For the awareness of public, '9 June is celebrated as the 'International Archives Day' every year.

The history of ancient Kerala almost a closed book in the absence of authentic data. For later period there is abundance of historical documents. It is the duty of a researcher to use the source in a proper manner. A Complete orientation in the attitude towards archival administration and historical research is necessary "Reading between lines' is not at all easier. It is a hazardous task for a researcher to write history without preconceived notions. A close reading of the available to write history distinguished from myths and legends. The proper use of archives helps for a better understanding of history and no doubt he archives acts as the true workshop where historical writings are framed. "The past glory and present dedication will create a golden future.

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PERCEIVING THE OTHER: ANALYZING THE DEPICTION OF THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN THE TRAVEL WRITINGS OF LUDOVICO DE VARTHEMA

Sinu Rose

The advent of the Europeans sets a new pace to the course of Indian history in general as well as Kerala history in particular. Owing to the coastal proximity and vast networks of trade the region of South India had always attracted foreigners in all times. Although the primary aim of most of these travelers was commercial, there were a number of others who travelled for the sake of travel. Most of them documented what they observed about the new lands they visited. For them the wonders of the Orient was an alluring theme. E F Oaten in his work *European Travellers in India* has pointed out the works of Ludovico di Varthema, Duarte Barbosa and Ceaser de Federick as the best source to study the habits and political condition of people of Malabar¹ especially after the European advent. The work of Varthema is chosen for its importance as a popular work that provided Europe with a mine of information about India and the countries beyond. The work got immense popularity as soon after its initial publication in Italian in 1510, it got translated into various other European languages like Latin (1511), Spanish (1520), German (1534) and Dutch (1563)². These repeated translations support the fact that the Europeans were interested in knowing about the faraway lands and people and their urge for Christianizing them

Ludovico de Varthema provides a fair description of Christianity and the Christian life of Kerala a few years after the arrival of the Portuguese. Varthema has visited Malabar Coast

a little before the arrival of Durate Barbosa. Varthema was the native of Bologna, a Province in Italy³. He chose a combination of sea and land route to travel to India and the countries from the period 1502-1508⁴. He had started from Europe in the year 1502 which triggered a long itinerary of travel through Cairo, Beirut, Damascus and Mecca reaching Aden by a voyage down the Red Sea, transversing the major cultural commercial and religious hotspots. After a brief period of imprisonment at Aden, Varthema made his way to the Northwest Coast of Africa. From here Varthema followed a zigzag mode of voyage as he travelled to Diu and from there again back to Ormuz crossing the Indian Ocean. After a brief visit at Heart, Varthema voyaged to "Cheo" (Kow) and Cambay. It is from m Cambay that Varthema begins his travel through the western coast of India. He reaches Mangalore after touching Ceval (Chaul), Dabul and Onor. After a brief sojourn at Vijyanagar he travels inland to reach Calicut and later Quilon. From Quilon Varthema travels to Coromondal coast and from there to "Banghella", were he meets two Sarman Christians with whom he proceeds to Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and Borneo. Interestingly Varthema mentions of having heard of a land to the south and of a very cold place where the day only lasted for four hours, which are the earliest references to Australia and Antarctic Circle which were discovered late. On his return back Varthema visits Cannanore and Cochin and then departs to Europe in 1507 by the Cape route on a Portuguese ship⁵.

Very little is known about the personal life of Varthema, other than the fact that his father was a physician and that he is a married man and father of several children.⁶ Varthema, born in Bologna was the second European traveler who had visited and described about Vijayanagars.⁷ Varthema had spend almost seven years in the non European world, to use the Eurocentric word, East (1501-1508CE), and observed and wrote extensively about the East. He became the most famous travel writer of the East since the time of Marco Polo before his death in 1517.⁸ Although Varthema masks his Christian identity at Damascus and joins the Mamluk he retains his Christian identity as he reveals his Christian legacy to the Sarman Christians whom he met in Banghella as well as to the Milanese merchants and later to the Portuguese whom he met at Cannanore on his way back from the South East Asia. For Varthema religious identity has worked as a savior. Varthema's tactful use of his knowledge and prudence so as to gain maximum access to lands and cultures makes Rubies describe him as a person who added more to the evolution of the images of the traveler than to the evolution of the images of the East.⁹ The revelation to the Sarman Christians about his Christian backdrop has earned him their friendship and on the other hand with the Portuguese it proved his credibility and authenticity. Switching identities to benefit maximum from the experience of travel helped him in building authentic images of the East. Therefore it is explicit from the description of the role of in the travels of Varthema.

Although there are still debates over the regions Varthema travelled, there is unanimous acceptance of the authenticity of his visit to the Malabar region¹⁰. Varthema was a traveler who travelled "...not with a view to political and commercial possibilities, like the majority of the travelers, but for travel's sake. His motives were twofold, curiosity and ambition; curiosity to see, ambition for the renown of having seen", writes Oaten¹¹. He was therefore a keen observer and employs a style that is best suited for a travel narrative. Stephen Neil considers Varthema as a traveler whose writings can hardly be doubted for its veracity. He writes "...indeed the naiveté of his account of various events and activities give strong reason to believe that he is recording and not inventing"¹². Varthema visited the Malabar Coast a little before the establishment of

Portuguese stronghold in India. Therefore it should be assumed when Varthema visited Kerala there was hardly any impact of the Portuguese presence in the social cultural and religious fabric of the Malabar Coast.

Varthema was one among the earliest Portuguese travelers who encountered the St Thomas Christians of Kerala for the first time. Interestingly Varthema does not find them in the great city of Calicut despite its large scale trading activities and the Christian efficiency in trade. Nowhere in his book does he describes about the particular sect of St Thomas Christians other than first encountering them at Cacolam (Kayamkulam). He calls them Christians of St Thomas or Nestorians and vividly observes differences of rituals from the Church of Rome unto which Varthema belonged¹³. Interestingly Varthema had already encountered some Christians in Banghella (Bengal) whom he describes as Nestorian Christians. He observed that these Christians wrote from right to left and considered them to be Nestorians¹⁴. It should be noted that Varthema does not find any similarities between the St Thomas Christians and Sarman Christians even though he labels them as Nestorians Varthema also encounters Christians acting as interpreters to the King of Pegu for trading purposes¹⁵. Varthema's Christian identity and his claim to have visited the Holy Land did help him earn the support of the Sarman Christians to a wider extend¹⁶. This therefore explains how religious identity enabled for the cross cultural bonding of people and brought in a notion of imagined community.

Henceforth, it is evident that Varthema had prior contact with Christians other than those belonging to the Roman fold. His contact with the various Churches of the Orient require special mention of his encounter with the Christians belonging to the Greek Churches at Menin¹⁷. His experience and exposure to the various Christian sects coupled with his prudence and skill aided in creating a reliable image of the Thomas Christians.

Varthema describes the country of Malabar in great detail. Interestingly Varthema identifies those who were other than Christians or Moors as 'pagan' and their gods as 'devils'. He mentions of finding the king of Calicut a 'pagan and the worshipper of 'devil'. He describes the findings of

the private 'chapel' of the Zamorin, which is of course the private temple of Zamorin. He notes that '.... all pictures around the chapel are of devils'¹⁸. The inferences obtained from the works of Varthema should be seen as an outcome of his ignorance about the culture and lifestyle of Malabar.

Varthema as mentioned earlier first encounters Christians of St Thomas at Cacolum (Kayamkulam), whom he describes as traders in occupation. It should be assumed that Varthema had close acquaintance with these Christians as his description about them seems more or less first hand. These Christians are reported to have told Varthema about their contact with the Church of Babylonia as it is mentioned that '...every three years a priest comes to baptize them and that he comes to them from Babylonia'¹⁹.

Varthema should have known the difference between the practices of these Christians as well as the Christians belonging to the Church of Rome. As he clearly defines the demarcation between 'they' and 'us', as well as 'we' and 'they'. He observes certain similarities and differences in the ecclesiastical and rituals practices of these Christians from the Roman fold. He observes that they keep Lent longer than they do but keep Easter like the Italians. He further notes that they observe solemnities like the followers of Catholic Church, but follows Mass in the Greek pattern²⁰.

No much description of the social and cultural life of these Christians is described by Varthema despite his ample acquaintance with them. He mentions certain names that are often given to the Christians of St Thomas. He notes that John, James, Mathew and Thomas and their regional variations are the common names²¹. Varthema does not mention about the female names of these Christians which were common. Varthema after completing his sojourn in Quilon proceeds to Coromondal where he finds the tomb of St Thomas. Like Marco Polo Varthema also describes about seeing the tomb²².

The Christians whom Varthema might have met in Coromondal may be those belonging to the doctrine of St Thomas. However, Varthema does not give direct mention of further details of these Christians despite having had acquired good knowledge about the

land and its condition from them. More information regarding the location of the tomb of St Thomas was obtained from them. Varthema's description contains references to the state of Christians in the region of Coromondal. The Christians faced persecution in the hands of the rulers of the area who is said to have killed and driven away numerous Christians from the region in secret²³. A reference to a miracle that occurred at the tomb of the Apostle also gets mention in the work. According to the miracle, which Varthema heard from a Christian as narrated by his priest, a Christian who was fatally wounded during a conflict with the Moors of the land was cured miraculously after he touched the tomb²⁴.

As he proceeds to Banghalla from Coromondal, he meets up with Christians from Sarman whom he observes as good traders. Interestingly Varthema describes about these Christians more than he did with the St Thomas Christians. It would have been probably due to the greater period of his association with them. He describes about their dress, skin color and religious and ecclesiastical practices and traditions. He describes them of wearing zebra made with folds. He notes that they hardly wore shoes and instead they wore 'a kind of breaches made of silk similar to those worn by mariners. These breaches were said to have fully laden with jewels which of course implies the prosperity of these Christians²⁵. They wear a cap, a palm and a half long made from red cloth²⁶. He also notes that like their breaches their heads were also covered with jewels²⁷. Varthema observes them to be 'as white as we are' with regards to their skin tone.²⁸

Varthema's observation skills demand our attention as he describes about the way these Christians dined and their food pattern. They were said to have been eating on a table like the European fashion. They are described to be the consumers of every kind of flesh.²⁹ Varthemas might have observed the dining pattern of St Thomas Christians who usually ate sitting on the floor like the Kerala traditional practice.

Varthema reflects about their ecclesiastical practices in detail. Like his description about the St Thomas Christian practices he also describes about the religious tradition of these Sarman Christians. He notes that they believed in Trinity

and the Twelve Apostles and also in the four Evangelists. He mentions that they have the sacrament of Baptism with water. He further notes that they write in contrary to the format he is familiar too and follows the Armenian format that writes from right to left.³⁰ With regards to their observation of the Nativity and Passion Varthema notes that '...they say that they keep the Nativity and Passion of the Christians observe our Lent and other vigils in the course of the year'. Varthema notes that they were not ignorant about the existence of large number of Christians in the region of Europe as he notes that .they knew that on the confines of the Rumi that is of the Grand Turks , there are very great Christians kings³¹.

Varthemas description of the two sets of Christians, both belonging to the 'Nestorian' tradition is variant. His keen observation and sense indistinguishing the characteristics of the two sets of Christians requires special mention.

Varthema therefore attempts to provide a fair description of Christians of St Thomas. Although the details provided by him are not enormous he has attempted to provide light to the social life of these Christians.No other travel writer of the period had referred to the popular Christian names of the period. Durate Barbosa who visited shortly after the arrival of Varthema had provided a more elaborate description of the Thomas Christians and their culture. However it should be noted that Barbosa being a Portuguese had more reach to the people of the land and also had served the Portuguyese factory for over a decade. In addition to this Barbosa's knowledge of the language of

Malayalam had made it easier for him to establish direct contacts and conversations with the native population. Considering the limited exposure of Varthema to the society of Malabar, his description and notes should be considered as a result of hardwork and observation. The following inferences can be drawn from the analysis of the people.

Firstly, the St Thomas Christians of Kerala were seen as an exotic group, a group of Christians who had Eastern origin, but 'Hindu' in culture'. Secondly, all these writers undisputedly confirm to the origin of this community to the legacy of St Thomas the Apostle. Thirdly these Christians were looked upon with as Nestorians due to the existence of a number of practices that were in practice in the Eastern Christianity and those which were alien to the Western Catholic Church.

Distinction between a universal, theological interpretation of religions and the practices give a very different interpretation that on one hand represented Christian community in different parts of the world as belonging to a shared religion. In the second approach a survey of the practices showed Christianity as practiced in different parts of the world as widely different. While one may agree that these are the result of divergent practices, this chapter argues that it is not only the result of such an approach but also the conditioning of the narrative that forms the dominant historical voice of the authors.Thus the European depiction of the practices in the travel writings presented the society of the Orient different in practices and lifestyle.

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TRIBAL FAIRS AND FESTIVALS: PAST AND PRESENT SCENARIO OF TANGKHULS OF MANIPUR

Soyar Kaping

Introduction

Manipur is a land of festivals, merriment and mirth all the year round. A year in Manipur presents a cycle of festivals. The Tribes of Manipur have rich cultural heritage which are being handed down from generation to generation. The tribal rites, rituals, beliefs and practices along with the tribal festivals constitute a rich cultural heritage which has survived as an integral component of the Indian culture without sacrificing its indigenous tradition. The Nagas are the major tribes in Manipur and the Tangkhuls are one of the major sub-tribes of Nagas. The Tangkhuls are bounded by fairs and festivals. The festivals celebrated by the Tangkhul tribe embody the robust and composite cultural heritage. Festivals are celebrated by the entire village community together with eating, drinking singing, dancing, and sports items without which no festival is complete and worth the name.

Tribal festivals have been around for as long as anyone can remember. The revelry and pomp usually bore religious significance. Cheiraoba- The Manipur New Year, festival is a good example of this. During this festival special festive dishes are prepared and offered first to various deities. Villagers climbing the nearest hill tops in belief that it will enable them to rise to greater heights in their worldly life. Similarly, the Thisham Phanit festival of Tangkhul tribe is about an expulsion of the dead from village. However, unlike the past, these groups do not necessarily gather for religious reasons today. Except for a relatively small number of tribal groups, people celebrate these festivals as a reminder of their ancestry, a fun-way to self-

preserve, and to herald seasonal changes. However, tribal groups that are blissfully untouched by modernization require varying degrees of protection and support from our Government. The particular study tries to bring out the significance and the drawbacks of the fairs and festivals of the Tangkhul tribe and how far it has been attacked by the system called modernity to the age old preserved traditional festivals.

Tangkhul traditional festivals:

The Tangkhuls, being an agrarian society, most of the Tangkhul festivals are associated with the year-round seasonal agricultural activities. Hardly a month passes by without a joyous festival. These festivals show the spirit of unity, rich culture, and harmony among people. Festival is regarded as a magical healing power to the wounds of individual, families, and the villages.

Before the arrival of the Christianity, the Tangkhul Naga tribe believed in the existence of divine being and its power over mankind and nature. Reisangchonme is the creator of the Universe. Kameo refers to spiritual beings, Ameowo is the master of all spiritual beings.¹ For every step of agricultural process, there existed an accompanying form of ceremony or ritual and celebration. All the Tangkhul village festivals are celebrated at the behest of the Awunga (Village Chief) who announces the dates, and the seasons of the festivals by observing the lunar calendar. Awunga plays an important role in every festivals. He has to perform rites, sacrifices, and offer prayers and inaugurates the festivals. Some important festivals are discussed below:

Luirā Phanit (Festival)

It is the most famous and greatest agriculture festival of the Tangkhul festivals. Luirā Phanit is the New Year Festival of the Tangkhuls. It is also popular known as seed sowing festival. To start with, first of all the headman fixes the date and announced it to the entire community. On the first day, animals, generally pigs and cattle are killed, followed by the village chief and his wife worshipping the Ameowo for blessing upon the crops; but before the Awunga tests the festive meant and blesses the people, it is a taboo for the villagers to eat. Outsiders are not allowed inside the village and none allowed to leave the village in the first few days during the performance of rituals and ceremonies. If anybody violates the rule and sows ahead of the Awunga, the harvest is usually very poor and the whole village might face famine. Therefore, heavy punishment is meted to the encroacher of the law. The festival continues after the ceremonial sowing of seed.²

By the middle of the festival, the relatives and outsiders are invited to partake in a generous feasting and other festivity. This festival is also the day of the village fair where all the available goods for disposal are brought out. Buying and selling was done in the most festive way through barter system in the olden days. Singing and dancing competition, tug-of-war, wrestling, long jump etc are held. The most important festive event of Luirā Phanit is the Tangkhul Laa Khangnui which is akin to a beauty pageant where all unmarried girls after attaining puberty have to participate wearing their short skirt, armllets, bangles, necklace and head-dresses and dance in a single file in front of the village crowd, who gather to observe and decide who among the damsels is the most beautiful of all. At the end of the festival, the invitees are sent off with presents in terms of meat.

Before it used to spreads for the period of 10 to 15 days and it falls in the month of February and March. At present, in the Hunphun (The centre of Tangkhul villages) where the field study was conducted, celebrates Luirā Phanit (festival) only in the month of February from 15th to 18th on 14th February they slaughter animals such as pigs or cattle (favourite dishes among Tangkhuls, not a single house celebrates without these dishes) and prepared for the festival. But

other villages such as Longpi, Phalee etc. they celebrates in the month of march. There may be differences in the dates and months among the villages but the purpose of the festival are same.

Yarra Phanit

It is the youth festival of the Tangkhuls. Most Tangkhul villages have peer groups, a roughly organised institution, on the basis of same age or age intervals of three to five years. 'Yarra' literally means 'working group drink' or 'age group drink' or 'peer group drink'.³ It lasts for three days or sometimes a week. This festival is celebrated in the month of April by each respective peer group, as a form of a break from one phase of hard work in preparation for another phase of hard work. Eating, drinking, and merry-making are the central theme of the festivities. In the olden days, during this festival they worked in their fields in groups and even engaged themselves in all sorts of handicrafts, weaving, pot-making, cane and bamboo works etc. they work but they worked in the most festive and joyous way.⁴ Today, however, the participants do not work in their fields, but enjoy the entire festival period by organizing different kinds of games and sports, and many other social amusements. Happiness of the youngsters is the character of this festival, free from the interference of parents and free from all worries of life. If any boy or girl had married earlier than Yarra Festival, they are also invited or send a good portion of meat as a token of love to a member of their age group. This festival is thus marked by its joyful songs, dances, merry-making fun and frolic.

Mangkhap Phanit

After completion of transplantation, Mangkhap festival is observed. Mangkhap literally means 'stop drinking', signifies the end of paddy transplantation. Festival falls in the month June end or the beginning of July. It is a festival to take rest and spend the days in feasting, singing, dancing and merry-making. During this festival every family kills their domestic animals like buffalo, cow, pig and chicken according to their ability. In olden days as a sign of happiness and joy every family lights up resinated pine-wood in front of their house. This symbolically show that from the dark gloomy hard of busiest days they have now passed over to brighter period of happiness.

With the coming of the Christianity, celebration of the Mangkhap is quite different. Now it lasts only for one day. The festival is grace with singing (Hymn) competition on locality basis at church after lunch. They pray for a bumper crop and all round prosperity of the society to the almighty God.

Dharshat Phanit

Dharshat is the harvest festival of the Tangkhuls. When the crop is ripe, before the actual harvest starts, Dharshat festival is observed in a very strict way. One day ahead of the festival they drain away the water from the field. In the evening they bring a branch of plants called Mahar and Mariwon and keep it with one sickle and a piece of cloth, in front of their house, just at the entrance of the house, to mark that they are observing taboo. On that night no one is allowed to enter into the house except the family members. In the next morning the family priest collects the sickle and cloth and goes to the field. He cuts the ripe ears of grain from the field and wraps it with the cloth which he collects from the entrance of the house. The priest should not talk to anyone who meet him on the way till he returns home. It is believed that if he talks to anyone, the good fortune of the family will go away from them.

The rice which the priest brought from the field is then dried on the mat-rack that is kept over the hearth of the family. They dehusk the quantity and cook it with fishes brought from the field. The preparation is then eaten by the members of the family after performance of the necessary ritual by the priest. By chance, if any outsider joins in the eating of the sacred meal, he or she must also join on the reaping day. Otherwise they consider that the good fortune of the family is taken away by the one who joined in the sacred meal. So his or her participation on the reaping day is very much needed. They cook rice with fish in the belief that fish is a good and fresh food, so it is their wish that the new crops of the family be as good and fresh as the fish of the field. Symbolically they also wish for a happy and prosperous life throughout the year to come. After this ceremonial feast the village observes a grand feast during which every family exchanges or distributes rice beer (Khor) and rice wine (Zam) among their friends, relatives and neighbours.⁵

Chumpha Phanit

Chumpha may be interpreted as 'worship of granary'- celebration of good harvest.⁶ After the harvest is over, Chumpha Phanit is celebrated. In this festival women folk play the important part and it spread over four days. It is a festival to mark the beginning of consuming the new rice from the granary. It involves two taboos to be strictly observed. For the first two nights, the male members spend their night, outside the village gate. Moreover all the implements or weapons used by the male folk are kept outside the house. Women offers prayer to the supreme-Being while taking out the paddy from the granary. So that she may have enough paddy throughout the year. When they test the new rice for the first time, they say Rice is bitter, rice is bitter, lest the evil spirit feels jealous of the new and sweet rice so that spirit will not enter where there is bitter rice. According to custom and belief, if she happens to meet menfolk while performing the Chumphut ceremony, ill-luck comes to the house and there will be shortage of grain for the house before the next harvest comes.

It may be noted that, while taking out the paddy from the granary, the women should not take more than what the family needs. She must be sure that the paddy will be adequate only for one day, for it is believed that if they cannot consume the quantum of rice on that very evening itself they must consume it early in the morning before sunrise, otherwise ill luck would befall on them.⁷ While the male folks are spending the night outside the village gate and in the day time they go out for fishing or hunting. In the evening family may take the new rice with fresh curry.

Thisham Phanit

Thisham is an acronym of Kathi (death) Kasham (forget or removed). It means removing the dead.⁸ Another important of the Tangkhuls. This festival marks the end of the Tangkhul year cycle which is held sometime in December – January. The festival lasts for about ten days. This festival is expulsion of the dead from the village. The Tangkhuls believed the spirit of the dead member of the family remains in the house and the family members set aside a portion of food for the dead in every meal in a plate called Khayaikhong before he goes to KAZEIRAM

(land of dead),⁹ until they observed Thisham festival with a special food items, cloths and other articles for his journey to, and daily use at, Kazeiram where Kokto, king of dead rules. The entire village community celebrates it together and observes the festive taboos and merry-makings. The ceremony are conducted by the village priest and not the village head. The souls were sent off by dancing, singing, and chanting. First, the priest pleads the Kokta to receive the soul of the dead and not to bring death in the house anymore, and then he asks the soul of the dead to depart in peace with the gifts made by the family for his journey and for the use in the land of dead. The priest, donnes the cloths and articles of the dead and throw outside the village gate, never to be picked up again and bid farewell to the departed soul. Some of them stay awake throughout the night. It is said that they can see the departed souls moving towards the east on the way to land of the dead. The celebration of Thisham festival marks the close of the year. This festival is no longer observed after conversion of Christianity.

New Age Festivals

With the coming of Christianity in Tankhuls, many of the rituals and ceremonies that stood in contrast to Christian faith had been discarded. Some important festival are discussed below.

Christmas

The most favoured festival in the New Age is the celebration of Christmas. It celebrates in the month of December. It becomes tradition now for villager or families living away from their villages, for work as well as studies, to return home during Christmas period. In every village churches organise the celebration and distributes a packets of jaggery along with gifts to all the church members. Jaggery/Gur is so famous during Christmas because it was the only sweet items which was available during the early time. Gur served with hot water is a common recipe use at home or church, instead of tea. During Christmas, the celebration generally includes worship and prayers, singing competition, games and sports and many other enthusiastic activities. Nowadays, it is also the wedding season because of the maximum presence of friends and relatives in the village during Christmas season.

Shirui Lily Festival

Shirui Lily Festival is the newest festival among all the Tangkhuls festivals. It is regarded as one of the State festivals of Manipur. This festival is named after Manipur's State Flower Shirui Lily, an endangered flower found in Manipur. It is a rare pinkish white flower found only in the Shirui Hill range in the Ukhru district (hometown of Tangkhul tribe) of Manipur. The district is inhabited by the Tangkhul Nagas the colourful warrior tribe. The flower is today considered an endangered species. The festival featured demonstrations of the age-old traditions and culture of the inhabitants of the district of Ukhru. The festival is being organised during the month of May at the blooming season of the flower.

Live music, cultural shows, beauty pageants, exhibits, folk songs, traditional dances and indigenous games and sports competition like the Shirui Lily Grand Prix formed part of celebration. It aim to spread the awareness about the endangered Shirui Lily and to promote unity and brotherhood and to promote the Ukhru as a must-visit tourist destination in Manipur through this festival. The event is a part of its efforts to develop and implement sustainable and responsible tourism in the State.

Conclusion

With the advent of British rule and spread of Christianity, great changes have been taken place. All the animist rituals and rites are now being replaced by the Christian way. Early Christian missionaries failed to distinguish socio-cultural elements from spiritual aspects of Tangkhul festivals. Thus all forms of festivals were discouraged. Those that were discarded now exist only in the memory of the people and recorded documents. They, however, try to retain the original traditional spirit of enjoying the festival by following the traditional way minus animistic rites and rituals.

Even though in the olden days the practice of traditional festivities may have its own weaknesses and backwardness in their beliefs but lets not forget the positivity of their practices during the festival. If there be any family which is unable to share food and drink with relatives, friends and neighbours, that very family is considered to be a poor and lazy one. Thus to

avoid such estimation every family tries its best at least to maintain their family status prestige in the society. In the Tangkhul society if any family cannot maintain their status, that family has no say in the societal affairs. An able man physically and mentally, failing to share food and drink with others, on such occasion, his opinion in village affairs carry no value in the eyes of others. So generosity and willingness to share with others is one of the means through which a family can enhance its status in the Tangkhul society. The above studies show that The Tangkhuls are hard working people and they are bounded by the festivals. Through festival we can see that

women also plays an important roles in everyday life and without them most of the festivals are incomplete. Markets, foods, fairs and festivals are part of the rich tribal culture and heritage. These are also major forms of their livelihood . Hence it is necessary to look into serious that a new effort is required for renewal of socio-cultural practices through festivals as it has easy ways to carry forward the great tradition of a particular society. It is also important to preserve and promote tribal cultures and heritage in order to uplift the quality of people living in tribal areas and to sustain the age-old rich festivals throughout the ages.

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BRITISH DISCOURSES ON MALABAR: REFLECTIONS OF ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATIONS, 19th CENTURY

P.V. Sreekkutty

The state Kerala was formed on 1st November 1956 by the State Reorganization Act by combining various Malayalam speaking regions. The state Kerala formed through the integration of Malabar, Kochi and Travancore. We know that Malabar was under the direct British control and Kochi and Travancore were the princely states. I would like to present a picture about the ethnographic explorations in British Malabar due to the transition of British administration from company to crown.

The crown rule witnessed number of changes in social, economical and political fields. The British became more aware of the need for ethnographic understanding about the people. This paper mainly looks into the background and nature of the transition of British rule from company to crown, the changing nature of the British perception about the people, and the role of 'native' agency in the ethnographic explorations on Malabar.

After the First War of Independence British began to concentrate the study about the caste system in a wide manner. The anthropology supplanted history as the principal colonial modality of knowledge and rule.¹ As a part of the crown rule the colonial government began to use history as a mode and justification for ruling over India. It went on to use anthropology as a mode and means for the continuance of their rule. Dirks says, "History constructed a glorious past for the nation in which the present was the inevitable teleological frame; anthropology assumed histories that necessitated colonial rule. History told the story of the nation; anthropology explained why a nation had not yet emerged".²

Amateur ethnography played a very significant role in this time. The amateur ethnographic data collectors who had administrative day jobs, nor with chronicling the writings of the major colonial anthropologists of late nineteenth century. The amateur anthropologists like revenue or census officials,

museum superintendents, foresters, missionaries or gazetteers in their official capacities collected and published ethnological or anthropological information in various contexts.³ Late nineteenth century anthropological concept of 'race' is commonly found operating either implicitly or explicitly in amateur or practical colonial ethnography. The Malabar and Nilagiris districts of south India were particularly attractive to ethnographers (both professional and amateur), for what they referred to as the diversity of native life in these districts.⁴

Queen Victoria's proclamation promised that British would not interfere in the customs and manners of the Indians. By this time British changed their policies in a different perspective. In this background British forced to understand the anthropologization of colonial knowledge about the subjects of their rule. The policy of non-interference thus necessitated a new commitment to colonial knowledge about the subjects of its rule. If the rebellion had put paid to debates over history that had seen earlier as sufficient justification for the state's claim over revenue, and land control, it made the anthropologization of colonial knowledge necessary for several reasons.

The crown rule witnessed the production of ethnographical knowledge about the people. Through such studies British tried to find the physical features of the people in a wide manner. No doubt it was a part of creating 'subject people'. We can divide the British Malabar in to three stages according to the changing nature of British perception about the people. So I would like to divide the British Malabar in to three periods as Early phase of British period (1792-1830), Second phase (1830-1857), Third phase (1857-1947). The first period of British administration (1792- 1830) represents the early phase and also the period of commercial perspective. The British records from 1792-1830 mainly shows the commercial nature of the British. This period witnessed different revenue records. So in this period British mainly wanted to establish Malabar as a separate revenue and political entity as a part of the early administration. In this period British did not give any importance to understand the people of Malabar and their nature. British mentioned about the people and their castes in this period but that was not based on a clear ethnographic

understandings, it was mainly based on the purposes of revenue collections. The second phase, the period between 1830 - 1857 represented the period of controlling and the consolidation of British rule. This period witnessed many changes as the *Mappila* disturbances, Basel Mission activities, Plantations, British public works etc. In this period British mainly concentrated commercial perspective and controlling the population of Malabar. So this period also analyzed the changing perception of British from earlier period, but this period did not concentrated the clear understanding of the ethnography, This period mainly gave an importance to how to control the people through plantation and other public works. The period after 1857 revolt is a third phase. In this phase British concentrated ethnographic and anthropological knowledge about the people rather than commercial perspective of earlier period. Ethnography and Census provides the best illustration for the historiographical shift.

The Madras Government Museum Bulletins of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century mainly deal with the anthropological details about the people. In the prefatory note of the Anthropological Museum Bulletin of Malabar starts with the quotation of 'Classification of the people or races of this land can be attempted only when we are in possession of accurate knowledge concerning them, but not before'. The kind of knowledge is required may be grouped under anthropology and folklore heads which include much of archeology.⁵ In this record, Malabar represented as the Diversity of people, so the British argued that the study about Malabar is very interesting .This record mainly deals with the Study about the peoples of different castes which also includes height, weight, shoulder, Nasal length etc. These studies were mainly according to the castes not as individual person. In the every Madras Museum Bulletins one could see that the argument of British , "The notes attempt to describe the people as they actually are, and not as they are supposed to be in the books on Hinduism, as it is not in southern India".⁶ Before First war of Independence British did not concentrate in the study of ethnographical details about the people. In the early British documents like revenue and other administrative records we can see the mentioning of people and their castes, but that

was not based on the serious ethnographical studies, it is only based on the collection of revenue and other commercial purposes. But as a part of crown rule the situations began to change. British began to concentrate the ethnographical and anthropological details of the people.

The significant features of the Museum Bulletins were the glorified details of the higher castes in Malabar. We can analyze that, the Ethnography of Malabar developed with the nature of glorifying higher castes. So each and every British record in Malabar mainly deals with the glorified description about the higher castes like *Namboothiris*, *Nairs* etc. The Museum Bulletin also provides the details about the *Namboothiris* as a aristocratic people and the large portion of Malabar owned by them and the Simplicity and exclusiveness are the important features of *Namboothiris*. According to Fawcett, The *Nayars* were the swords men and military caste of the west coast of India. The *Nayar* enjoyed a well position in Malabar as *Namboothiris*.⁷ Then this report also includes the matrilineal system, Twenty one subdivisions of *Nayar* community, their worships, physical characteristics and measurements, the detailed description about the marriage ceremony of *Nayars* etc.

The study about languages also became the part of British ethnography. Thurston also identified five important languages of Madras presidency. The five principal languages of the Madras presidency were the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canaries, and also Oriya.⁸ In this classification, Malayalam speaking peoples were the highest number. Thurston also included the details of the nasal index and average stature of the varrious dravidian classes inhabiting the plains of the Telugu, Tamil, Canaries, and Malayalam countries and jungle tribes. In this the *panniyan* considered as the jungle .The *Mukkuvan* and *Tiyya*, *Nayar* considered as the peoples in Malayalam.⁹ So we can analyze that the *panniyans* were never considered as the people who speak malayalam language. They categorized the *panniyans* as they were not the inhabitants of the Malayalam or Malabar. According to Thurston, they were jungle tribes as a separate category. The people like *Cherummas* were considered as the cultivation agent or agrestic slaves. Then this record also mentioned

about the role of *Cherummas* in the field of cultivation. In this report there was a mention about the prayers and worships of *Cherummas* for the better cultivation.¹⁰

The Ethnographic appendices of Edgar Thurston mainly deals with the description about the anthropology of *panniyans* . The Madras bulletin of Thurston described *panniyans* as the Dark skinned tribe, short in stature, with broad nose, and curly hair, inhabiting the Wayanad, and those portions of the Eranad, Calicut, kurumbranad, and kottayam taluks of Malabar. The description of the details about the language of the *Panniyan*s is very significant. The British described it as debased Malayalam language, spoken in curious nasal sing song, difficult to imitate but most of the *panniyans* employed on estates can also converse in Canaries. Through this categorization we can analyze that the ethnography on Malabar deals with the clear superior and inferior divisions of the people. The glorifying higher castes and neglecting lower castes were the important nature of Ethnography. The 'native' agencies played a significant role in this.

The other important feature of colonial ethnography was the taking of the physical measurements of the people. The detailed measurement description about height, weight, chest, shoulders, span of arms, cubit, Hand length, Foot length, Cephalic length, Cephalic breadth, Bigoniac, Bizygomatic, Nasal height, Nasal breadth, Nasal index, Facial angle, etc. were also part of the ethnographic knowledge in this period.¹¹

As a part of the colonial ethnography, Castes, habitat, then their numbers began to measured. Even the diagrammes of noses of *Brahman*, *Paraih* and *panniyan* also pictured as a part of ethnography. The other important feature of colonial ethnography is the detailed description about the system of conversion. The ethnography mainly gave a details about the Conversion of lower castes. So we can see the details of the conversion of *parayars* and *Mukkuvans* (Fisherman) in to Islam .The converts called *pu-islam* or *putiya-islam* (New Islam).¹²

In Wigram's 'Malabar Law and Custom'the word *adima* is defined as feudal dependency of a *Nayar* upon his patron. Then the terms *adima* and *kudima* are said to mean "a slave or one

subject to the landlord, the grant (of land) being generally made to such person. A nominal fee of about two *fanams* a year is payable to the landlord, to show that he still retains the proprietary title. There were different ordeals also existed in Malabar.¹³

The Madras Government Museum bulletin also deal with the study about the village deities of southern India. It includes the customs, ceremonies and also worships of the deities in southern India as a part of ethnography.¹⁴ There is an interesting fact that it was the study of Henry whitehead. He was a bishop of Madras. This shows the interest of the Bishop in the study about the Hindu deities of Malabar. So he recorded each and every things related with the deities and also its classifications as a part of the British ethnographical study.

The most important feature of colonial ethnography is the role of native agency. The role of 'native' agency in the ethnographical exploration of Malabar played a significant role. The British got assistance from the 'native' peoples for their studies. The British needed their help in order to understand not only the land but also the people of Malabar. So we have to understand who are they. No doubt, they were high caste peoples. If we analyze the records, one could see that the suvarnna bias in it.

K. Rangachary, V.Govindan and C. Haayavadana Rao, in various part of the Madras presidency, Mysore, and Travancore, were the main assistants of Edgar Thurston.¹⁵ Fawcett also mentioned about some assistants as his helpers for the study. M M.Krishnan (Malyalam Translator to Government), O. Vasava Menon, C.P Raman Menon. T.K Gopal Pannikar, T. Kannan, Achuthan Nayar were the main assistants of him. He also said that the proofs have been through the hands of several *Nayars*, and every precaution has been taken to ensure accuracy of fact. So we can analyze that his report, *Nayars* of Malabar was in favour of *nayars*.¹⁶ There is no analytical and critical aspect in this record. That means the

ethnographical studies mainly deals with the clear suvarnna bias. There was no relation with the view of lower castes.

In the descriptions about the marriage ceremonies Fawcett argued that, he got the details from K.R Krishnamenon's descriptions. He also provided the details of *talikettu* of *Nair* community from the account of Gopala pannikar. So these persons are the high castes in Malabar. So we can see the role of 'Menon' community during this time. According to Fawcett, There was a caste in Malabar as *Akathu Charnna* (inside parisha class). Their main duties was the indoor services like writing and casting accounts. So the British gave a title to that caste as *Menon*. Those of the sub clan attached to the Zamorin who were sufficiently capable to earn the title 'Menon'. British also gave the title of *Menon* to other sub clan as their wish.¹⁷ This shows the role of higher castes in the the British administration as well as ethnographical studies.

In the work Village Deities of Southern India (Anthropology) by Henry White Head, Bishop of Madras there is a description about the intermediary informers in Madras. According to him, this writings are the fruit of his leisure hours of frequent tours through many districts of southern India. He acknowledged his thanks for the assistance for collecting information to the *Tahsildars*, police officers, and other officials in other places then also Thurston for revising the proofs, and to K. Rangachary of the Madras Museum for supplying the illustrations.¹⁸ So the role of 'native' agencies was very significant. In the markings and constructions of 'subject' people. Actually they played a role as intermediaries. That is why we can see the reflections of the favoring nature of higher castes in ethnography.

The ethnography also played a significant role in the nineteenth century Census. Then Ethnography and Census provides the best illustration for the historiographical shift. At present directly or indirectly we can see the influences of colonial ethnography and census.

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THE EARLY ROCK CUT ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTH INDIA

M. Srinivasa Rao

Introduction

It is very difficult to state that exactly when the Hindus started building Brahminical temples in India. The Indus valley civilization discoveries unfold everything that human civilization during the prehistoric times except a temple for worship. Both at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro it was developed the urban civilization that discovered. There are well laid geometrically straight streets flanked by two storied houses built of burnt bricks, well planned underground drainage, almost modern in conception, public baths that can accommodate many bathers at a time, a centrally situated market place, huge granaries, and all that is wanted in developed municipal town. There were also discovered utensils, painted pottery, pieces of sculptures of bronze, stone and terracotta, ornaments and beads cylindrical seals and everything proclaimed high degree of the civilization, the habitants of those in cities enjoyed. Among the artifacts discovered are sand stone made bust of the priest with a band across his forehead, tri foiled mantle over his shoulder, a bronze figure of dancer and other figures of several deities prominent among them are mother goddess and Pasupathi, a three headed deity in yogasana surrounded various animal forms. Historian opine that these indicated a religion with the cults of mother goddess and Rudra or Shiva. Both these cults are prominent in the later modes of Dravidian worships and finally they were all absorbed into Hinduism. It is lucid people of prehistoric time had a religion though its form may not be

defined. Yet no temple worships is discovered either in the twin cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro or other excavated sites. Perhaps single undug mound at Mohenjo-Daro uncover a temple, if at all it is excavated. It is indeed hard to imagine an ancient civilization with established cults and settled rich urban life without a temple worship.

The pre historic people of India might not have had temples and even if they had we have no means to know their form and architecture. During the Vedic period Aryans did not consider permanent structures to house their gods, and for it was essentially an age of sacrifices and Veda and Vedic literature that followed are significantly silent about temples and structures.

The last phase of architectural tradition of Mauryan empire of Asoka times has extended to the south. The earliest caves were excavated in the time of Asoka and his grand son Dasaratha, are located in Barabar hills, Nagarjuni hills, near Gaya in Bihar¹. All these caves are well known, four in Bihar, Three in Nagarjuni hills are dedicated to Ajivika sect. one of the m are most well known The Lomasa- rishi cave and Sudhama cave. The Mauryan tradition of rock hewing might have reached the South. Thus the granite railing around the stupa at Amaravati was raised at period not far too distant from Asoka. Some of the rock shelters were refashioned to suit the jain resorts between the Second century B.C to Third Century A.D.² In the south we are not aware of rock cut architecture until the end

of last quarter of sixth century A.D. taking India a whole we may see continuation of rock cut architecture in any form such as cut out of boulders and rocks hillocks. But early period of rock architecture, Brahminical contribution is virtually null. In contrast, to this Buddhism played dominant role in the realm of activity of rock hewn architecture. Indeed it is told that Buddhist temple that served as the model of Brahminical temples. It can be said that no history of Brahminical rock architecture is complete without a chapter on Buddhist cave shrines.

Buddhist rock cut architecture:

The early Buddhists certainly erected permanent structures for worship. They built stupas even at the time of Buddha's parinirvana at about the end of the fifth century B.C. it is said that they built actually ten stupas soon after the death of Buddha. Eight stupas were built on his relics, one on the urn with which were relics were measured and one on the coals of the pyre. However we can not be certain than when the stupas or the symbols of stupas actually became the object of worship. Perhaps Buddhists started worship stupas that contained the remains of Buddha since the day of his parinirvana. But it is certain during that during the Mourya times stupas became the objects of Buddhist worship. According to one legend king Asoka collected the relics of the Buddha from the original eight stupas and divided into eighty thousand parts and erected eighty thousand stupas all over India in order to facilitate the worship of Buddha by every devotee throughout the subcontinent this might be an exaggeration as it is not fully supported either by archaeologists and historians. Exactly when the Buddhists thought housing replica of stupa, within a closed enclosure for the purpose of worship and rituals cannot be determined. But the during the second century rock cut caves were hewn with a stupa in interior for the twin purpose of worship and ritual. These stupas were served as icons for worship, so in reality they were not stupas at all. According to stupas were mainly three kinds: *datu garbhas* i.e. stupas contain relics, i.e. memorial stupas and *ankita* stupas dedicated to Buddha, icon stupas for chaitya grihas are comes under third category. All the chaityas were rock hewn having the imitation of wooden structures that erected in plains. For in fact, the early chaityas caves followed style of wooden

architecture in the matter of constructions and decoration. So, it can be said that the Buddhists started erecting chaityas though in wood earlier than in second century.

Apart from the Kautilya's *Ardhasatra*, in *Katasaritsagara* too there are references to the Brahminical temples of worship. *Katasaritsagara* was a translation of parts of *Brihatkatha* and was done by Soma Devabhata about the beginning of the twelfth century. So we can safely infer that Brahminical temples existed along with Buddhist chaityas during the early centuries, but even they must have been wooden structures and no traces of such structures are available to us today.

The majority of Buddhist rock temples were confined to western India. They are existed in majority number in the state of Maharashtra region. The tendency of natural trap formation of soft texture and its horizontal bedding made it easier to excavate temple and magnificent sculptures. The East coast area played a pivotal role in fostering rock cut architecture in the places like Guntupalle of west Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh dated to early 2nd century B.C. to medieval times³.

Brahminical temples:

The excavations at Nagarjunakonda uncovered remains of lithic structures of at least four Brahminical temples. From these few remains now available, we can infer that they were complete temple structures with mandapas and Prasada. It is not possible to reconstruct their architectural forms as existing remains are not enough to give a clue to those forms. But we now know definitely that the beginnings of the Brahminical temple architecture in India were not made with them, they are lithic and followed wooden forms that went before them. Secondly mandapa is an appended addition to the main body of the Brahminical temple and such is certainly later development. Such an addition of the body of the temple should have been conceived only after some time had lapsed since the beginning of the Brahminical temple. So, even conservative estimate, it can be inferred that Brahminical temple existed at least five centuries earlier. Perhaps they were also built of wood, as the all the architecture of India during these times and it must be due to this that we do not come across any remains of their temple.

The earliest Brahminical temples are preserved even up to this day are, one at Chejerla in Guntur, and another is Ter in Nal, Durg district. They are barrel vaulted structures, the back end in rounded up. In the manner of the hind part of an elephant and completely built of brick and mortar. In Indian traditional terminology such a form of architecture is termed as *gajapristaakara* or the form of the hind part of an elephant. The faced of the temple at Ter was resembles the Buddhist rock cut chaitya at Ellora. The façade might have been altered to its present form at a later date for reasons not known. Perhaps he façade retained at Ter was the traditional form for all such structures of that period. According to Ferguson, such structures for worship were quite numerous during those times throughout India. All these temples have the apse, the nave and the aisle similar to the chaitya cave earlier. Even the pedestal of the Brahminical deity is placed exactly on the spot where the replica of stupa should be in the Buddhist chaitya. Architecturally, they fully conform the Buddhist chaityas of that time and earlier times. Historian date these buildings belongs to the fourth century A.D. Fergusson and a few other historians believed that the temple at Chejerla and Ter were originally Buddhist chaityas were later converted to Brahminical worship, the reason being by completely confirm he structure and form to the existing and previous Buddhist chaityas. But to we can no longer hold to this view point. They could be originally Brahminical temples, for there is an enough evidence to prove that Hindus were building Brahminical temples at most same time as the Buddhists. Perhaps they did not differ much in form and structure from the Buddhist chaityas of those early times. The seventh century of the present era is significant marked a revolution in the art and architecture of Brahminical temples distinct in the form from the Buddhist house of worship. The oblong structure rounded at end with running nave in the centre and running aisles in the sides and apse at one end to house the icon, gave place to cubical structures with a pyramidal or curvilinear top. The square became the basis for the Brahminical temple from the seventeenth century.

Rock cut Temple architecture – Pallava's contribution:

The beginning of temple architecture south India is attributed to the Pallavas had ruled the

country during 6th to 7th centuries A.D. According to A.H. Long Hurst "the earliest Hindu temples in South India are there at Mahabalipuram at Chingalput dist in Tamilnadu which are generally known as seven pagodas⁴. The inscriptions on the temple records that they were hewn out of living rock by Pallavas in 7th century A.D. the style of their architecture shows that they are stone models of former Buddhist's building which have been adopted to suit the requirement of Hinduism. There are two facts which gave this theory plausibility. In the first phase, the total absence of any temple prior to 7th century AD. Secondly the construction of large number of temples after this period. There seems to end weight to the surmise that during this time no temples were built in South India⁵. however mandagapattu inscription of Mahendravarman-I brought to lime light by French man M.Jouveau Debreuil. The inscription reveals as follows

"the temple is carved to be constructed by the king "Vichitrachitta" without use of bricks, timber, metals and mortar"

Vichitrachitta is one of the many titles of the Pallava king Mahindra Varman-I. according to the inscription we may notice that temples existed even before Mahindra Varman-I and only they were built of brick, timber, metals and mortar⁶. The inscription indirectly refutes that the Mahindra Varman was the first to introduce art of temple building into South India. M.Jouveau Debreuil says "the mandagapattu inscription clearly says that the epoch of Mahindra Varman-I there existed also temple which were not cut in rocks but built with bricks, wood and metal and mortar.

The last inference is an important that the mandagapattu inscription proves that the Hindus knew perfectly well how to build temples. then that epoch of Mahindra Varman, it is certain that there exists of temples of brick, timber, metal, perhaps these buildings were made of perishable material have fallen into ruins have been destroyed either by time or men⁷. It was agreed with A.H. Longhurst. he is of opinion that curious minded was the inventor of the art of carving Hindu temples out of natural rock instead of building them with usual methods and practices⁸. Eminent editor T. Gopinatha Rao has expressed and supported the opinion of Debreuil that most important information conveyed by it

that before the time of Vichitrachitta, bricks, wood, metal, mortar were common building material. This was evident that the basement and walls of buildings were of brick work, plaster with mixture of lime and sand and super structures were composed of wood work held in a position of fuse of metallic nails and bands. Even in this day this mode of construction can be notified in Malabar coast. The state in this inscription that Mahindra Varman did not employed bricks, timber, wood, mortar in the constructions that temple built before his time were all of perishable material. We may say that it is first rock hewn Hindu shrine of his time. It is impossible for a number of temples to have come suddenly into existence from the beginning of the 7th century A.D., unless the activity of building temples had been practiced long before⁹.

In the view of three writers it has unanimously expressed that the temples were built before the time of Mahindra Varman- I were brick, timber, mortar and metals. The timber was elaborately used in the construction of the temples especially in the Vimanas is proved by the following reference "Manasara" a great work on architecture.

Consequently, the theory that Pallavas were the first to introduce the temple architecture in south India must be given up. What really the Pallava had done for our temple is to substitute imperishable material such as stone or rock cut in the place of perishable material like brick, timber, iron, mortar in the temple building.

Now we have to pose a question that what was the pre Pallava temple? It is not difficult to answer this question. The temple at Mahabalipuram provides ample information. We have already noted that Mahindra Varman had introduced art of rock cut temples. In mandagapattu inscription he claims only the credit of replacing the perishable materials by stone. What he had done actually was copy to natural rock from the brick, wooden structures. AH Longhurst mentioned " to the wonderful Pallava monuments at seven pagodas must have noticed that all the monolithic free standing temples, locally known as rathas are obviously only stone models of the buildings with brick and mortar and timber framed roofs, decorated with copper gilt ornaments like those referred in inscription quoted above.

There is another source of pre Pallava temple. Huge pyramidal car which is usually attached to all Hindu temples. The temples cars must be remembered as rathas from the monolithic temples of mahabalipuram. It seems there should be relation between ratha and vimana. Dr. A.K Coomaraswamy made a pointed reference to the resemblance of Aryavartha sikhara to the bamboo scaffolding of professional car(ratha) is too striking and had a resemblance with shore temples of great size provided with enamorous wheels (Vijayanagara, Konark), the monolithic temples at mahabali puram are actually called rathas, that is cars while the Vimana applied to the later Dravidian temples. It has a sense of "moving palace" or vehicle¹⁰. The temple car is vestige of pat. It represents the temple of earlier days when the chief building material was wood. In south India, as well as the other parts of the country, wooden architecture proceeded stone architecture, although people learnt to built with more durable material like stone. They retained the older forms of the temples on account of their basic conservative temperament of an Indian.

An abundance of detail and profusion of sculpture covered all the temple of Pallava architecture; the design had been well thought out and systematically expressed in stone get a complete architectural effect. This is accomplished to great extent by the application of the true principles of design. Numerous minor features are also grouped that they lead the eye up to the central crowing object of the structure which is the Vimana tower.

Later, during the Pallava period many temples were constructed according to the principles enunciated in the rock cut temples at Mahabalipuram. These builders had through knowledge of their material. The sub basements and plinths were of hard granite, the cubical cell of the soft sand stone, and the towers above of the brick construction. This order of materials in the construction was followed in all temples during the following periods.

Rock temples on the East coast:

Inspired by Vakatakas and Chalukyan experiments in Eastern India, several dynasties ruling over the different parts of east coast area of Indian land took the construction of rock cut architecture. Most notable are Vishnukundins,

the eastern Chalukya of Vengi, the Pallavas of Kanchi, Pandyas of Madurai. Some small dynasties Muttaraiyars, Atiyamans, telugu Chodas were actively participated in this activity. Gangas of Karnataka also seem to have made an attempt as testified by a rock cut cave at Melkote. Apart from Guntupalle caves, there are two main groups of cave temples in Andhra Pradesh, they are the Krishna valley group and Bhairavakonda group. The Krishna valley group can be again be classified into two localities such Vijayawada in Krishna district and Vundavalli in Guntur District. Of the two groups at Vijayawada and Mogalrajpuram and the Akkanna Madanna groups. The cave temples at Mogalrajpuram is appeared to be the gradual development of cave architecture of the Krishna valley. There are five cave temples in Mogalrajpuram area and they confirm broadly two types such single shrined and tripled shrine caves. Of three single shrine caves two face the south and remaining faced towards east. However both the triple shrines faces the north. There are six excavations in the Indrakeeladri hill of which Akkanna Madanna and the two – celled shrines excavated into a kind of sandstone. It is very hard in finding the authorship of these caves. At Vundavalli we find largest excavation that is four storied Anantasayana temple. It is only storied cave temple of the east coast. According to Jouvean – Debreuil, these rock –excavation has to be attributed to Vishnukundins¹¹, while long Hurst take them to be of the Orgin of Pallavas¹². Later they are attributed to Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. They are dated to 625A.D.

The Pallavas of Kanchi had patronized to excavate a series of Thirty four cave temples into hard granite stone, charnockite between the last

quarter of sixth and first quarter of eighth centuries. Srinivasan and A.H.Longhurst made detailed study on them. The credit goes to Mahendrarvarman who initiated this tradition. The cave temple at Mandagapattu in south Arcot district is generally considered as the first rock cut architecture in Tamilnadu. The cave temples of Mahindra Varma's time may be classified into three categories: single shrined, triple shrined, and multi shrined. The multi storied is really an innovation¹³. They are dedicated solely to Siva and Vishnu only. After Mahindra Varman, his successor Narasimhavarma I Mamalla had continued the tradition of rock cut temples like Kotikal-mandapa at Mahabalipuram (Chingleput district) Narasimha temples at Singapperumal kovil, Ranganadha cave shrine at Singapuram in South Arcot district. They are single shrined with each a hall in front. Some multi storied shrines also ascribed to this period they are two unfinished caves at Mamundur and Dharmaraja mandapa at Mahabalipuram belong to this group. It was continued in the period of Rajasimha period. Trimurti caves are the best example which belong this period.

After Pallavas, Pandyan in the far south took ahead the tradition of rock cut architecture. The cave temple of South Kerala is having famous temples like Kaviyur at Alleppey district, Airupara in Trivandrum district and etc. most of the Pandya caves are single storied shrines even without a real ardhha mandapa. But there are other types also. The climax for the rock architecture has reached during the reign of Jatiparantaka Nedunjadaiyan during 765A.D to 815A.D. the Pandya rock architecture can be classified into five main groups.

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ASPECTS OF TRADE IN PRE-COLONIAL DECCAN: THE ROLE OF PORTS OF THE NORTH COROMANDEL COAST

A. Subash

The seventeenth century witnessed the expansion and rising affluence of the kingdom of Golconda, under the Qutb Shahis, which was similarly reflected in the economic situation. The closing decades of the seventeenth century, however, witnessed political dislocation with Mughal hegemony replacing that of the Qutb Shahis, as well as other factors, like Maratha inroads in the region, natural calamities, etc. These, along with the teething problems that accompanied the introduction of the Mughal system of governance, alongside the increasing assertion of the European companies, particularly the English at Fort St. George, had a compounding impact on the economy of the region. Correspondingly, this period saw a process of gradual stagnation and decline in the economic situation of the northern Coromandel. The downward trend in the economy was not uniformly distributed in the entire Coromandel; rather it manifested itself in a shift in the importance of traditional centres of trade to newly emerging foci, implying that the declining trend in some areas was concomitant with the ascendancy of commerce in other regions.

The paper attempts to deal with aspects of the trade of the northern Coromandel Coast and the adjoining hinterland, the area corresponding to the Krishna-Godavari delta, then under the state of Golconda, with a focus on Masulipatnam, the prime port of Golconda for much of the seventeenth century, in the context of the onset of the commercial activities of the European companies.

The pre-colonial commercial world of India was one of open and competitive market, where different groups tried to establish an advantage in one sphere or another by means of inherited skills and ways of life. Such a situation led to brisk commodity exchanges and the development of sophisticated and distinguished commercial and financial techniques. The pre-colonial Deccan was no exception to this.

The Deccan region flanked with coasts on both of its sides experienced an extensive trade and commercial activity through the centuries. In Deccan, as elsewhere in India, the aspect of trade

and commerce in 17th and the 18th Centuries has acquired a special significance. This significance lies in the fact that a foreign and extraneous element in the form of European East India Companies like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French entered the economic scene through various channels of trade and commerce.

The advent of the Europeans and existing political conditions served as great impetus to the expansion of trade and commerce especially in the region. The local rulers, to increase revenue, gave trading permissions in the form of *farmans* and also exemptions to the traders who have come from various countries.

The sea ports that flourished during this period played a major role for the development of the markets – both for exports and imports – in the region. In the Deccan region, on the east lays the Coromandel Coast¹ where one could locate several ports, which formed a part of the Golconda kingdom. Some of the ports like Masulipatnam, Bhimilipatnam, Nizampatnam, Cocanada, Narsapur, Coringa, etc. contributed not only to the development of the Deccan but also helped in the development of the Indian peninsula as a whole. These ports were geographically well situated and were linked by roads that were connected with various trading centres of the region. Apart from their strategic location, there was great demand for luxurious goods that were imported at these ports from the royal and noble families of local Telugu rulers, *nayakas*, *palegars*, *zamindars* and warlords in and around northern and southern *circars* along with Telangana and Rayalseema regions which resulted in their prosperity.

For trade and commerce to flourish from these ports, transport and communication facilities gave backbone support. The accounts of the foreign travellers like Tavernier, Bernier and Thevenot throw a flood of light on this subject. Their accounts may be supported or contradicted by the journals and letters of the Europeans factory officials. It is evident from the contemporary accounts that there was a fairly good network of roads connecting different

industrial centres. The markets and the ports were linked to the royal capital of Hyderabad by an excellent network of roads that further ran towards Surat, the chief Mughal port and Bijapur, the Adil Shahi capital. The road from Surat to Hyderabad was one of the principal roads. The road led from Surat to Daulatabad and Aurangabad and from there passing through Parbani, Nandad, Nizamabad via Medak reached Hyderabad. Road from Hyderabad to Masulipatnam was the most important trunk road, as they connected the capital and the port. With the support provided by vast road network and numerous inland markets, the ports played significant role in the economy of 17th century Deccan.

Amongst all the ports located on the north Coromandel Coast, Masulipatnam enjoyed a premier position as the focal point of maritime trade. Masulipatnam, from various sides enriched all the commercial centres and important towns of hinterland Deccan. The internal and external forces played a key role in Masulipatnam emerging as a favourable port on the east. Prior to the seventeenth century, it was Motupalli, which was the main port in the northern Coromandel region. Masulipatnam was merely a supplier of textiles and other goods to the more important southern ports of Pulicat and Mylapore (San Thome). Its importance grew in the second half of the sixteenth century from the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. The port grew in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It further consolidated its position through the 17th century and declined slowly and steadily in the 18th century. Within a period of a century, it acquired the status of an international port on the north Coromandel region and lost it too with same speed. The earlier history of Masulipatnam is not clear. It was mentioned as Masalia by Hippolaus (c. 60 CE) and as Maisola by Ptolemy (c. 90-68 CE). The town was renowned for the manufacture of large quantities of *muslins* during the first century after Christ.³ It is popularly believed that the port came into existence in the 14th Century when a group of Arab Merchants established a colony here. However, recorded history gives us the information that the port was first under the Kakatiya rulers of Warangal till its defeat in the hands of Delhi sultanate. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1254-1324 CE), who visited Kakatiya kingdom, also referred to Masulipatnam as a centre for the production of

delicate and expensive textiles called *buckrams*. When Krishnadevaraya became the ruler of the Vijayanagar empire it once again prospered. The subsequent break up of Bahmani kingdom brought it under the rule of the Golconda sultans. With rise of the Qutb Shahi dynasty under Quli Qutb Shah in the second decade of the 16th century the Krishna-Godavari deltas as far as Eluru and Rajahmundry were brought under Golconda control. He built a seaport at Masulipatnam on the east coast after the formation of merchant fleets for the kingdom and opened it up to overseas trade. Masulipatnam began to develop as the chief maritime outlet of the kingdom of Golconda.⁴ It came to be known as *Bandar-i-Mubark* (an auspicious port) in the Indio-Persian chronicles of the late Qutb Shahi Period.⁵

Golconda, like the rest of the subcontinent, was a predominantly agricultural region. Masulipatnam had the advantage of access to a very productive hinterland of surplus rice cultivation, iron and steel production, indigo cultivation, diamond mines, saltpetre, salt etc. But its major advantage came from its capacity to draw from the weaving and dyeing industry both to its north and south.

Masulipatnam, situated on one of the tributaries of the River Krishna, had the best anchoring grounds. The bay provided safe anchorage for vessels. The right quantity of sand and mud existed in the Masulipatnam bay and the ships could come up to the rivers mouth. In addition to the anchoring facilities, the hinterland of the port was also well endowed with good soil and hard working people. It included the fertile strips of Krishna and Godavari deltas where the cotton and dye yielding crops were produced. The hinterland of this port was so vast that the textile and other export items were brought here from places as far as 350 miles interior.⁶ The merchandise to be shipped abroad was drawn from the hinterlands. The localized textile goods were procured for cheaper prices. The trunk roads leading towards the capital city of Hyderabad were good and the items were transported on bullock carts, bullock's backs and on the heads of coolies.

The port had capacity to correspond to exports and import equally. The textiles cloth and long cloth of Masulipatnam had ready markets in South East Asia, Persian Gulf and Europe.

Diamonds were exported to the Achin, Ormuz, Persia, Allepo and to Europe. The imports too found ready market in the capital city of Hyderabad. It had become a mart for imports.⁷ In the villages around the port, also lived the artisans like weavers, dyers and painters, washers, who specialized in the different aspects of the textile industry. There was plenty of labour available with reasonable rates. The supply of merchandise was in large number so that the port could have ample trade with several parts of the world.

The record of this period shows that India in general and Deccan in particular has exported numerous goods. They include variety of textiles like *rumals*, chintz, gingham, *kalamkari*, apart from sugar, white millets, animal skins, saltpetre, iron and steel, diamonds, leather, indigo, tobacco, redwood, lac, drugs and cassamba, floor stones, baked bricks and slaves. The Qutb Shahi dominion was also famous for diamond mines. Diamonds and other precious stones were exported to South East Asian countries from Masulipatnam. Likewise the imports included spices and pepper,⁸ precious metals, pearls, tin, copper, amber, aromatic wood, natural gum, sulphur, camphor, dammar, lac, perfumes, coconuts, areca nuts, carpets, brocade, dried fruits, mirrors, blades, wines and dye-roots, elephants, porcelain, horses. Precious metals occupied an important position among imports.⁹

Masulipatnam because of its hinterland became an important port during the Qutb Shahi period and the state provided good and strict administration to the port. There are no records of communal conflicts, nor dacoits and other disturbances. The local authorities maintained law and order in the port. It was administered by a *nawab* who further appointed a *faujdar*, a *kotwal* and a *qazi* for realizing the custom duties of the port.¹⁰ In fact, the power of governance sometimes rested in the hands of the influential Persian merchants.¹¹

One of the most important reasons for the phenomenal growth of the ports on the north Coromandel Coast during 17th and 18th centuries was the political stability provided by the Qutb Shahis. There was continuity of the rule and the succeeding kings followed policies of the preceding kings. From the second half of the 16th century to 1689 CE Masulipatnam port and the city remained under Golconda. In the

beginning of the 17th century Masulipatnam trade networks expanded into Malaya Peninsula, and through the straits of Malacca to Java and the southern Celebes. When Golconda became a Mughal *suba* in 1687 CE the trade and commerce of the port was not affected though it did leave behind an era of instability and chaos.

A French commandant at Masulipatnam, M. Moracin gives interesting information in his memoir dated to 1751 CE. He spoke plenty on trade and trading commodities seen at eastern ports of India. This contains a mine of information regarding the economic and social conditions of the Deccan and the Coromandel region. Moracin estimated that the French earned about Rs.5,00,000 rupees per year from their trading in cloth and handkerchiefs from Masulipatnam.

The flourishing trade along the Deccan ports of Masulipatnam, Bhimilipatnam, Cocanada, Nizampatnam was possible because of their fertile and productive hinterland. There were dense settlements of weavers, dyers, painters, washers and bleachers in and around the Godavari delta catering to the needs of textile production. A specialty of the Coromandel textiles was the dyeing, painting and printing of textiles using colours extracted from home grown plants and also from imported dyes.¹²

Another aspect which was behind the prosperity of these ports was the participation and role of the Qutb Shahi kings and their nobility in the textile trade which formed a major aspect of the commercial life of pre-colonial Deccan. Like their Mughal counterparts, the Qutb Shahis also involved themselves considerably in the political economy of the textile trade. This was especially true of the Red Sea trade in which Golconda textiles used to be exchanged primarily for horses. Tavernier describes this trade in detail. Also, the Golconda sultans had their own fleet of ships to which the Dutch supplied pilots, sub-pilots and gunners for safe-conduct of the vessels. During the time of Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah the seas were patrolled as far off as the Island of Sacotra which lies nearly 2000 miles from Masulipatnam.¹³ This patrolling by Qutb Shahi naval units was effective and they guaranteed the safety of all foreign shipping.

Rise of Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam, and other port-towns on the north Coromandel Coast throws light on the transitional phases from pre-colonial towns turning into colonial cities. All these ports show how once tiny agricultural and fishing villages grew into big port cities, under the aegis of the maritime trade. Their journey from the seventeenth to nineteenth century CE reflects the dynamism of the interaction of internal and external factors in political and economic processes.

The rise of the colonial port towns was neither natural nor accidental. They were particularly selected to serve and fulfil the objectives of the colonial interests. Their emergence was at the cost of the decline of other major urban centres in the region. Commercial

interests were thus the major determining factors behind this transformation, deciding how one port can be privileged at the expense of another.¹⁴

It can be concluded that during the 17th century numerous ports grew on the north Coromandel Coast like Ganjam, Kalingapatnam, Bhimlipatnam, Vizagpatnam, Cocanada, Coringa, Ingeram, Madapollem, Narsapur, Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam and Aramagaon. All these played a significant role in maritime history of coastal region in pre-colonial period.¹⁵ It is because of their commercial importance that the Qutb Shahis, the Mughals, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French struggled to acquire hold over these ports to gain political and economic power.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRACES OF TRIBAL NETWORK THROUGH THE PASSES OF MALAINADU IN THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

N. Sudarsana Kumar

The early historic period was a formative epoch not only in the north but also in the deep south. Amidst the profuse literary transcripts of the vibrant cultural academies in the south and the amply quoted "maritime road" of Tamizhakam known to the Classical West from the 4th century BCE, the archaeological sources continued taciturn on the economic and political undercurrents in the troubled years of the south. Tracing the geographical extent of Malainadu or Malaimandalam as it was called, becomes a more complex historical riddle by the mist of obscurity that blurs the dawn of Kerala culture. An in-depth study of the builders of megalithic culture, their subsistence in the peculiar densely forested, riverine geographical entities, cultural group systems, parallel cultures, their exchange system, occupational conformations, power shifts, etc. leading to territorial designs will give a comprehensive outline of the diverse streams of our initial foregone days. Here an attempt is made in this article to trace the archaeological vestiges of passes in the Malainadu facilitating divergent ethnic-cultural religious streams of configurations to form the all-encompassing assimilative culture of Kerala.

The sea which gave birth to Kerala also helped in formulating her history. Crisscrossed by 44 waterways, countless backwaters, and tidal ponds, streams, inhospitable Western Ghats and the intermittent dispersing of midland, highland and swamps ultimately made the political unification of Kerala an inaccessible dream. Earliest accessible archaeological or literary references of Kerala, seems to have mentioned the region as *Malainadu* or *Malaimandalam*, i.e. an integral and elevated part of Tamizhakam, which was viewed as a single unit of South India, culturally and linguistically¹. Sangam literature refers Malainadu in the south western part of Peninsular India, outspreading the Sahydri hills, west to Arabian Sea; under the Chera lineage.² Even though the inaccessible Western Ghats molded the geographical and cultural identity of the populace, it was never impregnable. Numerous passes connected Kerala with Tamil

Nadu, Karnataka and within different parts of Kerala from known historical period onwards, also played a crucial role in shaping the peculiar cultural identity of the land. Peaceful interaction with far-flung lands through the passes and water means had built up a tradition of more than two millennia before the incursions from modern Europe symbolized by the landing of Vasco Da Gama at Calicut in 1498, changed the temper of the contact, "...loaded it with conflicts and inflicted a turbulent phase of history which ended only with independence"³

The Western Ghats of India, one of the biodiversity hotspots in the world, is abode to numerous aboriginal hunter-gather tribes is unique in terms of its endemic flora, fauna as well as for their subsistence on nature from pre-historic period onwards. It is a land where Nature still holds her own diverse cultural influx and assimilation which have been successful in forging a common ethos and finds a common identity and cascades delicately down the hills to the golden coasts is lined by lush green coconut groves. The Negrito element, the earliest racial strain in the population of Kerala was first noticed by anthropologists like Preuss, Baddon, Sergi, Walchmidt, Cipriami, Eickstedt, Ruggles, Gates, Eileen Macfarlane, Mandelbaum and Emeneau in the Kadars, the Kanikkars, the Malampandarams, the Ulladars, the Uralis, the Paniyas, etc⁴. The labours of Lapicque noticed the existence of Une race Negri primitive among them. Hutton observed: "in the Kadars and the Uralys, of the extreme south occasional individuals with frizzly hair are very suggestive of the Negrito race"⁵. Hutton, Guha, L.A.Krishna Iyer, etc. unanimously remark that the West coast of India was subjected to small infiltration of people of African origin and that is the main cause for the Negroid characteristics observed.⁶ The five major primitive prehistoric people of Western Ghats are Kurumbar, Cholanaikkar, Kadar, Kattunaikkar, and Koragar⁷. The geographic distribution of scheduled tribes and castes like Kanikkar, Malapandaram, Urali, Ulladar, Malavedan, Malakkuravan, Malayarayar, Mannan, etc in the spice producing

mountainous terrain of southern Kerala, especially Kollam and its suburbs played a crucial part in facilitating the indigenous trade network of Malabar coast.

Major Passes, adjacent Markets & their connectivity

The passes which interconnect Kerala are mainly classified into three on the basis of their geographic distribution and connectivity. They are: Passes connecting Kerala with Tamil Nadu, Kerala with Karnataka & passes within the state, connecting the different places. The passes located in the south and central part of Western Ghats like Aruvaimozhi, Edamullathattam, Kottoor, Mottachimala, Aryanad, Shanar, Aryankavu, Mekkara, Kumaly, Kambam, Vathrap, Thevaram, Munnar, Bodinayakanur, Vaalppara and Nadukanichuram separate Kerala from Tamil Nadu, while Kootupuzha, Cherupuzha, Panathadi, Mulleriya, Anghadimugar, and Aanakkallu connect Kerala with Karnataka and Thamarassery connect Kozhikkode with Wayanad⁸.

1. **Aruvaimozhi:** Aruvaimozhi is the southernmost pass connecting south Kerala with Tamil Nadu. This pass derived its name from the Tamil word *Aaral* i.e 'murmuring of wind', because these region is effluent with wind. During the early period onwards, this pass served as the connecting link of strategic points of Nanjinadu. This pass was used by Tamil dynastic intruders in to Nanjinad in the early medieval period. Even though located outside the territorial limit of Kerala it played a crucial role in the military history of Kerala. Cholas attacked Kanthallur Salai through this gap. Being a fertile zone it was through this gap, the agriculturalists traded their products to the markets like Kottur⁹, Adiparambu, etc in Kerala and to Tamil Nadu.
2. **Kottur:** Kottur pass otherwise called *Keeravadaathadam* connect South Travancore with Ambasamudram via Kappukadu through the forests routes¹⁰. The tribals brought spices and other forest products loaded in their head through these inhospitable pathways and in return they would carry vegetables and other products including cattle to Vanjinad¹¹. Kuthiravetti in Tamil Nadu was the early point of this pass.
3. **Mottachimala:** This forest route in south Travancore was used to connect Aryanad with Tamil Nadu. Initially it served as the migratory route to Kerala.¹²
4. **Aryanad:** Situated north to Mottachimala this pass also helped to link south-east Travancore with Tamil Nadu through the forest. This densely forested pass is not in use at present.¹³
5. **Shannar:** Parallel to Aryankavu pass, this passes through the Chentharuni forest linking Kalamkunnu in Thenmala with Kattalappara, Kallar Pandymotta via Thalamala and also interconnect Paapanasam via Alwarkurichi and Krishnapuram. Shannar gap derived its name as it was built by the king Sundara Pandya with the help of Nadar community; who were also called Shannar.¹⁴
6. **Aryankavu:** This strategically and commercially important pass through the forests of Western Ghats interconnect the eastern parts of Kollam like Punalur, Kulathupuzha, etc with Chenkotta and Thenkasi. Religiously this pass served as the entry point of Buddhism in to the southern Travancore, which is evident in the Buddhist pagoda in Kattalappara and the numerous Sastha shrines and etymological indications¹⁵.
7. **Mekkara:** This pass connect Achenkoil, the eastern part of Kollam with Pambilipattinam, Chenkotta. These places experienced frequent attack from the Maravar thieves.
8. **Kumily:** One of the busiest passes in across Sahyadri in Central Kerala, Kumily interconnect Kottayam, Peerumedu, Kattappana and Kanjirappilly with Kambam, Theni, Udumalaipettu and Madurai in Tamil Nadu¹⁶. Before the construction of dam in Thekkady, it was used for riverine transportation of spices and other forest goods by the tribals.
9. **Kambam:** Situated north to Kumily it connect Anakkara, Kattappana, Nedumkandamin Idukki with Varasanadu. This pass is known for the availability of precious stones¹⁷.
10. **Vathrap:** Starting from Vathrap in Madurai via Srivilliputhur connect Kerala through

Mangaladevi temple and proceeds to Sabarimala via Mlappara and Gavi. Sangam literature refer the return of Kannaki to Kerala, points to the familiarity of such an entry point at the time, which might have been utilized for indigenous trade and transportation.¹⁸

11. **Thevaram:** This forest gap connect Udumbanchola in Idukki with Thevaram in Tamil Nadu with via Thevarammettu. This was used to transport pepper, cinnamon, cardamom, etc. to different markets across Kerala and Tamil Nadu. During the British period, they built tramway to facilitate the easy transport of trade goods.
12. **Munnar:** Situate across the Munnar mountain ranges in Sahyadri, it interconnects Munnar via the Rajamala, Vaaguvari and Marayur with Chinnar. Its other end connects Udumalaipettu, Pollachi and Palani¹⁹. The Topstation in Munnar was used for goods transportation in the medieval period and in the colonial period Britishers used the route building tramway.
13. **Bodinayakanur:** Located south-east of Munnar. It connects Bodimettu in Kerala via Munnar, Devikulam, Puppura and Rajakkad with Bodinayakanur, 'the cardamom city' in Tamil Nadu.²⁰ The derivation of 'Bodhi' as the name of this pass was in current long back, which points the Buddhist link with the region.
14. **Valpparai:** Connecting the main centers of Thrissur like Chalakudy, Vettilappara, Athirappally, Vazhachal, Malakkappara with Valpparai in Tamil Nadu²¹. This passage also connect Topstation in Munnar.
15. **Palakkad:** Palakkad is most prominent pass influenced Kerala with Tamil Nadu. Earliest infiltration from the north to Kerala is believed to have been through this 32 km extensive pass which economically, culturally, linguistically and geographically exerted everlasting influence not only in Palakkad but the entire Kerala.²² These age old contact molded Palakkad populace in a peculiar way which is visible in all spheres of life in Meenakshipuram, Velanthaavalam, Thaththamangalam, Anikkode, etc over centuries.
16. **Nadukanichuram:** It interlink the eastern parts of Malappuram with Nilambur,

Vazhikkadav, Gudallur, Udakamandalam (Ootty) The ruins of tramway reminds us of the colonial looting of our resources, like teak for ship building, spices for the medieval Europe, etc.

17. **Thamarassery:** This pass is a major link between Wayanad and Kozhikode, built by Tippu Sulthan to facilitate the military attack to Kerala.
18. **Koottupuzha:** Connect Kannur and Thalassery with Mysore.
19. **Cherupuzha:** It interconnect the eastern parts of Kannur like Aalamkode, via Cherupuzha, Maalom, with the Thalakkaveri and Kudak regions of Karnataka.
20. **Panathadi:** This southernmost pass in the Kasargod connect Odayanchal, Rajapuram, Paanathur, via panathadi and Sullya in Karnataka.
21. **Mulleriya:** Passing parallel to the river Chandragiri in Kasargod, via Bovikkanam, Mulleriya, it connect the Jaaloor in Karnataka.
22. **Ankkadmughal:** It connect Kerala with Karnataka via Kumbadaaje and Dharmadakka.²³
23. **Aanakkallu:** This is the northern most pass connect Karnataka via Hosankkadi, Kadambar, Maanjirappalla, Daigoli, and Anakkallu to Karnataka.

Conclusion

Passes played an important role in the history of the existence and sustenance of life on Earth. The migration of man from the cradle of evolution has conceded through several new fields of adaptations. Western Ghats with a natural unit of mountain system and the largest tract of evergreen forests has several passes which played inestimable role in molding and influencing the life of both side of the mountain ranges. Climate, language, dress, customs, fairs, festivals and in every realms, passes exerted consistent and invincible influence as inlets of culture. The underlying unity amidst these frequent migratory streams over the period, proves that all these small influx of migratory streams were not lost among themselves, but underwent timely modifications to evolve the peculiar cultural environment that we inherit today.

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KERALOLPATHI: THE TEXT AND MANY READINGS

P. Sudheerkumar

Writing history in India has been a serious issue for historians because of the absence of any 'true historical texts' like the ones produced by the early European societies. The vain attempt for searching for the 'real histories' was later dropped by the scholars and they, instead, were after the quasi- historical texts representing the social, political and religious lives of the populace. In short, the historical consciousness of the Indian traditional society was reinterpreted on the basis of many literary works, including the *Vedas*, *Itihasa*, *Purana*, *Smritis*, etc. In the light of the new studies, scholars have rebuilt our past to a considerable level of logical satisfaction. The attempts made by D. D. Kosambi, Romila Thapar, Bhandarkar, Jayaswal, R.S.Sharma, D.N.Jha, etc. are commendable. It has been well upheld by the

scholars that except *Rajatarangini* and *Mushakanamsakavya* we don't have remarkable literary contributions to peep into our past in the form of 'true history' until twelfth century AD.

This context is not much different in the case of the localities in almost all parts of India. Kerala, about which this essay is going to address, also has the same fate like other places in India about sources regarding past. Constructing history of Kerala has always been a 'fabulous' task as the legends and myths have draped the land with their thick and rather semi permeable barrier. The Sangham literature, a few hundred inscriptions, *Champus*, *Sandesakavyas*, *Mushakavamsakavya*, *Keralolpathi*, *Kerala Mahatmya* and travelogues by a few foreign

travellers are the main literary sources for the writing of Kerala history. In this article, 'Keralolpathi: One Text and Many Readings' is an attempt to examine *Keralolpathi*, one of the traditional sources of Kerala history: its many readings by different scholars, and also an endeavor to fish out certain parts of the text to be testified on the basis of historical documents and societal experiences hitherto unaccounted for by mainstream historians.

Anatomy of *Keralolpathi*

There are about six *Keralolpathis* available. The text *Keralolpathi* belonging to *Kolathunadu Vazhakkam* was written in *kolezhuthu* by Edanadan Raman.¹ Some writers have identified the author being Tuncathu Ramanujan Ezhuthachan, the father of Malayalam Language.² He is also known as the author of *Adhyatma Ramayanam*. There are disputes about the period of this work. Since Krishnarayar appears in the text, who is believed to be the ruler of Vijayanagar in the 16th century AD, the antiquity of the text can be presumed to be about 500 years. Some other views also exist. The prose in this work is examined by many scholars and they are of the opinion that it belongs to the 18th century.³ Ignoring the debate about the time of the work, the content has been given fastidious attention by the students of history as it is an interesting one. *Keralolpathi* narrates the story of the creation of the land called Kerala by the legendary character, Parasurama, the sixth *avatara* of lord Vishnu. Before having a discussion about the topic of this essay, the story delineated in *Keralolpathi* has to be examined.

Parasurama was the son of Jamadagni, the *rishi*. Once the Hehaya king Karthyaveerarjuna visited the ashram of the *rishi*. He was given a ceremonial welcome by the *rishi* with the help of the *Kamadhenu*, Susheela. Karthyaveerarjuna was advised by his minister to own the sacred cow that was responsible for all the fortunes of the *rishi*. The *rishi*, when approached, was not willing to hand over the cow. So, the minister killed the *rishi* and robbed the cow. Renuka, his wife found the body of the *rishi* abandoned somewhere in the forest and she with profound grief beat her chest twenty one times. Parasurama seeing this, took the oath that he would destroy the *Kshatriya kula* twenty one times. The body of Jamadagni was cremated, but

he was given life again by Shukracharya, using *mritasanjivani* the medicine that provided eternal life. Sisheela also came over there promptly to add happiness to the situation. Parasurama then set out to the palace of Karthyaveerarjuna and killed him and many of his sons. When he came back to the hermitage, he was strictly directed by his father that he should make penance by performing meditation. He left for Mahendragiri for meditation. That time the sons of Karthyaveerarjuna came to the hermitage and they cut off the head of Jamadagni. Understanding this, Parasurama came over there. After performing the funeral rites of his father, he set out for realizing his oath of destruction of the *Kshatriyas*.⁴ After killing the *Kshatriyas* 21 times, he wanted to ward off the sin thus committed. He performed meditation at Gokarnam to please Varuna, the god of the seas. Varuna gave a strip of land from the seas from Gokarna about 160 *katams*. The land never was stable and thus he made *Brahmanas* and brought *Brahmamanas* from other places to Kerala and installed 108 deities in various shrines. But the *Brahmins* went back to their respective lands due to the fear of serpents.⁵ Then he brought *Brahmins* from Aryapuram and the land was granted to them in the name of 64 *Brahmakshetrams*. To protect the land they had to use weapons.⁶ Thirty six thousand people were given with weapons belonging to 14 different *gotras*.⁷ Serpents were given the status of *sthana daivam* and *brahmaswom* property.⁸

Keralolpathi narrates the story of Kerala through three sessions. 1. Creation of the land of Kerala from Gokarna to Kanyakumari and the division of the land among the 64 Brahmin settlements or villages 2. Unsatisfied Brahmins finally resorted to bringing rulers from other places as they themselves failed to rule the land. Eighteen such rulers were brought to Kerala. The last of these rulers was Cheraman Perumal from Vijayanagara(?) 3. The last *Perumal* decided to abdicate his throne and divided his kingdom among the many Chieftains. Thus the land of *Perumals* got disintegrated into smaller principalities.

There are contradictory views about the historical authenticity of events mentioned in *Keralolpathi*. Some historians reject the veracity of the *Keralolpathi* altogether, for it being rather fictitious. William Logan has stated in Malabar

Manual it being a 'farrago of legendary nonsense.'⁹ K.P. Padmanabhamenon, the eminent historian of Kerala was also of the same opinion.¹⁰ P. Shangoonny menon also did not have much interest in depending on *Keralalpathi* for construction of Kerala history, but he too depended on it for writing History of Travancore.¹¹

K V Krishna Ayyar has aptly commented: (The legends and traditions are) incredibly wild and marvelous as some of them are , they have a unique value¹²

It is to be inferred that the work was a socio-economic and political treatise in justification of the established order of Brahminical hegemony. The Brahmins were the *jenmis* who could own and enjoy the landed property and perform *yagas* and other rituals and also follow *varnasrama dharma*.¹³

A. Sreedharamenon, the prominent historian on Kerala has commented on *Keralopathi* thus:

Apart from the fact that Parasurama, the mythological hero, is sometimes regarded as a typical representative of the Aryan missionaries who came to colonise Kerala at an early period in its history, there is little historical or factual basis for the Parasurama tradition.¹⁴

Prof. M G S Narayanan also has examined the authenticity of the *Keralolpathi* records and has noted:

While epigraphic records have shown absurdity of several statements (of *Keralolpathi*) as the chronicle they have at the same time proved other statements to be true.¹⁵

So, he concludes:

These facts show that the *Keralolpathi* is not to be rejected outright but used with caution¹⁶

Kesavan Veluthat, another prominent Historian has scrupulously examined the *Keralalpathi* as history and writes :

I Will argue that a sense of history in as much as there is in it 'a consciousness of past events , which are relevant to a particular society, given in chronological framework and expressed in a form which meets the needs of that society.¹⁷

THE SEARCH FOR 'HISTORY' AND FINDING OF AZHVANCHERI IN *KERALOLPATHI*

We have examined the approaches taken by different historians on *Keralolpathi*. In the following session we are discussing a particular event cited in the *Keralalpathi* text and not taken seriously by the historians. The 32 Brahmin settlements mentioned in the text seem to be correct. This has been testified by many inscriptions.¹⁸ Kesavan Veluthat has successfully found out their names in his seminal work 'Brahman settlements in Kerala'.¹⁹ Kanipayyur Sankaran Nambudrippad has given a little different identification of them.²⁰ These Brahmin settlements were extremely powerful during the reign of Perumals and even after that.

Historical value of the *Keralalpathi* has been examined with the identification of the Brahmin settlements as MGS Narayanan has suggested. Another remarkable comment that appears in the *Keralalpathi*²¹ It states that two persons were selected to monitor the 64 settlements , the first one being from the Puliymbada house in Perincellur village, he would be the lord of the 64 villages. A second person was entrusted by Parasurama to solve the issues among these villages was Azhancheri who belonged to the Alathur Brahmanical village, on Brihannadi or Bharatappuzha. He was given the name *Samprakkal*, both these persons would be the elite among the Brahmins in Kerala.²² what is conspicuous that there were four major Brahmanical villages on the banks of the Brihannadi or Bharatappuzha. They were Panniyur, Chovvaram, Alathur and Karathole. Among these, Panniyur and Sukapuram were the centres of Kerala culture.²³ In *Unnichirutevicharitam*, the *Manipravalam* literature, probably written in the 13th century has significant description about the exalted position of the Azhvancheri Tamprakkal.

With Alvancheri as the Brahma and Akavur Tampuran as the ear ornament; with eight Brahmana families as the inner petals and propping families as elegant outer petals; with the learnt Brahmins throng to sip the honey of vedic recitation ; the *gramam* which is flourished from the navel of lord Vishnu and fondled by Mahalakshmi, shines and is the derivation for all prosperity.²⁴

Azhavancheri Tamprakkal was the lord of

the Chowaram *gramam* which the writer was proud of. This invariably indicates the elevated position of the Azhavancheri Tamprakkal. Azvancheri was the lord of the Sukapuram Gramam, he was otherwise called *Nethranarayanan*.²⁵

In *Kokasandesa*, the *kavya* written in the 14th or 15th century Azhavancheri appears with relevance. The writer of the *kavya* is believed to be the native of Tripragode *desam* since the *Koka* starts its journey after offering prayers to the lord Siva of Triprangode. This *kavya* describes about the important places, temples and palaces of those days.

A description:

You (*Koka*) cover the one *kata* long narrow path of Avinur and reach Maranchery. Then you salute the deity there. After that, you see the *Mana* of the Azhvancheri *Bhusura*, who is the fathomless in his generosity, people say, and continue journey.²⁶

The most exalted among the *Nambutiris* is *Tamprakkal*. The residence of the Tamprakkal is near the Edakkulam Railway station. Whether ritual or temporal, the last decision in Kerala was of him. The meaning of the word *Tamprakkal* is *Samrat*. The definition of *Samrat* is:

*Siddhayogi cha sarvajna sapanugraha
sakhiman*

*Samsiddha brahma samrajyoya sa samraditi
smrita.*

This clearly indicates that he was the supremo of the state. He could bless and curse; he was enlightened in every respect.²⁷

The Travancore rulers had invited the *Tamprakkal* for *murajapam*, but not for chanting the *mantras*. He was invited to be present at the event for 56 days for solving any issues that might come up about the rituals. The most important guest on the event was Tamprakkal himself. The king came to the place where the *Tamprakkal* resided and prostrated before him and placed the gifts while *Tamprakkal* would sit on the *Avanappalaka*. If the king himself showed this much reverence to the *Tamprakkal*, just imagine the status of the *Tamprakkal* in those days.²⁸

The position of the *Tamprakkal* has also been mentioned in *Kokila Sandeasa* by Uddhandadasrikal and in *Bhramarasandesa* by Vasudeva. The name *Tamprakkal* was given only to the Azvancheri Tamprakkal and Kalpakancheri Tamprakkal. The family of the latter became extinct²⁹ While Panniyur *Gramam* was led by Kalpakancheri Tamprakkal, the Sukapuram *Gramam* was led by the Azhvancheri Tamprakkal. The former was wiped out from history and the latter has been prominent in the cultural milieu of Kerala.³⁰ Kanippayur has also stated that Azhvancheri Tamprakkal belonged to the Sukapuram Gramam³¹. The *Keralopathi* says that he belonged to the Alathur *Gramam*. This can be justified as the local myth about the *Tamprakkal* is that the family came from Vanneri to Athavanad, the present station of the *Tamprakkal* some 500 years ago. This myth has got some historical justification also as the 15th century was turbulent in the history of Malabar because of the coming of the Portuguese and their ferocious intervention in the socio-religious life of the populace. He would have sought the patronage of *Samutiri* of Kozhikode who was a strong enemy of the Portuguese.

Athavanad is the acronym for *Azhvancheri Tamprakkal Vasikkum Nadu* (The land where Azhvancheri Tamprakkal resides), tells some local myths. There are a number mysterious stories regarding the spiritual strength of the Tamprakkal. They have been elaborated in the *Aithiyamala* authored by Kottarathil Shankunni. Azhvancheri has been the *Oorala* of the many temples in South Malabar, Kochi and Travancore. He has more than thirty temples in his control as of now.

There are different opinions about the political character of Azhvancheri. Scholars like N. M. Nambudiri opines that *Tamprakkal* was Vedic power centre and had no role in politics. On the other hand, some scholars highlight the presence of *Tamprakkal* at the time of *Ariyittavazhcha* (Coronation ceremony) of *Samutiri* as a proof of his political supremacy over the rulers. The *Ariyittavazhcha* or the formal installation of the new Zamorin generally took place in continuation of the *Tiruvantali* or funeral ceremonies of his deceased predecessor. The new chief did not at his accession take any

oath similar to that taken by the king of England. The solemn injunction of the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal to protect cows and Brahmins resembles rather the admonition of the *purohita* at the enthronement of the Vedic king than the coronation oath of the Christian King³² There is another place where the Thamprakkal appears in *Keralolpathi* text. When Anakundi Krishna Rayar came to Kerala to force the Brahmins to keep their word which promised sending Cheraman Perumal to his land after a period of 12 years. Even after the expiry of two terms each for 12 years he was compelled by the Brahmins to continue as the ruler of Kerala. There was an urgent need to fight Rayar and for that Perumal needed the help of Udayavarman, Manikkan and Vikkiran. They were given letter though the Brahmins and on their way to Thirunavaya they met Azhvancheri Thamprakkal at Venchalapparambath Peral Nadakkavil (Pattannadakkavil?). He was sitting and looking towards the east and there was his umbrella in the opened position. His spiritual powers were recognized by the *Eratis* and all of them prostrated before the Thamprakkal and got his blessings. Due to this reason the Kunnalakkonathiri, the king, has to fold his hands in reverence before the Thamprakkal.³³ It is said that the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal had been invited to perform the *Ariyituuvazhcha* of the Travancore kings which the former had rejected³⁴ As Sukapuram was part of the Valluvanad and also the presence of Azhvancheri was imperative for the *Ariyitu vazhcha* ceremony of the Valluvanad ruler, the Azhvancheri was informed of the death of the ruler.³⁵ It was a routine that the rulers of Travancore, Kochi and Kozhikode used to visit the *Thamprakkal* for his blessings before their coronation ceremonies.

He was to be at Sukapuram, Perumanam and Thrissivaperur temples on the occasion of the invocation of the *Yogis*. Any modification of the rituals should have to be approved of by the Thamprakkal.³⁶

The famous *Thachudaya Kaimal* of the Irinjalakuda Kudal Manikyam Temple has been a diverse event in Kerala history. He has to be made suitable for the position and this process is called *jathakavarodham*. This was done by none other than the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal himself in presence all the eminent personalities related

to the temple, and administration³⁷ After getting permission from the ruler of Kochi state, two persons were to be sent the Azhvancheri to get a suitable date from him.³⁸ He was to be received at Guruvayur and Thiriprayar with great reverence.³⁹ In Vadakkum Nathan Temple at Thrissivaperur also the *Thamprakkal* had his say. When the Perumpadappu ruler, the *Moopil* of Perumpadappu, the members of the 22 *nambis* and of the 10 *illams* met and then the decision of the invocation of the *Yodathiri* was taken. Then a letter is sent to the *Thamprakkal* saying 'you too come and the invocation be solemnised.'. This letter was sent though a special messenger.⁴⁰ The most important position in the invocation ceremony was of the *Thamprakkal*.⁴¹ In the meeting of the election of *Yogatiri* of the Vadakkumnathan Temple at Thrissivaperur, the King was to sit only after the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal let him do so. The *Thamprakkal* sat on the *Anvanppalaka* and the King on the *Vella* and *Karimpadam*.⁴² When the issue of temple entry at Guruvayur came for ritual consideration, the Zamorin consulted the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal among many other prominent personalities.⁴³

Conclusion

It is rather interesting to examine the traditional sources in a microscopic way. Though the scholars of the yester years have scrupulously examined the various aspects of the *Keralolpathi*, people who are interested in history still read it from different angles. What is mentioned in *Keralolpathi* in two or three lines has been helpful to reconstruct the history of a family that had and still has profound influence in Kerala history. What we have seen in *Keralolpathi* has been testified by the later or previous records thereby creating the fact that there are traces of truth in this literary text though chronology and many other things which modern historians think being relevant lack in it. It can also be suggested that the text might have been written after our society had become well established in the *brahminical* mode and it had been written so as to justify of the social stratification and the plight of the downtrodden ones. Research in that direction has yet to be continued to establish its status as a dependable source for writing the history of Kerala. Otherwise, it would remain forever as a mythical text containing fragmented historical revelations.

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IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT IN COMPOSITE DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

S. Vishvabharathi

Introduction

The physiographic nature of Dharmapuri (composite district with present Krishnagiri district) is Mullai tract. Hence it witnessed the pastoral culture from the Megalithic cultural phase, approximately 1000 BCE to 10th Cen. CE. The establishment of Imperial Chola rule in these districts saw some irrigation development activities. Water is a basic need for the agrarian society. It is the most crucial input for agricultural operations. From the time immemorial, the society, paid much attention to water

management. They focus much on storage, preservation, evaporation, percolation, regulation, maintenance and distribution.¹ The state also played a crucial role, particularly in the collection and distribution of water resources in order to maintain social harmony.

The development of irrigation facilities and related works led the composite district to transform into an agro-pastoral economy; means it was not fully agro based. At later stages the hunters, the fisherman and pastoral folk supplemented the labour to become agro based.

Agricultural activity in Dharmapuri composite district

Agricultural activity in Dharmapuri area has its own very old tradition and glory. Sangam literature claims that, the ancestor of Adiyaman Neduman Anji has introduced cultivating Sugarcane.² Though the physiographic nature of Thagadoor province is Mullai tract covered with hills, grassing land and forests. Their attempt in introducing Sugarcane appear admirable one; for ahead of their time. Because this lands are more suitable to the animal herding than agriculture. Hence we could see many shepherd communities found their settlements in the province from very early stages; the immense presence of megalithic monuments signifies its wide spread nature.

However, the agricultural activities continued from very early stages. He have inscriptional evidences to support this fact. In 13th century Adiyaman Vidukathahagiya Perumal, a descendant of Adiyar clan claims he was guard of three rivers; the Kaveri, Pennaiyaru and Palaru.³ Inscriptions reveal that the activities of construction and maintenance of 'Madai', 'Madagu', 'Tumpu', 'Kalingu', 'Voy', 'Kumili', 'Nirkovai,' besides establishment of Lake, Pond, and Kuttai.

The local term for huge tanks was 'Samudiram'. "SevidaiSamudiram"⁴ and "Deva Samudiramana Eri"⁵ were the names found in the inscriptions. These tanks might have existed in 13, 15th cen.CE. Some unnamed tanks along with "Varagur Periya Eri", "Purakarai Eri" were mentioned in 13th cen. inscriptions. This period represents the reigns of Cholas and Hysolas. These reigns seemed to take meaningful activities to support agricultural.

In 14th Cen. CE, the army general of Vijayanagara emperor Kumarakambanna, Guli Marayan had established one canal in Pennaiyar river. It was named after him as "Kander Kandar Veli Peru Voyikkal"⁶. Another interesting archaeological finding was terracotta pipes dated to 13th Cen. CE, used for transporting water. They were unearthed from Uthangarai taluk. These pipes have the technology of connecting one after another, the same technology we used today.⁷

Water sources and Economy of land

The composite Dharmapuri district has mostly dry lands and dominantly pastoral economy. Only the feudatory rivers namely Sananathkumaranathi, (Chinar), Markandeyanathi, Thopaiyar, Palar (Nagavathi), Vaniyar, Kallar; wild streams and other rivulet are useful for the productiveness of the lands. Though the two larger rivers, the Kaveri and Thenpennai flow across the composite district, their use in agriculture is very minimal, as they flow bellow the ground level at most of the places. However, Thenpennai is little better of the two. Some parts of lands in Krishnagiri, Uthangarai and Harurtaluks get benefits from its flow.

In Tamil Nadu, it is established that there are about 39202 tanks all over the state. The Composite Dharmapuri district has 1834 tanks.⁸ It represents just 4.6% of total concentration. Out of total number of tanks only 87 are major tanks. The tanks which are in considerable size are the Barur Large tank, the Bada-Talave large tank (821 acres) and the Penukondapuram tank (430 acres) all in Krishnagiri district; the Allapuram tank, the Annasagaram tank (486 acres), the Kolagattur Shelarayantank (538 acres) in Dharmapuri district. A group of tanks near Dharmapuri, the Adiyamkottai tank (270 acres), Mademangalam tank (405 acres) and the Annasagaram tanks receive the drainage of Vathalmalai, the Kolagattur and Sogattur tank (348 acres) which overflows into the Ramakkal tank (276 acres) in Maddiganapalli that of the Pikkili hills. The drainage from these tanks flow via Krishnapuram tank and Kabnainallur into Pennar. Adamankottai, Kolagattur and Mademangalam tanks are known as SolarayanEri, and the lands irrigated under them are very valuable.⁹

The economy of the land was severely affected practically due to continuous warfare which raged all round in the region. References from other parts of Tamil Nadu show that the arid as well as fertile lands are available in the sources indicating variation in the natural fertility of soil which could be aggravated by failure monsoon and or by the floods. A note was worth to notice on the land – holding pattern. The note describes that 'the tenant and the land –holder was obliged to pay taxes like land tax, water cess,

tank duty etc. Karai land is interpreted by C. Meenakshi as land frequently redistributed among tenants. Royal manors were operated just like any private land. Among the agricultural products which are valuable as cash may be mentioned cotton, arecanut, palmyrah etc. The status of cultivator or farm labour was deplorable.¹⁰

The above fact may be more suitably considered for the composite Dharmapuri district even though practically no reference from inscription available. Further the followings too may be assimilated with Dharmapuri again. 'During the Chola period the village agricultural economy was controlled by the village assembly. A class of landless labours called "agrarian proletariat" by NilakandaSastri were in a condition of seldom. The communal land in the village represents the modicum which was for the benefit of the entire village. Tenancy cultivation particularly in the case of land owned by Brahmins was quite common. Service tenures did not lead to ownership of land but merely rights.

Development of irrigation facilities

Generally based on inscripational records Tamil Nadu stands as an agrarian country from 6-7th century onwards. However, Sangam literature illustrates about hectic activity of agriculture and increase of agrarian land by annihilation of forest. The Pallavas and the Pandyas were the early once to get involved in the promotion of agriculture; thereby they developed number of water sources. The rivers were intercepted by constructing the dams in between and many sluices, channels were created. The state took the responsibility of creating the water sources and also assured the supply water according to the needs of the area and crop.

Irrigation facilities were made available by the rulers and the aristocracy of land. The maintenance of that amenity was facilitated to suitable taxes. Reclamation of spoilt land and fresh cultivation of virgin soil were both encouraged. There is no means of exactly

determining the price of land in those times though we have rare instance of mention of sale price of land e.g., one 'veli' of land being sold for 100 kalanjus of gold¹¹ or one 'ma' of land being valued at 2000 kasus in 1214 CE.¹²

Development of Water sources

The name 'Kanatrankarai'¹³ was mentioned in one of the 7th cen. inscription in Harur taluk, it may be the name of wild river. In the 8th and 9th cen. inscription name of 'Thira eri' was mentioned.¹⁴ In the 12th cen. inscriptions 'Tholachivayarai eri'¹⁵, 'Thennitteri'¹⁶, and inscriptions from 13th to 16th cen. mention the names of 'Sankarapallier'¹⁷, 'Kulathureri'¹⁸, 'Perieri'¹⁹, 'Mazhavarayappudueri'²⁰, 'Devasamu ththirameri'²¹, 'Kadaikotturmeleri'²², 'Putheri'²³. Further inscriptions of the same period also mention 'Thattankutai'²⁴, 'Kuthandarkuttai'²⁵ 'Mungilkuttai'²⁶ and some unnamed ponds.²⁷ Further we came across about the development and repair of many sluices from the 11th and 13th cen. CE inscriptions.²⁸

One Chola inscription mentions the name of a dam 'Velngakaran dam'.²⁹ However there is no information about where it was situated. Likewise in one of the 15th cen. CE inscription the boundary of a donated land mentions 'Athathgarai' i.e., riverbed. 'Kuddai' was the name for small ponds. Some of these small ponds seemed individual property. At the time of land sale these Kuddai was also sold along with land. This act was revealed in the inscriptions from Penneshwaram madam, and Ampalli of Uthangaraitaluk.³⁰

Another 15th cen. Inscription has record about the contraction of a channel known as 'Kandar Kandar Peruvaikkal' by Kandara Gulimaraya Naickkan, the Army chief of Vijayanagara emperor Kumarakampannan.³¹ During the rule of Mysore Chikka deva Udaiyar a dam was constructed in the 'NanjarajaSamudram' in Thorappalli in Hosurtaluk.³² However, the development of irrigation facility was not seen during the reign of Mysore Thalavai's.

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF PADMASHREE KAKA KARKHANIS –A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

Chandrakant Koligudde

The Nationalist movement was supported by innumerable people who contributed to the awakening of ideas of Unification & Freedom across Karnataka region. Ganesh, Govinda, Karkhanis. Was one of the great Social Reform of Karnataka in general and Particular in Northern Karnataka The Karnataka State has contributed a lot for the freedom struggle. Kannadigas are very well-known for bravery and courage. They believed and continue to believe that freedom is more valuable than their life.

Kakka sacrifices his life for the development of Backward and Untouchable community. He was freedom fighter, and Humanitarian. The Socio-Political Movements launched in Bijapur District for the Upliftment of the Dalits and Backwards. His Movements was a direct Mass appeal pin-pointing common evil from which the low Castes suffered for age together. He promoted the spread of Education among depressed classes and Open Hostels.

HISTORIANS OF SOUTH INDIA

S. Swaminathan

Historians of South India is a study about the contributions made by the scholars to the Historiography of South India. Historical writings had their beginning in south India only after the coming of Europeans hence many European scholars have made significant contribution in recreating the history of South India. from the closing years of the nineteenth century South Indians have been making sincere attempts to bring to light all dark areas in the history of south India. This study will be explore the development of historiography in south India. It is only history that can be called critical social memory. The region inhabited by the South Indians has had a civilized existence for at least two million years.

The literary and artistic tradition of South India speak volumes about the achievements of our ancestors but it is strange that South Indians have not produced any Historical writings with its name in the Pre-British period. South Indian literature is a veritable mine of Historical information. There are countless monuments in South India. No region in India has so much of inscriptions as South India possesses. All these source materials remain untouched till the Europeans introduced Historiographical methods to this part of the world. Hence Historiography in the modern sense of the term had its beginning in South India only with the advent of the English East India Company.

A RELOOK ON THE SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION OF Dr. A. P. J. ABDUL KALAM

M. Syed Ibrabim

Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam established a unique connection between science and spirituality. He believes that Science is the recent boon of God and science has bestowed upon mankind. Our duty is to invent the scientific concepts and use it for the benefits of all. It is how science is used by man that makes it a blessing or a curse. For instance nuclear energy can be used for generation of electricity and also for making bombs. Fertilizers can be used for agriculture to improve the yield while the same chemicals can also be used for chemical weapons. Science leads to technology and the leaders in the society decide how to use that technology. The convergence of science and technology with spirituality is touted to be the future for both science and technology, and spirituality. The science that we work with today must have the innovativeness, foresight and the vision for it to be the center of technology that we develop tomorrow.

Efforts towards building the nuclear bomb, infrastructure, and research on related technologies have been undertaken by India since World War II. Origins of India's nuclear program dates back to 1944. After Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister in 1966, the nuclear program was consolidated. In 1980, the return of Indira Gandhi to power and the nuclear program began to gain momentum. While Pakistan began exercising the brinkmanship, the nuclear program of India continued to the advance level. Initiation the launch of the missile programme began under Dr. Abdul Kalam, an aerospace engineer. Pokhran-II was the series of five nuclear bomb test explosions conducted by the Indian Army's Pokhran Test Range in 1998. This Paper focuses on the Scientific contribution of A.P.J. Abdul Kalam in a detailed manner.

CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF HAIDER ALI AND TIPU SULTAN AT BANGALORE

P. Thoufeeq Ahamed Teepu

The historic past is visibly being eroded by human and natural forces. There is a vital need of appreciation of rich heritage; for identifying the avenues for preservation, conservation, adaptive reuse and restoration; for the sake of cultural continuity and document them for posterity. Many of India's architectural and cultural heritage sites, which were recognized so far, they constitute a unique civilization legacy, as valuable as the monuments that are legally protected by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and State Achieves Department. The Archaeological Survey of India protects monuments that are more than 100 years old and are of national importance. The monuments of state importance are protected by the State Archaeological Department. Hardly, 5000 monuments at the national level and 3500 at the state level are being conserved by national and State governments respectively. But, considering India's vast cultural heritage, these numbers are

not significant and their focus is monument-centric. Nowhere else in India, one can find such a profusion of monuments as in Karnataka.

Forts have always been a prime necessity of all ages. The possessive instinct of mankind has played a vital role in acquiring territories and mustering the riches and this has made the fort an essential requisite for a king to protect and preserve the wealth accumulated. In But, it is losing its charm as the places near the fort, monuments, temples, mosques, fort gates etc., have been encroached by commercial establishments, illegal constructions, and not much concern from government agencies/authorities including people at large. The paper presents the significance assessment of heritage areas suggests conservation measures and strategies for sustenance of the historical Bangalore city.

ENDOWMENT LECTURES
KASTHURI MISRO MEMORIAL LECTURE
CHILD RIGHTS IN INDIA – A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Prof. G.J. Sudhakar

At the outset, I thank the esteemed President, General Secretary, Treasurer, Members of the Consultative Committee, Executive Committee and the General Body of the South Indian History Congress for having invited me to deliver the Kasthuri Misro Memorial Lecture (2019) at Hyderabad as part of the 39th session.

The study of children is not recent. Systematic efforts to understand and care for children date back at least 2,500 years in the Indian tradition. Likewise, in the western tradition, various thinkers have not only been interested in understanding children over the centuries, but have viewed the possibilities of childhood as central to developing a broader understanding of humanity and society. Thinkers like Rousseau and Maria Montessori popularized what has come to be known as romantic – developmental ideas about children that viewed their essence as naturally innocent, pure and good, untainted by culture, resonances of which can be found in the writings of the Indian poet, novelist, song writer and educator Rabindranath Tagore.

Despite this long history of interest in understanding children and childhoods, the academic study of children is relatively recent, getting formalized only a little over a century ago with the establishment of developmental psychology. Developmental psychology enjoyed an uncontested claim to the development of knowledge about children for nearly three – quarters of a century. Narratives generated within this tradition have, therefore, had a disproportionate influence in shaping how we view and discuss children in modern day societies and have had a far-reaching impact on policy and practice related to children. These narratives have increasingly been questioned by practitioners both within and outside the discipline, especially by scholars working within the new sociology of childhood as teleological in orientation, bereft of cultural nuances and

uninterested in the subjectivities of the individuals studied.

Several other strands can be discussed in western scholarship that contribute to our understanding of children and childhoods – for example, those contributed by sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists. These scholars characterize children as products of developmental socialization and, hence, have viewed children's development as culturally and historically situated. Collectively, they raise questions about the universal theories advocated by classic developmental psychologists and point to the culturally located development of children.

The second half of the 20th century saw the emergence of a fresh line of scholarship called childhood studies. The French historian Philippe Aries' book, 'Centuries of Childhood' (1962) is an example of this line of scholarship. Aries's¹ controversial claim that modern childhood is not a natural development, but a socially constructed category, provided the impetus for studying childhood with a renewed sense of self-conscious urgency, spawning, eventually, a voluminous body of scholarship, largely contributed to by sociologists. This body of scholarship has been referred to at times as an 'emergent paradigm'. The paradigm is characterized by several recognizable tenets. First, it postulates that childhood is a social construction. Second, since childhood is viewed as a variable of social analysis, it can never be separated from other social variables, such as class, caste and gender².

Ryan (2008) questions whether childhood studies constitute a radically new paradigm or whether it can be seen as somewhat continuous with earlier efforts to understand children and childhoods. It shares with romantic developmentalism, a keen interest in understanding the subjectivities of children. With socialization theories, it shares an understanding of the cultural and social situatedness of childhoods³.

Sociology and sociologists, along with theorists and practitioners from other disciplines and domains have contributed greatly to our growing understanding of childhood as a shifting set of ideas and have engaged meaningfully with counter discourses that attempt to paint childhood as a universally shared narrative that can be responded to with universally validated solutions.

Several strands of scholarship can be discerned in India that contribute to understanding childhoods as complexly and multiply located. The psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar (1978) was one of the earliest to systematically reflect upon the cultural variability of children's development, by presenting an analysis of the complex cultural webs that shape the development of high – caste Hindu children. Ashish Nandy (1987), a political psychologist, has analyzed the relationship of colonialism to ideologies of childhood / adulthood. He draws a parallel between the characterization of childhood and of the colonized – both commonly represented as culturally and politically immature and inferior – invoking a normative and teleological order of progression for both individuals and civilizations. His analysis has significance not just for a reconstruction of childhoods but for understanding the relationship of the post colonized to their erstwhile colonisers, who he refers to as the 'intimate' enemy, internalized enemy, internalized in the minds of the colonized. Resisting hegemonic narratives of teleological progress and normativity would not only call for much more than resistance of externally imposed narratives, it would also involve a scrutiny of the internalized colonizer.

It is certainly easier to resist the external narratives, and it is a worthwhile endeavour in its own right. Nowhere has this been more obvious than in the responses of some scholars to globalized understandings of childhood, such as those ratified by the United Nations Convention of Rights (UNCRC, 1989) and those that enter developing nations through international aid and structural adjustment programmes. Raman (2000), for example, in her insightful critique of select articles of the UNCRC, points out the implicit assumptions that do not apply to Indian contexts. Trenchant and insightful critiques of simplistic solutions to complex issues, such as

child labour, gender and schooling, have been offered by several scholars. The rich, nuanced ethnographic work of these researchers has revealed aspects of the life – worlds of children that are not typically available in aid oriented efforts to reform.

The works briefly reviewed here, along with several others, question the representation and responses geared towards the 'poor child', especially the poor child of non-western contexts. They caution against depictions of deficit childhoods with a teleological progression towards the 'ideal' child of western normativity. At the same time, the politics of tolerance of pluralism is also insufficient if this does not acknowledge the workings of power and of structural inequities that marginalize, silence and disempower children.

HISTORY OF CHILD RIGHTS:

The history of Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, whose cultures had a great impact upon the western society, bears testimony to the fact that children, by and large, were taken for granted by their parents and the patriarchal society at large. The resultant effect of all this was that they were treated as objects of intervention rather than as legal subject in their own right. Many labeled them as a 'problem population' whereas others reduced them to being seen as property and thus treated them as non-entities.

The ancient Greeks left girls and children both with disabilities on the wild hillsides, where exposure or animals were sure to kill them and the practice was continued routinely in Rome until Christianity became the state religion. The killing of unwanted children may have become less common in the centuries since then, but it never completely disappeared.

Philippe Aries, in his landmark book 'Centuries of Childhood', also claimed that, "the idea of childhood did not exist at all in earlier times", as once the 'child' moved from the biological dependency of 'infancy' it 'belonged to adult society'.

Lloyd de Manse, another historian, in 'The History of Childhood' painted a very negative image of childhood and family life in the past. In fact, he went to the extent of saying that the history of childhood is a nightmare from which

we have only recently begun to awaken. He further contended that, 'the further back in history one goes, the lower the level of child care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized and sexually abused'. According to him, childhood was not discovered in the way that Aries suggested. On the contrary, it was a human universal that gradually evolved itself from the stage to the other. These stages were:

- i. Infanticidal (Antiquity to 4th century A.D);
- ii. Abandonment (4th – 13th centuries);
- iii. Ambivalent (14th – 17th centuries);
- iv. Intrusive (18th century);
- v. Socialization (19th – mid 20th century); and
- vi. Helping (mid 20th century onwards).

The era of middle ages was rightly referred to as the Dark Ages. Perhaps, an important step in the definition of rights came in 1215, in England. After a period of Civil War, the English nobility forced King John to limit his power, which had been absolute and virtually unchecked, through the Magna Carta.

Neil Portman (1982), at a time when there was growing institutional recognition that children have rights, was 'facile'. His contention was that, "Childhood has not disappeared and it will not do so. A childhood in which children are granted a moral status, in which their rights are taken seriously, will be a better childhood, not a worse one".

Some historians believe that traditional families in Western Europe in the pre-industrial times used to live with the extended family; grand parents, wife, husband and children and perhaps some other relatives ruled by an elderly patriarch. Children were often temporarily sent off as servants to relatives in need of help.

Child labour appeared in earlier ages in primitive agricultural societies, but during the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century in Great Britain, it was especially conspicuous and began to be opposed. It was one of the biggest scandals of the 19th century, spreading to other countries as they industrialized. The problem arose when children, many younger than ten years old, were employed by factories and mines. They were

forced to work long hours under dangerous conditions for little pay. Social reformers began to condemn child labour because of its detrimental effect on the health and welfare of children. Among those helping to incite public opinion against it were Karl Marx and Charles Dickens, who worked at a factory himself at the age of twelve. One of the most effective attacks came from Charles Dickens novel 'Oliver Twist', which was widely read in Britain and the United States. Many readers were impressed and began to express a concern on child suffering.

In medieval Europe, there was a model of distinct stages of life, which demarcated when childhood began and ended. A new baby was a notable event. Nobles immediately started thinking of a marriage arrangement that would benefit the family. Birthdays were not major events as the children celebrated their saint's day, after whom they were named. Church law and common law regarded children as equal to adults for some purposes and distinct for other purposes.

Education in the sense of training was the exclusive function of families for the vast majority of children until the 19th century. In the middle ages, the major cathedrals operated education programmes for small numbers of teenage boys designed to produce priests. Universities started to appear to train physicians, lawyers and government officials, and (mostly) priests. The first universities appeared around after 1100, pioneered by the University of Bologna (1088), the University of Paris (1150) and Oxford (1167). Students entered as young as age 13 or 14 and staying for 6 to 12 years.

Consensus on defining children's rights has become clearer in the last fifty years. A 1973 publication by Hillary Clinton (then an Attorney) stated that children's rights were a "slogan in need of a definition". According to some researchers, the notion of children's rights is still not well defined, with at least one proposing that there is no singularly accepted definition or theory of the rights held by children.

Children's rights law is defined as the point where the law intersects with a child's life. That includes juvenile delinquency, due process for children involved in the criminal justice system, appropriate representation, and effective rehabilitative services; care and protection for

children in state care; ensuring education for all children regardless of their origin, race, gender, disabilities or abilities, and health care and advocacy.

In the USA, the Children's Rights Movement was born in the 19th century with the orphan train. In the big cities, when a child's parents die or were extremely poor, the child frequently had to go to work to support himself and / or his family. Boys generally became factory or coal workers, and girls became prostitutes or saloon girls, or else went to work in a sweat shop. All of these jobs paid only starvation wages.

One of the earliest recognitions of children's rights perhaps is found in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641 where parents are told not to choose their children's mates and not to use unnatural severity against their children. Children, furthermore, were given 'free liberty to complain to the Authorities for redress'. But this was also the law that prescribed the death penalty for children over 16, who disobeyed parents.

There is no evidence though that children did successfully litigate against their parents but nor is there any that disobedient children were executed. The document, nevertheless, remains interesting in showing, as it does, that even some 365 years ago, protection of children went hand in hand with adding the power of the state to parental authority.

The eighteenth century as well can hardly be said to be identified with children's rights. It is pertinent to state that the documents emanating from the great libertarian revolutions, the American and the French, have nothing specifically to say about children.

The nineteenth century, however, saw the birth of the child – saving movement, the growth of the orphanage, the development of child protection legislations, schooling and the construction of separate institutions, including the juvenile courts, for delinquent children, in different parts of the western world. One of the reasons for this kind of development was that in the wake of the industrial revolution, there was severe exploitation of many working class children who were widely employed in textiles, mining, agriculture, domestic service, docks and

navigation. Moreover, the so-called 'advances' of industrialization and urbanization had serious consequences.

THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Interestingly, though historical and sociological documentation of early Indian civilization also points towards the pervasive biases of that time in the upbringing of children, on account of factors like caste, kinship, age, gender and the like; rulers like Ashoka, Chandragupta, Vikramaditya tried to propound moral edicts as a counter balance in which obedience towards parents and respect for elders was extolled. In a nutshell, the point driven home was that loyalty and obedience to one's elders, was not only moral but also socially approved and valued behaviour.

With the coming of the Arabs, Turks, Afghans and Mughals, the medieval period stretching across from the eleventh to seventeenth centuries almost saw a fair amount of impoverishment in India. The foreign invasions not only plundered but destroyed to a certain extent the socio-cultural ethos of India. In this atmosphere, the children too faced adverse vicissitudes. Imposition of foreign culture had a profound impact at all levels. Families and particularly those of the preponderant rural population could no longer afford wholesome food and amenities for their children. Emphasis on elementary education gradually withered away, which was quite widespread earlier. Among the Hindus, elementary education was mostly confined to the higher castes like Brahmins, Rajputs and Vaishyas. Elementary education among the Muslims was given to those who belonged to aristocratic and rich families at home through the Maulvis. Others had to go to the *maktabs* situated in mosques. Girls, on the other hand, were seldom given education and their status in comparison to boys remained inferior. The rulers or the people took no remedial steps either.

Being a colony of the British, the plight of its children especially those belonging to the lower strata of society was certainly gloomy. As Britain was negotiating its place within a new emerging economic, social and political world order, it was a time of great uncertainty for India and this inevitably affected its children too.

Despite all this, moral panic and political reaction of that time dovetailed into the already existing reform and philanthropic efforts towards children which mobilized charity crusades and inspired voluntary effort. But, all this took a back seat in the face of growing imperialism of that time that had taken one of its worst forms. This development spelled doom for children as they were thought of as, "Bricks for Empire Building" and like others continued to be exploited in different ways. The ensuing freedom struggle aimed not merely at achieving political independence from British rule, but also at reinvigorating the debilitated sunken society of India which under decades of slavery had lost its initiative, values and vitality to a certain extent.

It was the endeavour of leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi and others to awaken the people and rouse them to overcome their backwardness, be it in the shape of illiteracy or socio-cultural practices like child marriage or neglect in the upbringing of children, etc. As a result, the long years of struggle for freedom saw an all-round spate of activities which may be termed as 'social action' so to come out of the prevailing weaknesses in society and to build self-reliance in the people. Consequently, the care of the child came to be viewed upon as a vital element in the resurrection of the nation. The architects of the Indian Constitution gave much of their time to inculcate social concern for the citizens of tomorrow – the children.

This was also the beginning of a spirit of independence at the group social action level. This period also witnessed the enactment of laws such as the Apprentices Act, Reformatory Schools Act and Factories Act which became important factors in the shaping and structuring of a new childhood.

The First World War posed a variety of challenges to Britain and other countries of Europe and North America. These were mainly connected to the question of how they could create a society which would preclude the cataclysm of violence and upheaval through which they had just passed. It would be worthwhile to mention that partly as a result of the ravages of war on the civilians in affected countries, and partly in response to the growing concern in most countries of Europe and North America for the protection of children, the newly

formed League of Nations established a Committee on Child Welfare in 1919.

In 1923, the Save the Children International Union adopted as its charter a five point declaration which described the basic conditions a society should meet in order to provide adequate protection to and care for its children. The next year, the Union persuaded the League of Nations to adopt the same declaration.

Since the League of Nations held its meetings in Geneva, the 1924 Declaration of the Rights of the Child came to be known as the 'Declaration of Geneva'. Recognizing that, 'mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give', the five simple principles of the Declaration established the basis of child rights in terms of both protection of the weak and vulnerable and promotion of the child's development. The Declaration also made it clear that the care and protection of children was no longer the exclusive responsibility of families or communities or even individual countries; the world as a whole had a legitimate interest in the welfare of all children.

The League of Nations, as we all know, was not able to prevent another world war. The Second World War engulfed the entire planet, and caused even greater suffering for non-combatants, particularly children. In 1945, the United Nations Organization replaced the League of Nations. In 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommended that the Geneva Declaration be reaffirmed as a sign of commitment to the cause of children. The same year, the United Nations established a specialized agency – UNICEF with a mandate to care for the world's children. Initially known as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, it provided assistance to children in Europe and elsewhere who had lost houses, family, and opportunity as a result of the war. Its mandate was later redefined so as to give the agency responsibility for long term assistance to children who suffered from deprivation caused by economic and political conditions, as well as the effects of war. The present nomenclature of UNICEF is United Nations Children's Fund. During the 1970s, UNICEF grew into a vocal advocate of children's rights. During the 1980s, UNICEF assisted the UN Commission on Human Rights in the drafting of the Convention

of the Rights of the Child⁴. UNICEF has been working in India since 1949. It is the largest UN Organization in the country.

UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (UNCRC)

In 1959, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (DRC). The DRC describes children's rights in 10 principles. However, this document was not signed by all the countries. Therefore, these ten principles only provided an indicative value. The DRC paved the way to the Universal Declaration of Children's Rights, which is popularly known as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The UNCRC was unanimously adopted by the UN General Assembly on 20th November 1989. This became the first internationally binding instrument which recognized all the fundamental rights of the child. The UNCRC gave legal expression to the notion that children have independent human rights – and that those rights would be at the heart of all political, economic and social decision making. Its 54 articles describe the economic, social and cultural rights of children. It enshrines the general principles of non-discrimination, best interests of the child, right to life, survival and development and respect for the views of child. It then elaborates the specific rights of civil rights and freedom; family environment and alternative care; basic health and welfare; education, leisure and cultural activities; and special protection measures⁵.

India ratified the UNCRC in December 1992, therefore the Government of India is obligated to implement the rights contained in the UNCRC. As of 2011, the International Charter of the Child Rights has been signed by 191 countries out of 193, thus giving it wide acceptance and recognition. It has been described as, 'nothing short of the cornerstone of a new moral ethos for children' and an instrument stressing that 'respect for and protection of children's rights is the starting point for the full development of the individual's potential in an atmosphere of freedom, dignity and justice. The Government of India submitted its first country report on the Convention of the Rights of the Child in February 1997⁶.

The UNCRC has been critiqued on at least two levels – conceptual and implementation. At the conceptual level, some academics questioned the generalized claims about childhood that the rights discourse invokes. Universalized child rights are based upon general statements about the category of childhood that appear to run counter to some of the claims generated by the multiple childhood's paradigm. This is especially problematic when ideas about children's rights generated in western, middle – class contexts are unproblematically exported to southern contexts where some of these rights may seem out of place. The assumptions of the paradigm from which the rights discourse arises – that of liberal individualism – may be incommensurable with the socio-cultural and political paradigms guiding thought and action in many non-western contexts. Burman⁶ points out that the universalized discourse of rights gains strength through the claims of generalized morality that are made by activists' on behalf of children. She points out that there are multiple motivations and interests that enter into the design of interventions for children, some of which had been used to serve colonial interests in times past, and that might continue to serve interests other than those of the child in a globalizing world.

Even if a universal statement of rights were not read as culturally imperialist, but pragmatically, as a necessary articulation of children's basic entitlements, a second level of tension arises – that of implementation. A universal articulation of rights leads inevitable to ambiguous interpretations in varied local contexts – both in policy formulations and in the implementation of these policies on the ground – such that they often fail to fulfill the very agendas that they were formulated to do. The UNCRC takes, 'due account of the importance of the traditions and cultural values of each people for the protection and harmonious development of the child. As may be expected, this has provided leeway for countries to interpret the articles in a flexible manner and to opt out of their commitment in the implementation of some of the rights.

On the other hand, it is difficult for many to entirely dismiss a consideration of children's universal entitlements. Understanding childhood

in terms of a multiplicity of paradigms and through the lens of cultural relativism could permit the continuing exploitation of children and may not permit societies to move forward in terms of reforming aspects that merit reconsideration. Several scholars argue for the benefits of adopting a rights – based perspective – even one with a universal ethical register.

The representation of two extreme positions is necessarily an oversimplification of the nuanced stances possible in between. Burman, for example, has elegantly argued that, 'rather than being alternatives, a global perspective is required to situate local contexts within histories of colonialism and to ward off individual victim blaming accounts of poverty and dependence'. Balagopalan has pointed out that discourse about the multiplicity of childhoods should not fall into the trap of 'separate, but equal; rather, they should address issues of modernity and capital that link the local with the global⁷. Contentious issues (like children's rights) 'can neither be willed away in the guise of "culture" nor berated within the politics of "saving" lives, but will need to be researched in terms of the interconnectedness of both of these discourses'.

HISTORY OF LEGISLATIONS FOR PROTECTING CHILD RIGHTS IN INDIA

1.The beginning

The first legislation pertaining to children in India was the Apprentice Act of 1850. This legislation, however, did not create a separate juvenile justice system but worked within the adult justice system. It was the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897 which separated, for the first time in India, children from adults in the criminal justice system.

2. Children's Acts

Following the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee 1991 – 1920, the Madras Children Act 1920 was introduced, which became the first Children's Act in India. It was a provincial law and covered the then Madras Province. The Bengal Children's Act and the Bombay Children's Act and many other such legislations then followed. In 1960, the Government of India enacted the Children's Act, which was applicable in the Union Territories. All

these legislations were repeated with the enactment of the Juvenile Justice Act, 1986.

3.The Juvenile Justice Act

The Act enacted in 1986 was the first juvenile law in India which was uniformly applicable across the country. In order to comply with the provisions of UNCRC, the Juvenile Justice Act 1986 was amended and re-enacted as the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act in 2000. It was further amended in 2006 as the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Amendment Act, 2006 and in 2011. The juvenile justice system in India today is governed by this important piece of legislation. The Union Government in June 2014 had introduced proposals for the amendment of the Juvenile Justice Act and it was passed as the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015.

4.Prohibition of Child Marriages Act

The Child Marriage Restraint Act was first enacted in British India in 1929. To overcome the shortcomings of Child Marriage Restraint Act, the Government of India enacted the Prohibition of Child Marriages Act (PCMA), 2006, which came into effect from 1st November, 2007. Under this Act, a child or minor is a person upto 18 years in the case of girls and 21 years in the case of boys. The solemnization of child marriages is a cognizable and non-bailable offence.

5.Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (CLPR) Act is the foremost legislation on preventing child labour. The CLPR Act repealed the Employment of Children Act, 1938. Under this Act, a child means a person who has not completed the age of 14 years. The Act prohibits child labour in certain specific hazardous occupations and manufacturing processes. The Act is not applicable to processes carried out by families, with their own members. The Act does not allow children to work between 7.00 p.m. and 8.00 a.m. Children are also not allowed to work overtime, or in more than one establishment in a day. No child is permitted to work for more than six hours a day. Children

shall be given one hour rest after every three hour duty. The Act was amended on 10th October, 2006, whereby employment of children as domestic help and at roadside restaurants was also banned. With this order, employing a child under 14 years of age is also banned in houses and restaurants.

6. Commissions for Protection of Child Rights

The Government of India appointed an Expert Committee under the chairmanship of Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer for drafting the 'National Commission for Children Bill, 2000'. Based on this draft, the Government enacted the 'Commissions for Protection of Child Rights Act, 2005', which was notified in the Gazette of India on 20th January, 2006 as Act No. 4 of 2006. The Act envisages setting up statutory bodies like a National Commission at the National level and the State Commissions at the state level. The Commissions were set up for proper enforcement of children's rights and for the effective implementation of laws and programmes relating to children. The Rules for implementation of the provisions of the Act in respect for National Commission for Protection of Child Rights have been notified on 31.07.2006 and the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) has been constituted. Many state governments have also set up State Commissions for Protection of Child Rights. The Commissions are authorized to initiate *suo motu* steps to ensure child protection and child rights.

7. Ban on Corporal Punishment

The Supreme Court of India banned corporal punishments for children on December 1, 2000 when it directed the state to ensure that, "children are not subjected to corporal punishments in schools and they receive education in an environment of freedom and dignity, free from fear".

8. Right to Education Act

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, came into force with effect from 1st April, 2010. The RTE Act aims to provide for free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years in a neighbourhood school till completion of elementary education.

9. Protection of Children from Sex Abuse

The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (POCSO Act) came into effect on 14th November, 2012. This Act aims to strengthen the legal provisions for the protection of children from sexual abuse and exploitation. For the first time, a special law has been passed in India to address the issue of sexual offences of sexual assault, sexual harassment and pornography.

10. National Policy for Children – 2012

The Union Cabinet of India on 18th April, 2013 approved the National Policy for Children, 2012. The policy was approved to reaffirm the commitment of the Government towards the realization of the rights of the children in the country as it recognized that every person below 18 years in age as a child. The policy has identified survival, nutrition, health, development, education, protection and participation as undeniable rights of every child, and these have been recognized as key priority areas. This policy is to guide and inform all laws, policies, plans and programmes affecting children. All actions and initiatives of the national, state and local government in all sectors must respect and uphold the principles and provision of this Policy. The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights and State Commission for Protection of Child Rights are made responsible to ensure that the principles of the policy are respected in all the sectors at all levels. The Government has also created a provision of reviewing the policy after every five years. The Ministry of Women and Child Development is the nodal ministry for overseeing and co-ordinating the implementation of the policy and will lead the review process⁸.

Issues in Child Rights

Although India has today been on the trajectory of economic growth, and there have been several initiatives by the government for eradication of poverty, a significant portion of the population continues to live in poverty. Economic inequalities are rampant and children are most affected. Nine important rights in the context of children are the following:

1. Right to life
2. Right to health

3. Right to safe water
4. Right to food
5. Right to education
6. Right to protection
7. Right to freedom of expression
8. Right to identity and
9. Right for not to be used as child soldiers

In the context of India, the main problems affecting child rights are the following⁹:

1.Right to Life

According to vital statistical data for 2012, the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) varies from 10 to 56 in the different states in India. In rural India, IMR has declined by 30% while the decline is by 28% in urban India since 2003. A report by CRY (Child Rights and You) puts the IMR at 7. The IMR is a count of deaths of infants under one year of age per 1000 live births in a year. It is considered a key indicator of health services, nutritional levels, poverty and educational level of the people. Reduction in IMR is one of the 'Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)' set by the United Nations. The decline in IMR is one positive development in the context of the right to life. According to the Global Hunger Index (GHI) Report which was released on 14th October, 2013, the mortality rate of children younger than age five in India is about 6%. Poverty coupled with cultural preference for male children has been mainly responsible for the death of thousands of children in India every year. The practice of female foeticide (selective abortion), female infanticide (drowning, poisoning, suffocation or deliberate negligence leading to the death of the child) and general neglect of girl children continue to result in large scale deaths of girls, which have even adversely affected the sex ratio. India's child sex ratio continues to plummet. Census data for 2011 has revealed that Child Sex Ratio (CSR) in the 0 – 6 age group has further declined to 914 girls for every 1000 boys, as compared to 927 in 2001. The Government of India enacted the 'Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of sex selection) Act, 1994' with a view to put an end to the practice of female foeticide and to check the decline in CSR. The 2011 census data further revealed that

the 'socially backward' groups, namely, Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) are ahead of the rest in CSR, with CSR among STs are 957, SCs at 933 and general population, excluding these two categories, at 910. This trend suggested that 'backwardness' may actually work in favour of gender justice, presumably as 'backwardness' denied access to sex determination techniques¹⁰.

2.Right to Good Health

Right to good health is a pre-requisite to right to life. A large number of children die each year in India. Lack of appropriate health care, lack of immunization, preventable diseases, unsafe drinking water, absence of sanitation, dearth of regular monitoring of pregnancy, unsafe deliveries, and malnutrition are mainly responsible for most such deaths. According to CRY report, only 54% children received full immunization. According to the National Family Health Survey, India accounts for one-third of the world's children who suffer malnutrition. Coming to mental health, World Health Organization (WHO) has indicated that 15% of children in India have serious emotional disturbances. Yet another issue in the context of child health (and child protection) is 'Child Marriage'. Child Marriage is a reality in India. All children have a right to care and protection; to develop and grow into a complete and full individual, regardless of their social and economic situation. Child Marriage is a blatant violation of all these rights. It is widely believed that as many as 50% of Indian women are married before the age of 18. It is observed that child marriages are more prevalent among rural and poorer sections of the population. In some parts of the country, it is culture and traditions that are largely responsible for this practice. Lack of parental interest in educating their girl children and the eagerness of parents to send their girl children away to minimize the financial burden are other factors responsible for this problem.

A UNICEF stocktaking report on Children and AIDS says that AIDS – related deaths among adolescents between ages 10 and 19 increased by 50% between 2005 and 2012 rising from 71,000 to 1,10,000 and that many of them were unaware that they were infected. India was among the 12 high-burden countries in 2012¹¹.

3.Right to Safe Water

Yet another pre-condition to the right to life is the right to safe water. Access to clean water is a major issue in India. A large portion of India's human population is deprived of safe drinking water. In rural areas, access to potable water remains a considerable problem: 20% of the rural population does not always have access to potable water¹².

4. Right to Food

It is a right to not die of hunger and to not suffer from malnutrition. Although India has been producing surplus food, a significant section of the population, including children, remains undernourished. According to the Global Hunger Index (GHI) report, about a quarter of the world's hungry, or 210 million, is in India. India continues in the 'Alarming' category of countries classified by severity of hunger. The GHI is calculated on three indicators, namely, the proportion of people who are undernourished, the proportion of children under five who are underweight and the mortality rate of children younger than age five. The Report says that the proportion of underweight children is about 40%. According to the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), the nutritive value of food consumed per person is dipping. It declined from 2153 kilocalories per person per day in 1993 – 1994 to 2020 kilocalories in 2009 - 2010 in rural areas and from 2071 to 1946 kilocalories in urban areas. While children from wealthy sections face overeating problems, children from poorer sections suffer from malnourishment. Poverty and lack of awareness about balanced diet are the main reason for this situation. Subsidized food grains and pulses are being provided by the government to the economically weaker segments. Besides, with a special focus on supplementing children's nutrition, there are two major governmental initiatives in India, namely, the 'Midday Meals Scheme (MMS)' and the 'Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Scheme'. All state governments in India have introduced 'Midday Meals Scheme (MMS)' in schools with a view to ensure children at least eat one full meal a day. Under the ICDS scheme, children in the 0 – 6 age group are provided with supplementary nutritional diet. However, the Union Human Resources Development Ministry in a 'Joint Review Mission' on the MMS in Buldhana district in Maharashtra found that

54.40% boys and 66.70% girls were underweight in spite of them being beneficiaries of MMS. According to another report, every second Indian child (6 – 35 months) is malnourished. The report quoting CRY further says that 79% of Indian children are anaemic.

5. Right to Education

According to the 2011 census data, as many as 26% of the Indian population are illiterate. This accounts for the largest number of illiterate people in the world. Absence of parental literacy results in neglect of children's education. Gender based and caste based discrimination also are factors causing marginalization of children in the educational system. Girls are consistently denied equal opportunities to attend and complete primary schooling. As a result, primary education is far from universal. That many children are not enrolled in schools and that many drop out before completion of their education are matters of great concern. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, which came into force with effect from 1st April, 2010 is an important milestone towards ensuring the educational rights of children. The newly introduced Acts are expected to improve the situation. However, a report by CRY says that the national drop out rate at the elementary level is 40% despite enactment of the RTE Act.

6.Right to Protection

According to a study conducted by the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD), Government of India, in 2007, more than 69% of children aged 5 to 18 years old are victims of abuse. A large number of children are also victims of abuse at home and schools. There are an estimated 500,000 street children nationwide exposed to violence and exploitation. Hundreds and thousands of girls are trafficked and used for prostitution in brothels in cities. 'Child Protection' is about protecting children from or against any perceived or real danger or risk to their life, their personhood and childhood. It is about reducing their vulnerability to any kind of harm and protecting them in harmful situations. It is about ensuring that no child falls out of the social security and safety net and, those who do, receive necessary care, protection and support so as to bring them back into the safety net. With a view to mitigate the limitations

listed above, the Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India introduced the 'Integrated Child Protection Scheme' in 2009 to contribute to the creation of a system that will efficiently and effectively protect children, minimizing the gaps in services. It is based on the cardinal principles of 'protection of child rights' and 'best interest of the child'. Its purpose is to reach out to all children, in particular to those in difficult circumstances, by combining the existing child protection schemes of the MWCD under one centrally sponsored scheme. The ICPS focuses its activities on children in need of care and protection and children in conflict and contact with the law.

One important issue in the context of child protection is 'Child Labour'. Hundreds and thousands of children are employed in all forms of labour in India. Statistics reveal that India has 16.57 million child labourers – the highest in the world. Data compiled by CRY reveals that as much as 54% of child labour is in the agriculture sector, 18% in households, 15.5% in construction and 4.83% in the manufacturing sector. Why must a child – any child – work at all? "Mainly to help their families because the adults do not have appropriate employment and adequate income", reveals an official from Prayas, an NGO that rehabilitates street children. "Children also work because there is a demand for cheap labour in the market. Poor and bonded families, succumbing to the demand, often sell their children to contractors who promise jobs in cities and the children end up being exploited. Many run away and find a life on the streets". Children work out of compulsions of poverty, adult unemployment and social inequalities. It is because of the failure of the state to address these issues that child labour still exists. A latest CRY report also indicates that 11.8% Indian children are engaged in some form of child labour.

Some scholars have argued that it is important to distinguish between child work and child labour. Child work refers to children contributing in economically productive ways to the home and family, whereas labour refers to working for wages in industry, as well as in exploitative and hazardous occupations. Raman suggests that while child labour must be banned, children working in economically productive ways within the family are necessitated by conditions of poverty under which most children in India still live and should not be compromised

by universal diktats¹³. Nieuwenhuys has pointed out that a lot of work that children do, happen within networks on kinship and often represent a labour of love, belongingness and strong social relationships that are discounted by western observers and critics¹⁴.

Scholars on the other side of the debate are concerned about the contradiction in the simultaneous existence of the RiE and the modified child labour law that permits participation in family work by children below 14 years of age. The concern is that even if the work occurs before and after school hours (as stipulated by the law) the child's ability to cope with the demands of school work and to contribute to the family occupation is a double burden. This will result in poor performance and / or school drop out. If schooling is seen as a source / force to change the status quo in society, then children engaging in economically productive work during school age only keeps society the same.

Once again, the need for deeper structural changes re-emerges as a concern. Raman critiques the conception propagated by some NGOs that child labour is not the consequence but the cause of poverty – compulsory education is therefore the only weapon to tackle child labour. She points out the fallacy in such an approach, which suggests that it is possible to tackle the problem of child labour without addressing basic structural issues, such as unequal and discriminatory access to resources and assets. This concern is reiterated to Balagopalan's extensive work on child labour, where she argues that the imperative to abolish all forms of child work and labour fails to take into cognizance the realities under which children perform labour; and also fails to consider that the kind and quality of schooling offered to these children often fails to offer them an exit from manual labour, even in the longer run¹⁵. The recent amendment to the child labour law, which has been expanded to include children's participation in non-hazardous family enterprises, is a stark example of the state's unwillingness to structurally address the economic marginalization of these communities. Balagopalan has argued that the choice is not between cultural relativism and universalism but to highlight the role of the state in these children's lives¹⁶.

Large scale trafficking of children is noticed all over the country. Large scale physical and sexual abuse of working children has compounded the problem. They live in poverty with insufficient food and shelter and having no access to health care¹⁷. There are many reasons to believe that the political will is lacking and therefore the Child Labour Acts are not being properly enforced.

7.Right to Freedom of Expression

This right refers to the child's right to freedom of thought and expression, to have opinions, to have access to information, and to participate in decisions which affect his or her life. Children also have the right to religious freedom. The Indian Constitution guarantees freedoms of expression and opinion. However, by and large, children are not allowed to express their opinion. The viewpoints of children are not given due importance. Mostly, adults take all major decisions on behalf of children. Unfortunately, children's participation at any level is considered least important in India. As a cultural practice, children are always told to obey elders without questioning. Children are always told not to express their opinions in front of elders¹⁸.

8.Right to Identity

Fool proof registration of births is not a reality in India. Only about 41% of births, mostly in urban areas, are registered in India. In the absence of birth registration, children are deprived of their rights, as they are treated as non-entities. Each child has the right to have a surname, a first name, a nationality, and to know who his or her relatives are. The right to identity also means that each child's existence and rights must be officially recognized. In India, children continue to be discriminated against – because of their class, caste or religion.

9.Child Soldiers: From Cradle to War:

Worldwide, hundreds of thousands of children are recruited into government armed forces, paramilitaries, civil militia and variety of other armed groups. Under international law, the participation of children under 18 in armed conflict is generally prohibited, and the recruitment and use of children under 15 is a war crime. Yet worldwide, hundreds of thousands of children are recruited into government armed forces, paramilitaries, civil militia and a variety of

other armed groups. Often they are abducted at schools, on the streets or at home. Such children are robbed of their childhood and exposed to terrible dangers and to psychological and physical suffering. They are placed in combat situations, used as spies, messengers, porters, servants or to lay or clear landmines. Girls in particular are at risk of rape and sexual abuse.

Implementation of rights

It would be difficult to argue against the need to make it mandatory for all nation states that have ratified the UNCRC to provide for the basic rights of every child (as articulated in the document) through various measures and programmes. The real challenge is to address the gap between 'what is' and 'what ought to be'. More charitable observers might attribute this gap to good intentions but poor implementation, while others may point to the use of children's rights as a rhetorical device that was never intended to serve the interests of children. The latter group points out that without corresponding shifts at the structural level – economic and political – policies and formulations such as these are meaningless.

While recognizing that the basic rights of survival, development, protection and participation are non-negotiable, it is also important to critically examine these frameworks in relation to the political economy of development and aid. The articulation of rights – based frameworks in several contexts have been seen to dilate more holistic national approaches to education through a narrow focus on achieving goals numerically rather than qualitatively and in other instances, inhibit children's and communities' agencies and freedoms by defining these goals in specific and restricted ways, which do not take into account local contexts and socio – historical variations in understanding children's development.

Child Rights and You (CRY)

After having understood the various approaches to the study of the child and childhood studies and later about Child Rights, we turn our attention to an organization working in this area, i.e. Child Rights and You (CRY). Established in 1979, CRY was started by the late Rippan Kapur, a young airline purser with the vision of an India where no child would ever have to struggle for their basic rights. With

nothing but Rs.50, Rippan and six of his friends began what would go on to become an organization that has touched the lives of millions of underprivileged children in India over the past few decades.

The founders of CRY chose not to be a grassroots – level implementing organization working directly with underprivileged children. Instead, they opted to make CRY a channel or a link between the millions of individuals who could provide resources and the thousands of dedicated fieldworkers who were struggling to function for lack of them. In 2007, its media campaign showing ‘smiling kids’ and asking citizens to partner instead of simply donate, was seen as a departure from stereotypical NGO sector advertising in India. In 2016-2017, CRY reached out to 486,218 children and their families from 2361 villages and slums across 222 districts of 22 states of India¹⁹.

The primary source of revenue for the organization is through donations by individuals and other organizations.

The mission of CRY is: (1) to enable people to take responsibility for the situation of the deprived Indian child and to motivate them to confront the situation through collective action thereby giving the child and themselves an opportunity to realize their full potential (2) to make people discover their potential for action and change and (3) to enable people’s collectives and movements encompassing diverse segments, to pledge their particular strengths, working in partnership to secure, protect and honour the rights of India’s children.

The benefits to society from CRY are the key functions of Development Support (programmes) and Resource Development (fund raising) along with the other support functions – Communication, Human Resources, Volunteer Action, Finance, Planning and Information Technology, Policy, Research and Advocacy and Documentation. The CRY shop – all play a critical role in the organization building efforts.

CRY’s approach works through a three phase engagement. First, CRY chooses to work in areas where the human development indicators are the work in the country – seeking out the most marginalized and resource poor communities and their children. It examines the situation of the children in these communities in

a holistic manner, covering the entire gamut of issues that affect them. CRY then seeks to understand the root causes of the deprivation faced by children in education. In India, the root causes that prevent children from accessing their rights often tend to be: (i) gender or caste based discrimination in the home, the community or in school (ii) the lack of adequate livelihoods for the adults, forcing them to make their children work as child labourers, or (iii) forced displacement that forces families to migrate, and also pushes children to drop out of school. Finally, CRY and its partners mobilize the local community to find long term solutions to their root causes by making sure that the laws and policies that guarantee their rights are actually implemented. CRY started work on empowering underprivileged children and the communities they belonged to by actively partnering smaller / grassroots level NGOs working in remote and neglected areas of India. These smaller organizations are trained to mobilize rural and urban communities to access their entitlements from the local government.

CRY launches campaigns that amplify the voice of children and their rights. These campaigns focus on specific issues – from influencing child friendly policies to rehabilitation efforts in disasters and natural calamities to creating awareness on the situation of children. A few are given below:

Click Rights 2014: ‘Open Your Eyes’ was an attempt to sensitize citizens and the state duty bearers out of their inertia and open their eyes to the grim reality of child labour in India. This campaign used CRY’s annual photo – journalism campaign ‘Click Rights’ and ‘Open Your Eyes’ to start the conversation on putting a stop to child labour.

Let Her Fly 2015: ‘Let Her Fly’ focused on the girl child in India who still faces discrimination. In an effort to make sure that the girl child is celebrated in India, the campaign strived to inspire and encourage parents, teachers and everyone to give the girl child the opportunities that she so rightly deserves.

Right to School 2016: Child Education faces numerous challenges in India. Through this campaign, CRY sought to work with communities, education authorities and the government to make schools, functional schools equipped with all the basic infrastructure and

amenities like toilets and clean drinking water. More than 2,71,341 children were impacted through this.

School the Spark 2016: The school is a platform where every child's abilities and talents are given an opportunity to shine. Through the 'School the Spark' campaign, CRY sought to transform the abilities of children into greater possibilities of change ensuring that 79,744 children across CRY supported projects go to school and complete their education.

RECOMMENDATIONS: PREVENTION OF CHILD RIGHTS VIOLATION AT SOCIETY

1. Sexual education for children
2. Punish those who commit the acts against children
3. Create support centre for victim
4. Set up free phone lines to break the silence
5. Ensure children's safety
6. Educate children about sexual violence
7. Ratify and conform to laws protecting children
8. Create preventive laws and disseminate information about them
9. Create committees for eliminating violence against children
10. Find healthy ways for children to spend their free time
11. Limit TV channels
12. Forbid harmful traditional practices by law
13. Launch awareness campaigns for the community
14. Create local committees for child protection

AT WORK PLACE, IN THE STREETS AND IN INSTITUTIONS

1. Sensitize employers about child rights and the consequences of corporal punishment to children
2. Respect children
3. Educate employers to listen to children
4. Ensure employers to listen to children
5. Ensure children's safety at work
6. Value alternative education methods

7. Encourage and support the development of child led organization

AT SCHOOL

1. Increase the number of education advisers and sensitize teachers about corporal punishment
2. Create councils for discipline in schools that can work in partnership with children's organizations
3. Establish and disseminate internal rules of conduct
4. Sensitize education inspectors about corporal punishment
5. Ensure children's security in schools
6. Parents have to accompany younger children to school
7. Offer alternative punitive measures

AT HOME

1. Sensitize parents about the consequences of violence against children
2. Teach parents how to communicate with their children
3. Prioritize dialogue with children
4. Train them on education without violence
5. Offer alternative disciplining methods
6. Inform parents about child rights and laws that ban corporal punishment
7. Alleviate poverty and increase family benefits for children
8. Parents must let go to know their children better and reasons for their misbehavior
9. Adopt and implement laws on violence against children

CONCLUSION

Like many developing countries, India faces problems of infant mortality, child marriage, maternal mortality and the phenomena of child widows, sex tourism, and child trafficking even across national borders for prostitution, child abuse and child labour. There are several challenges ahead. Of all the demographic groups, the girl child is probably the most socially disadvantaged. At every stage of her life cycle – from conception to adulthood – she is especially vulnerable to human rights abuses.

Hence, a child focused culture has to be developed. The legal system should interpret the laws in the context of the rights and standards given in the CRC. This will give the child access to justice through the court system. All the children's legislations need to be reviewed in the context of CRC and its standards and there has to be linkages between them. The Indian legal system has to evolve a great deal for securing the rights of the child and providing justice to the child. Legal reform alone cannot bring justice to the child. Undoubtedly, the most effective preventive measure is awareness of such possible abuse and how to deal with it amongst the various service providers – the doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, police, volunteers, parents, trade unions and social workers – so that they can significantly reduce the risk of abuse, if it does occur, by responding appropriately. One of the ideas that has emerged is that irrespective of whether you believe in the need for universal children's rights or not, children's rights in itself is empty rhetoric without structural changes and political reform.

The paradox of our times is that even as the rights discourse takes a stronger hold on the global imagination, ground realities reveal increased vulnerabilities of large segments of individuals and populations displaced by globalizing economies and societies. Scholars like Nieuwenhuys have suggested it is not entirely coincidental that the fall of the Berlin Wall (and the consolidation of the neo-liberal

agenda) and the rise of the child rights discourse happened at around the same time in history. The new global order required the production of autonomous, liberated consumers which required a two-pronged approach – to hold up staggering levels of consumption as a desired ideal for the minority of privileged children in southern nations even while portraying the lives of the excluded majority of children as lacking in something essential and thereby justifying – even necessitating intervention. Even as the discourse of empowering children through the implementation of children's rights took hold, actual structural supports for improving lives were deteriorating with families, communities, parents and children displaced from livelihoods, lands and other essentials. The discourse of child rights is thus somewhat at odds with the reality of children's lives in a neo-liberal world order.

Thus, to conclude, issues and challenges in this area have to be rapidly addressed. And above all, the core value of the universal legal principle that policies be made, structures and processes be established, and actions be taken that are always and invariably in the best interest of the child should be followed. The Child is a bud, let it blossom as a flower with nutrition of rights, with fruits of freedom and with care and attention not only from parents but also from the state under the auspices of the society. The struggle for the realization of the rights of the child is going to be a long journey.

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PROF. T.R RAMACHANDRAN ENDOWMENT LECTURE
ASPECTS OF MUSLIM SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA: ITS ORIGIN AND
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Dr. N. Shaik Masthan

I am extremely obliged to thank the President, General Secretary, the office bearers and the members of the Executive Committee SIHC for nominating me to deliver the prestigious T.R.Ramachandran Endowment Lecture in the 39th Annual Session of SIHC to be held at Osmania University Hyderabad from 8th to 10th Jan 2019. I feel indebted to this Organisations that my services are recognised and my association with this academic body since 1986 are truly honoured. I feel privileged to deliver my lecture on the topic 'Aspects of Muslim Society of South India: Its Origin and Social Stratification' in memory of a great scholar, researcher and a teacher Sree T.R.Ramachandran.

Muslim society of South India and its foundation has been under lot of discussion in spite of clarity because of its origins and ambiguity of presentation by the scholars. The very establishment of Islamic Order and the formation of Muslim Society carries different meaning and message based on space and time in convenience with its environment of existence. Hence there is a need to portray the Muslim Society of India in general and Muslim Society of South India in particular to clarify some of the speculations that persist in the identification and placement of Muslim social order.

A Prelude:

Islam is the second largest religion in India, with 14.2% of the country's population or roughly 172 million people identifying as adherents of Islam (2011 census) as an ethnoreligious group.¹ While a few authorities still believe that only 12.5 % is the population of Muslims in India

Indo-Arabic Relations; its Establishment

There is much historical evidence to show that Arabs and Muslims interacted with Indians from the very early days of Islam or even before the arrival of Islam in Arab regions. Arab traders transmitted the numeral system developed by Indians to the Middle East and Europe. Many Sanskrit books were translated into Arabic as early as the 8th century. George Salibain his book "Islamic Science and the Making of the

European Renaissance", writes that "some major Sanskrit texts began to be translated during the reign of the second Abbasid caliph al-Mansur (754–775), if not before; some texts on logic even before that, and it has been generally accepted that the Persian and Sanskrit texts, few as they were, were indeed the first to be translated."²

Commercial intercourse between Arabia and India had gone on from time immemorial, with for example the sale of dates and aromatic herbs by Arabs traders who came to Indian shores every spring with the advent of the monsoon breeze. People living on the western coast of India were as familiar with the annual coming of Arab traders as they were with the flocks of monsoon birds; they were as ancient a phenomenon as the monsoon itself. However, whereas monsoon birds flew back to Africa after a sojourn of few months, not all traders returned to their homes in the desert; many married Indian women and settled in India.

The advent of Muhammad (569–632 CE) changed the idolatrous and easy-going Arabs into a nation unified by faith and fired with zeal to spread the gospel of Islam. The merchant seamen who brought dates year after year now brought a new faith with them. The new faith was well received by South India. Muslims were allowed to build mosques, intermarry with Indian women, and very soon an Indian-Arabian community came into being. Early in the 9th century, Muslim missionaries gained a notable convert in the person of the King of Malabar.³

Historians Elliot and Dowson say in their book *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians*, that the first ship bearing Muslim travellers was seen on the Indian coast as early as 630 CE. H.G. Rawlinson in his book *Ancient and Medieval History of India* claims that the first Arab Muslims settled on the Indian coast in the last part of the 7th century CE. (Zainuddin Makhdoom II "Tuhafat –ul- Mujahedeen" is also a reliable work.) This fact is corroborated by J. Sturrock in his *Madras District Manuals* and by

Haridas Bhattacharya in Cultural Heritage of India Vol. IV. It was with the advent of Islam that the Arabs became a prominent cultural force in the world. Arab merchants and traders became the carriers of the new religion and they propagated it wherever they went. The first Indian mosque, Cheraman Jumma Mosque, is thought to have been built in 629 CE by Malik Deenar although some historians say the first mosque was in Gujarat. In Malabar, the Mappilas may have been the first community to convert to Islam. Intensive missionary activities were carried out along the coast and many other natives embraced Islam.⁴

The peaceful spread of Islam was suddenly checked when Muslim armies began to invade India. An Arab of the Umayyad Caliphate, Mohammed Bin Qasim (712 CE) i.e., in the 8th century, at the age of 17 was the first Muslim invader and he managed to conquer Sindh. Centuries later Mahmud of Ghazani (971 - 1030 CE) was the second, much more ferocious invader, who swept up into Northern India as far as Gujarat.⁵ Mohammed Ghori was the first Afghan invader who laid the foundation of Muslim Kingdom in India after the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan of Ajmer after the second battle of Tarain in 1192 CE.

In fact, the penetration of Islam is ascribed in two ways: One, the early and peaceful penetration and the other aggressive and military. Either way the result was the establishment of a new type of society, the 'Muslim Society'. Amidst the overwhelming traditionally and culturally rich and native 'Hindu Society'. Though they maintained segregation in the beginning, inevitably intermingling of the two later formed a large Indian society. Still Islam, a distinct religion maintained its own social divisions, customs, practices, values and other identifications. Such was the Indian Muslim society south of Vindhyas. The regions of south of Vindhyas like Maharashtra, Karnataka (former Coorg and Mysore state), the state of Madras and Kerala has a total of 12 per cent of the all India Muslim population, which reveals a distinct mark of cultural identification.⁶

Social Stratification and Caste System among the Muslims of South India:

Fundamentally Islam does not permit its followers to have different sects and groups. All Muslims are brothers without any distinction.

Equality of treatment and acknowledged brotherhood has been the greatest asset for its strength. It does not recognise caste much less out caste.⁷ They eat together, do not discriminate among themselves on the basis of birth, colour or region, they pray standing shoulder to shoulder (the practical aspect of the religion claim the Muslims of pure and impure origins. Pure Arab descendants were called Ashraf 'nobles', while the local converts were impure called Ajlaf). This equality, brotherhood and principle of love and affection were responsible for the real strength of Islam in India.⁸

Though it is not possible to recognise caste system in Islam, its long standing relations with the Hindus has led to the development of Muslim society into varied groups based on lineage and origin. In some parts of India and south India, the Muslims are divided as Ashraf's and Ajlaf's. Ashraf's claim a superior status derived from their foreign ancestry they, in turn, are divided into a number of occupational castes.⁹

Ziauddin Barrani was specific in his recommendation that the "sons of Mohamed" [i.e. Ashraf's] "be given a higher social status than the low-born [i.e. Ajlaf]. His most significant contribution in the fatwa was his analysis of the castes with respect to Islam. His assertion was that castes would be mandated through state laws or "Zawabi" and would carry precedence over: law whenever they were in conflict. Every act which is "contaminated with meanness and based on ignominy, comes elegantly [from the Ajlaf]". He sought appropriate religious sanction to that effect. Barrani also developed an elaborate system of promotion and demotion of imperial officers ("Wazirs") that was primarily on the basis of their caste.¹⁰

In addition to the Ashraf/Ajlaf divide, there is also the Arzal caste among Muslims, who were regarded by anti-caste activists like Babasaheb Ambedkar as the equivalent of untouchables. The term "Arzal" stands for "degraded" and the Arzal castes are further subdivided into Bhanar, Halalkhor, Hijra, Kasbi, Lalbegi, Mautga, Mehtar etc. They are relegated to "menial" professions such as scavenging and carrying night soil.

Some South Indian Muslims have been known to stratify their society according to *qaums*. Some of the Studies on Muslims in

India indicate that the concepts of purity and impurity exist among them and are applicable in inter-group relationships, as the notions of hygiene and cleanliness in a person are related to the person's social position and not to his/her economic status. Muslim Rajput is another caste distinction among Indian Muslims. The popular divisions of Muslims in south India can be seen as Syed, Shaikh, Shaikhzada, Khanzada, Pathan, Mughal, and Malik like in whole of India.¹¹

The Syed or Sayyeds were those who claim Arab descent and prescribe themselves to the tribe of 'Qureyshi'. It was the tribe to which Prophet Mohammed belonged. The term Sayed means 'a lord' also known as 'pirzada' which means the descendants of a saint. They also claim descent from Hazrath Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Mohammed, who later travelled to India as teachers, traders and adventurers.¹² It was claimed as a pure lineage. The Sayyeds in India were however a mixture of pure and native origins. Considerable flexibility was seen in their occupations.¹³ Cultivation of land was carried on along with quasi-religious positions as peers and spiritual guides. Many took up to religious and ceremonial duties and lived on alms and gifts. The Sayyeds usually possess a prefix to their name like Syed, Mir, i.e., Amir (leader), Shah (Prince) while women had Begum (lady), and Syeda (noble).¹⁴

Shaiks were the second social group of Muslims in South India. The term 'Shaik' means 'venerable leader'.¹⁵ They claim a direct Arab descent but not of the tribe of the Prophet. They claim it from the three branches of the Qureyshi tribe: Siddiqui, Farooqui and Abbasi¹⁶. This group has produced most scholarly and saintly persons among Muslims. The Shaiks became religious pontiffs and were in-charge of Mosques, Idgahs, Dargahs and other religious centres. By birth the Shaiks acquire spiritual leadership over others and were always respected in the society.

Though the Shaiks claim a pure Arabic origin, the implication in India is different. Generally, they were the Hindu converts to Islam and the word Shaik was merely a title of courtesy. The low castes of South India who were accommodated into Islam were given a social status which was lacking in their original set up.¹⁷

There is considerable flexibility found between these two groups (Shaiks and Sayyeds), similarity of occupation, similar practices and

customs and the like make the difference between the two narrow. Majority of Shaiks in South India settled in villages pursuing agriculture like the natives, while, industry and trade was followed by the rich. The intermingling between these two groups has been observed in the statement of Amir Khsuroo as follows: "Last year I was a julahi (weaver) this year I am a Shaik and if prices rise, I shall become a Sayyad".¹⁸

Mughal was the third special group and were numerous in north India than in the south. Their existence in South India was not beyond the Adil Shahis of Bijapur.¹⁹ The term 'Mughal' was derived from the name 'Mongol', generally applied to the followers of Babur. During the time of Aurangzeb, the term was applied only to 'Whiteman' foreigners, and Mohammedans.²⁰ Like Shaiks, the name Mughal has been assumed by certain agricultural tribes and converts to Islam, particularly Jats and Rajput families. The Mughals of the Persian origin hesitate to maintain matrimonial alliances with Turkish Mughals and converts. They even try to maintain separate prayer halls and are less attached to the Hindu usages when compared to other Muslims. Their practices and customs were more luxurious.²¹

The Mughals were the ruling class and took up soldierly activities; even their names were distinct from other Muslim groups. Generally they have prefixes to their names like Mirza or Amirzada (leader born), While women use the title Khanum.²²

'Patahans' the fourth social group spread over the whole of India. The word Pathan was a corrupt form of 'Pashtana' or 'Pakhtana' who spoke 'Pushto' a language in the trans-Indus district.²³ They were a tribal class who lived in the Rohella tracks or Roh mountain tracks.²⁴ A martial class of people known for their bravery and skill, they rose to power and ruled as the Sultans of Delhi. The Lodis and the later Surs were among them.²⁵ The Pathans were also great traders. 'Pathan' was the name given to the trade guilds in the north western province of India. In the olden days they were called by the Arabic name 'powandas' or pavanda who were the nomads, when settled became traders by profession.²⁶

The above four social divisions with the slight differences among themselves can hardly be compared to the four castes of Hindu society. No divinity was attributed for their groupings. In addition to these four groups there were numerous

divisions, found from place to place, on the basis of language, religion, profession and the like. Among the special divisions found among the Muslims of South India, the Navayats of Malabar (Canara), comes first. Navayats or new comers were a section of Muslim population found in the Malabar regions and the Coorg districts of the Mysore state.²⁷ The term Navayath was derived from the Arabic 'nite' which is the plural of 'Nuti' which means sailors. They sailed from Arabia in search of better prospects and settled in the Malabar regions.²⁸ The earliest accounts of the Navayats were found in the writings of Ibn-Battuta when he visited Canara in 1342 AD. Its ruler was a Muslim chief Jamaluddin Mohammed, son of Hassan, who had six thousand cavalry and infantry, whose subjects were also Muslims and earned their livelihood by maritime trade, they were pious and devout people, powerful at sea and skilled in naval battles. Their women were beautiful and chaste, wore unstitched clothes and sarees, covered their head with 'anchal' or ('pallav'), their conspicuous ornament was a gold ring on the nose, the 'Nuti' (Nath)²⁹. G.H.Horklots attributes its origin to one of the branches of the Qureshi tribe in Arabia who were later driven away from Arabia and reached south India.³⁰ They pursued trade as their occupation and remained distinct from local Muslims in dress, eating, marriage, and other practices. To maintain the purity of blood, inter-marriages were forbidden with the local Muslims.³¹ The Navayats were categorized into two divisions called the 'Labbais' and 'Moplahs'³².

The term 'Labbai' is a corrupt term of 'Arabi' or 'Arab', who were found mostly in the Coromandal coast and in the provinces of Madras state. More particularly they were found in Tanjore and Madurai district.³³ They claim pure Arab descent like other groups, but Wilks states that they were Dravidian by origin, married the coastal women and intermingled with the local castes of the Tamils.³⁴ Thurston another scholar opines differently and regards that the Labbais were the descendants of the Arabs from their domestic slaves who later converted themselves into Islam and followed Muslim practices.³⁵ The Labbais traded in leather goods while those who resided in villages carried on agriculture and sheep rearing. They wove woollen blankets and were specially trained in this art.³⁶ They spoke Tamil written in the Arabic character with a large sprinkling of Arabic words.³⁷

The 'Moplahs' or 'Mappila' was another sect among the Muslims.³⁸ They were the residents of Malabar Coast; they were distinct from other Muslims by way of their language, customs and practices.³⁹ They were a hybrid race and a mixture of pure and impure blood. Moplahs were of two types, those who were the progeny of Arab sailors employed in navigation by Arab merchants sailing between Malabar, Egypt and Arabia.⁴⁰ The others were those converts among the slave tribes of Malabar. Moplahs were known for their religious fanaticism and orthodoxy. The Moplahs pursued trade, both inland and foreign as their main occupation. Among them were fishermen, and fish marketing brought them a lot of income.⁴¹ They have grown very wealthy in the Kerala regions by trading in species and some possess large estates.⁴²

The Moplahs of Malabar were broadly classified into 3 groups on the basis of social organisation (1) The Moplahs of north Malabar (matriarchical family) (2) The Moplahs of coastal towns like Kozhikode, Pannani (both matriarchical and matriarchical), (3) Moplahs of South Malabar (mostly converts, patriarchal).⁴³

The first group lived in a joint family called 'tarawads' and all the members claim the female ancestry. Usually the man came to live in his wife's house. If he had more than one wife, he occasionally visited her. The property belonged to the wife and not to the husband. In the second group the husband after marriage lived in his parent's house and the wife with her parents. He will have food in his house and go to sleep in the in-laws house. Though it was a difficult practice they had to follow till certain fixed years, while the third group was completely influenced by the Hindu social pattern and the male was the dominant head of the family.⁴⁴

Another broad Muslim group emerged due to the Arab contacts is the Deccani or Dakhani Muslims.⁴⁵ They were not a sect but distinctly dialect. They are largely found in the regions of Mysore, Bijapur, parts of Maharashtra and Hyderabad. They were often regarded as the 'Napakis' or 'Napak' in other words impure Muslims.⁴⁶ They were generally regarded as the decedents of the armies led by the Muslim kings and Nawabs and those converted by them and also assimilated into their fold.⁴⁷ Their existence is largely seen in the plain lands of interior regions than in the coastal regions.

Their settlements in South India and identity do not go beyond 1250 AD.⁴⁸ Still there exists discrimination between Deccan Muslims and the Muslims of the Arab stock who claim superiority. This difference was more during the rule of the Muslim dynasties of South India. The Deccan Muslims can be differentiated on the basis of a uniform language. Unlike the Labbais or the Moplahs who speak the local language, the Deccan Muslims speak Urdu as a common language. This was probably because of the ancestors who were Urdu speaking people and came to South India from North India, and being conquerors they persuaded their followers to speak the language. Hence Deccani Muslims speak Urdu language which was foreign to their habitation.⁴⁹ Even in the way of expression and pronunciation the Deccani Urdu is considered 'coarse' while the same in north India, particularly Lucknow is refined.

'Ladaf's were a recognised social group of South India based on their profession. They were found in Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu regions. They were the tribal Hindu community later converted into Islam, found more in remote and distinct rural areas. Their main occupation was cattle rearing and weaving cotton cloth. They followed neither solely Islamic customs nor Hindu customs, but a mixture of both; even their language is a mixture of the colloquial and Urdu. They were specialised in weaving the blankets and stitching beds.⁵⁰

Another small social group found scattered in all the regions of South India is "Pindare or Pindraye" (Chakkey Takare), the stone cutters. Though they were insignificant in their numbers, they were highly respected in ancient period as sculptors, builders and even carpenters. Though they follow Islam they rarely mix with the main Islamic groups. They even exclude themselves from maintaining matrimonial alliances with the other main Muslim Communities.⁵¹

Musicians (Khawal) were a group of Muslim community recognised because of their Profession only. Like their Hindu counterparts, they enjoyed great patronage during the Muslim rule in Deccan India. Even some musical schools were established by them. They used to organise musical competitions and 'Mushairas'. Their community has contributed a lot by producing great musical masters who are remembered even today.⁵²

There were a few more professional groups among the Muslims of South India like 'Hajam' (barbers)⁵³, fishermen (Machalare),⁵⁴ and hunters (Shikare)⁵⁵.

In the name of unity of religion or faith, equality of treatment, there were differences and diversifications found in the Muslim society different from the Hindu social divisions and distinctions. Apart from all these divisions, the Muslim society of South India like the General Muslim society was broadly divided into two sects. They were the Shias and the Sunnis.⁵⁶ At times they have proved more dangerous and disastrous to the community than what the caste system of ancient India has done for unity.

The Sunnis were an orthodox Musalman sect found in India. The meaning of the term was 'one of the path' or 'a traditionalist'. Sunnis are found throughout India⁵⁷. The Muslim conquerors of India were all Sunni and also the emperors who ruled at Delhi and Agra.⁵⁸ The differences between these two sects were partly religious and partly social. The Sunnis make pilgrimage (Haj) to the holy cities Mecca and Madina⁵⁹ whereas the Shias visit or make their Haj to 'Karbala' or Mashshadu-l-Hussain along with Macca.⁶⁰ The Sunnis decline to appoint or to recognise the 'Mujtahid' or the 'learned doctors' or the leaders⁶¹ and they do not observe Muharam festival like the Shiah who follow it as a martyrs day but observe only the 10th day of the Muharram or the 'Ashura'.⁶² The Sunnis believe in the development of tradition (Hadith) which was the mouth piece of the Prophet many of which have less value to the other sect. The Sunnis of India like elsewhere believed only in the 'Sunna', 'the command of the Prophet' and his divine revelation the Quran. They accepted the 'Ijma' or the law or the unanimous consent of the theologians.⁶³

There were four orthodox schools of interpretations of law among the Sunnis. **First** one was 'Hanafi school' or 'Hanafi' founded by a Muslim theologian called Imam Abu Hanifa⁶⁴. His followers were found in North India. **Another** one was 'Shafi-i' founded by Imam Muhammad-Ibn-Ildris-As-Shafi-i. He was born in Palestine in 767 CE and lived in Mecca. He was considered to be 'one of the greatest figures in the history of law'. He had great knowledge of Quran and his source of law was the 'Hadith' tradition and 'Quran'.⁶⁵ **Third one** was the 'Maliki', founded by Imam Ibn Malik a

native of Madina. The treatise composed by him was called the 'Muwatta' the 'Beaten Path'. Its greater part consisted of legal maxims and the tradition of Madina apart from the opinions delivered by the companions.⁶⁶ **Fourthly** 'Hanabali' school of the Sunnis was founded by Ibn Hanbal, a native of Baghdad and was born in 786 CE. According to him reasoning, 'Aql' has no place while all his interpretations and deductions have been formulated on the basis of 'Naql' i.e., the tradition of the forefathers.⁶⁷

All those schools have got their own followers in Islam and thus among the Sunni Musalmans of India, there were four internal groups. They were found all over the country. However, in India Hanafi school of Sunni Muslims were in majority.

The other sect among the Muslims of India was the Shiah.⁶⁸ It included the entire social and the economic groups spoken earlier. The term 'Shiah' means a 'follower' or a 'party to' and later used to denote the followers of 'Ali' (Hazarat Ali), the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad and the fourth Califa.⁶⁹ He became the 'Imam' the leader and his followers later were called the 'Shiah'.

Though they found all over South India, the province of Hyderabad was the centre of the Shiah from the time of its entry. The Shiahs were generally grouped into two unorthodox divisions. They were the 'Ithna Ashariyah' (the followers of twelve Imams) and the 'Sabiyah' (the followers of seven Imams). In South India most of the Shiah Musalmans belonged to the group of Ithna Ashariyah.⁷⁰

All the Musalman rulers of South India and Deccan were the Shiah rulers. The Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar; the Qutub Shah of Golconda and Hyderabad, the Adil Shah of Bijapur, set a ground for the development of Shiah sect.⁷¹ However, after the decline of Deccan Sultans the governors of Aurangzeb, who ruled South India as the Muslim governors, the Nizams, reviewed the Sunni sect and worked towards its popularity.

Though both the sects belonged to the same faith, strained relations always existed between them in South India like elsewhere upon some fundamental questions on acceptance on theology and practice. There were frequent quarrels between the two leading to persecution and violence.⁷² The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, an

embodiment of orthodox Islam, troubled the Shiah Muslims like he troubled the Hindus. Even his Deccan conquest on the Muslim dynasties, was ascribed by a few scholars due to his Shiah hatred.⁷³

Sufis are a class of Islamic Mystics who played an important role in the spread of Islam in India.⁷⁴ Though they cannot be called as a caste and a class they have created an impression of identity among the Muslim community with their own way of life and many times identified as 'Darvesh' section of people, very popular in the whole of South India. They were very successful in spreading Islam, as many aspects of Sufi belief systems and practices had their parallels in Indian philosophical literature, in particular nonviolence and monism. The Sufis' orthodox approach towards Islam made it easier for Hindus to practice. Hazrat Khawaja Moen-uddin Chishti, Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Nizamuddin Auliya, Shah Jalal, Amir Khsuroo, Alauddin Sabir Kaliyari, Sheikh Alla-ul-Haq Pandwi, Ashraf Jahangir Semnani, Waris Ali Shah, Ata Hussain Fani Chishti, Nagore Shafi-ul Hamid, Hazarath Khaja Bande Nawaz, Hazarath Haji Ali, Hazarath Maula Ali, and many more who were famous Sufis who took up to the propagation of Islam in different parts of India and South India. Once the Islamic empire was established in India, Sufis invariably provided a touch of colour and beauty to what might have otherwise been rather cold and stark reigns. The Sufi movement also attracted followers from the artisan and untouchable communities; they played a crucial role in bridging the distance between Islam and the indigenous traditions and contributed for cultural synthesis.⁷⁵

Conclusions

Thus in Islam there were different sects, one different from the other at least in their practices if not in theory and the South Indian Musalmans though claimed oneness, had innumerable differences in the possession of its scriptures, traditions of jurists etc. Though they present the outward characteristics of a well organised system, there were great differences of dogma, ritual and social practices, partly because of their isolation from the main stream and partly due to their prevailing circumstances. Many of the rural Musalmans do not know to which sect they

belonged and the tradition of their faith. The village Musalman seldom attended Masjids for Friday prayers, and even for this purpose Mosques often absent. . However, because of the tireless efforts of the Jamaits and Majilis rural Musalmans are

getting a knowledge of the basic principles of Islam and gaining the confidence among the rural Muslims. And now they, they do not fail to attend the Idgas for prayers during Id-ul-Fitr (Ramzan) and Id-ul-zuha (Bakrid).

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10. Das, Arbind, Arthasastra of Kautilya and Fatwa-i-Jahandari of Ziauddin Barrani: an analysis, Pratibha Publications, Delhi 1996 Pp 124–143. The Sachar Committee's report commissioned by the government of India and released in 2006, documents the continued stratification in Muslim society. Some data indicates that the castes among Muslims have never been as rigid as that among Hindus. An old saying also goes in Bangladesh "Last year I was a Julaha (weaver); this year a Shaikh; and next year if the harvest be good, I shall be a Sayyid." However, other scholars, such as Ambedkar, disagreed with this thesis. Mohammad Ashraf writes in his "Hindustani Maashra Ahd-e-Usta Main" that many medieval Islamic rulers did not allow to low-class people to enter their courts, or if some did they forbade them from opening their mouths because they considered them to be 'impure
11. G.A. Harklots, Islam in India (Translation), London, 1921, p.9.
12. Quran (translation) G.Saleh, London 1844. Sura XII. There is a tale that the messenger of God angel Hazrath Jabrail (Gabriel) came down to earth from heaven with the divine revelation and exclaimed Prophet Mohammed that he has the blessings of God and his lineage would be divine and be called as Sayyeds. The legend is also attributed to those who were the descendants of Hazrath Ali, Hazarat Fathima, Hazarat Hassain and Hazarat Hussain. Hazrath Ali was the fourth Khalifa and the son-in-law of Prophet Mohammed, Hazarath Fathima who is the daughter of Prophet and Hazarath Ali's wife and her two sons.
13. M.T.Titus; Islam in India's Pakistan, Calicut, 1929, p.277.
14. Jafar Sharif; Qanun-i-Islam, London, 1832, p.10.
15. Steingass; Arabic English Dictionary, London, 1910, p.602.
16. Jafar Sheriff; Qanun-i-Islam, London, 1892, p.10. The tribe 'Siddiqi' means Siddiq (the true veracious) it was started by Hazrath Abu Baker Siddiq who was the first khalif after Prophet Mohammed. 'Farooqui' was started by Hazrath Umar the second Kalif who was also called Umar-ul Farooq (the discriminator between truth and falsehood) while 'Abbassi' was started by Hazrath Abbas the paternal uncle of Prophet Mohammed.
17. Crooke; Islam in India, London, 1929, p.10.
18. H.A. Rose; A Glossary of Tribes and Castes in India, 3 Volumes, (Lahore, 1911), p.390. No watertight compartments were fixed for the pursuit of occupations among the Muslims like the occupational castes of Hindu religions.
19. Zafar Sharif; Qanun-i-Islam, (London, 1932), p.11. Mughals were generally divided into group on their origin, the Persian origin (more superior) and the Turkish origin to which Babur belonged.
20. Berner; Travels in the Mughal Empire, (Oxford, 1914), p.209.
21. Sir J.Campbell edited (Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency), Vol.IX, Part 2, (Bombay, 1874), p.9.
22. W.Crooke; Islam in India, (London, 1921), p.11.
23. G.A.Harklots; The Customs of the Musalmans of India, (London, 1863), p.11.
24. Census Report, India, (Bombay, 1901), p.293.
25. V.A.Smith; Oxford History of India, (Oxford, 1990), p.253.
26. Census Report Baluchistan, 1911, p.44.
27. W.Crooke; Islam in India, (London, 1929), p.12.
28. Victor S.D'Souza; The Nayats of Kacara, (Dharwad 1955), pp.12-20.
29. Mahdi Hussain; The Rehla of Ibn-Batuta, India, Maldives and Ceylon, (Baroda, 1951), pp.179-80. Samuel-lee travels of Ibn-Batuta, Paris, pp.165-166.
30. Zafar Sharif; Qanun-i-Islam, (London, 1932), p.8. A strange story has been depicted by the author as to why the nutis had planned to displace the dead body of prophet from Hajaj Bin Yusuf (Madina) by a secret passage. The Prophet appeared in the dreams of Khalifa and informed him the evil intentions of the few, who were driven away from Madina to rural areas from there to place to place and thence they reached Malabar Coast. And they were called Nawa-A-ay-thay (the new comers).
31. F.Thurston; Castes and Tribes of southern India, (Madras, 1909), p.72.
32. Victor S.D'Souza; Navayaths of Canara, (Dharwad, 1955), pp.26-30.

33. G.A.Harclofts: The Customs of the Musalmans of India, (London, 1863), p.12.
34. M.Wilks: Historical Sketches of south India, Second edition, (Madras, 1869), Vol.1, p.150.
35. F.Thurston: Castes and Tribes of South India, (Madras, 1909), Vol.IV, p.198.
36. Census Report, India, (Madras, 1901), p.302. Wool was secured and gathered from among the tribes men and thick blankets were woven in 'Pani' (Magga).
37. F.Thurston: Castes and Tribes of South India, (Madras, 1909), Vol.IV, p.198. Hardly Urdu is spoken by them which is identified as a common language among Indian Muslims.
38. The meaning of the Arab term Moplah is the Great Children.
39. Islamic Culture, Monthly Journal, Vol.XVI, (Hyderabad, 1942), p.412.They speak Malayalam in Kerala regions, while in Honnavar, Udipi and Goa regions they speak Konkani. In the regions of Coorg they speak Coorg. They were not strict about dress but lungi and topi were special marks of identification. They marry local Hindu girls but vive-versa was strictly prohibited.
40. Jafar Sharif, Qanun-i-Islam, (London, 1832), p.12.
41. Hayavadana Rao (ed.): Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.I, p.331. They are popularly called "Meen Kakas", they are also known for their missionary zeal.
42. Thurston F: Castes and Tribes of South India (Madras, 1909), Vol.IV, p.455.
43. Victor S. D'Souza: The Navayats of Kanara (Dharwad, 1955), pp.79-83.
44. Ibid, p.83.
45. The term Dakhani has sometimes been misused to mean 'rude rustic'. 'Dakhan' is a Hindi word, meaning south of the Vindhya. So the Muslims of Deccan are called the Dakhini Muslims, or the 'Daccanis'. But, there is a Persian word 'Dahqan', which, while used in Urdu wrongly pronounced as 'Dakhan'. The meaning of the Persian word 'Dahqan' is 'a village', which gains significance here, as the majority of the Musalmans of South India lived in the villages.
46. Cousens, H: Bijapur and its Antiquities, (Bombay, 1916), p.184.
47. C.Hayavadana Rao (ed), Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.I, (Bangalore), p.331.
48. S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar: South India and her Mohammadan invaders, (Oxford University Press, 1921), p.101.
49. Victor S.D'Souza: Navayats of Kanara, (Dharwad, 1955), pp.28-31.
50. Govt. of India, Census Report, 1921; Interview with Mehdi Hussain, a 'ladaf' dwelling in Kolar district of Karnataka.
51. Thurston: Castes and Tribes of South India (Madras, 1909), Vol.II, p.240. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol.VIII, No.558.
52. Census Report, India (Bombay, 1901), p.284.
53. Shariati, A: On the Sociology of Islam, (Berkeley, 1979), p.174.
54. Census Report: India, (Bombay, 1921), pp.285-89.
55. Ibid; pp.280-292.
56. Rev.Edward Sell: The Faith of Islam, (Madras, 1920), p.125.
57. Murrey T.Titus: Islam in India and Pakistan (Calicut, 1929), pp.87-8. The Census Report of India, 1921 has given the Sunni population of India around 6 million, and majority are in North India.
58. M.Ephinstone: The History of India, 6th ed. (London, 1874), p.476
59. The Sunnis advocate that being a Musalman, one should at least make visit (Haj) in once life time to these cities, which are related to the life of Prophet Muhammed and where 'kaba' (holy black stone) is situated.
60. It is the place where Hazarat Husain is said to have attained martyrdom, a place fifty miles south west of Baghdad and six miles west of the river Euphrates, more details will be given while dealing with the Shais.
61. Rev. Edward Sell: The Faith of Islam,(Madras, (1920), p.144. The most learned (Muslim theologians) among the Shias were called Mustahids. They were qualified to analogical judgements and can interpret the law, on any point, which need a legal decision. Their decision was final and authoritative. The Sunnis recognised Imam or Immayiyat (a leader who conducts the prayers).
62. Ibid, p.145. The Sunnis believe as depicted in Quran that on the 10th day of Muharram i.e., 'Ashura' the first man on earth, 'Adam' was created by God, so to commemorate this even they observed it as the beginning of the new year.
63. Ibid, p.32. Since the Muhammadan religion does not admit the possibility of further revelation after the death of Prophet, the principles of Ijma, was the only authority of legislation available. In Christianity it is called "the general consent of the fathers".
64. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, (London, 1874), pp.90-91. He was born at 'Basra' and lived in 'kufa' and died at Baghdad. His laws contains very less traditions, but were created under the circumstances where Musalanians were just developing.
65. Macdonald, DB: The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (London, 1915), p.144. He was the descendent of Abu-Mutalib, the grandfather of the Prophet, he took pains to discover the origin of the tradition and travelled from place to place for information and consulted the descendants Muhajiran, the fugitives of Mecca and the Ansari, the helper of Madina.
66. Ibid, p.99. Rev. Edward Sell: The Faith of Islam, (Madras, 1920), p.40.
67. Macdonald D.B: The Development of Muslim Theology, (London, 1915), p.157.
68. Jafar Sharif, Qanun-i-Islam, (London, 1832), p.14.
69. The Muslims have califate or Imamate. The early caliphate after the death of Muhamed was not hereditary. They were 'Abu Bakar' 'Uman' and 'Usman', after him came 'Ali' from whose period it was attempted that the califate be made hereditary and the followers of Ali began to call him as the rightful successor of the Prophet, since he was the son-in-law of the Prophet. However, this was questioned by the traditionalist and they believed in the efficacy of Quran and Hadit so called Sunnis. They are also called 'Charyaris' i.e., those who believe in 4 califs, but the Shias are called Tinyaris, i.e., the followers of three, Ali, his sons Hassain and Hussain (the grandsons of Prophet from his daughter Hazarat Fatima)
70. Murrey M.Titus: Islam in India and Pakistan (1929), p.88. The Ithna Ashariyah believe in all twelve successors of

- Muhammed in his family line like the Hazarat Ali, Hazarat Fahtima, Hazarat Hassain and Hazarat Hussain etc., the twelfth one, who mysteriously disappeared, did not die but still alive. He is the hidden Imam, who will reappear as a 'Mahdi' in the dooms day while the Sabiyah group developed only after the death of the 6th Iman Jafar-as-Siddiq and they recognise his son Hazarat Ismail as the 7th and last Imam.
71. Sir Wolseley Haig; *The Religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani*, J.R.A.S (Calcutta, 1924), p.73; Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur who ascended the throne in 1490 AD, declared Shiah faith to be the established religion of the state; Burhan Shah of the Ahmednagar openly professed the Shiah religion after his accession to the throne in 1509 while the
 - only Shiah influence seen on the Mughal rule in Bairamkhan (T.T.Titus, pp.92-93).
 72. Even during the period of the liberal Sunni, when one Shayakh Mubarak, father of Abul Fazal, converted to shiah he was persecuted and had to flee with his family from Agra; Elphinstone, M. *The History of India*, 6th Ed. (London, 1874), p.533.
 73. *Ibid*, p.672.
 74. Martin Lings, *What is Sufism?* (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2005; first imp. 1983, second imp. 1999), p.15
 75. Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2009), p. 223

B.C.RAY MEMORIAL LECTURE
CASTE, GENDER AND LABOUR IN HYDERABAD STATE,
1900-1951

Prof. E. Sudha Rani

Honourable president, General Secretary of the South Indian History Congress, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, At the outset, I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to the executive committee members of the South Indian History Congress for having chosen me to deliver the prestigious Prof. B.C. Ray Memorial Lecture on the occasion of 39th annual session being held at Osmania University, Hyderabad from 8th-10th February 2019. I deem it a pleasant privilege to deliver memorial lecture instituted in the name of Professor Bhabani Charan Ray who made valuable contributions to History, particularly, Odisha History and Culture. He occupies a front ranking position among historians and educationalists of Odisha and India.

My research for past three decades has been centred on "Caste and Gender and the marginalized sections of the society". In this lecture, I would like to focus on the specificities of Caste composition of occupations and the division of labour both skilled and unskilled in agriculture and industrial sectors, women labour, wage occupation and the living conditions of the labour.

Introduction

The Hyderabad State was multi-lingual, comprising of many of Telugu, Kannadiga, Maratha and Urdu speaking people. 85% of the

population in the state lived on agriculture. Of the 5,29,26,720 acres of land in the dominion 3,33,82,938 acres were under Diwani, area and the remaining area was shared among the Sarf-e-Khas, Paigahs', Samasthans, Jagirs etc. The Jagirs. Including Nizam's Sarf-e-Khas comprised approximately 40% of the total area of the State. Ryotwari system was prevalent in the Diwani area whereas feudalism had taken roots in the Jagirdari area in the State. Naturally, the feudal system promoted exploitation.¹ The concentration of Hyderabad State culture, in the geographical region had taken place in the interest of a dependable polity that was no emergence for the stability of the ruling dynasties. By the end of nineteenth century, a subservient but powerful ruling class, Deshmukhs, was created between the state and the scattered communities of populace to serve the state.²

The historical specificity of Nizam's dominion, which was different from the rest of the state, was that it was a combination of colonial and imperial regimes which functioned mainly with the aid of landed gentry consisting of Muslim Jagirdars and Hindu Deshmukhs and caste predominantly based on occupation.

The characteristic feature of agrarian society in Hyderabad State was the emergence of dominant agrarian communities belonging to

the non-Brahmin, upper caste communities like Reddys, Velamas etc. The dominant caste landed gentry established their supremacy over the settled communities of the region and established clusters of power and hierarchy of ranks and titles. Subsequently, they formed into a ruling aristocracy of powerful chiefs, who had established their control over the region. Whereas in the socio-economic system, pastoral communities, service castes, artisans, nomadic groups, menial castes were involved in the productive activities and production of social wealth. Thus, in the Telangana region classification of caste groups into high and low with certain social norms, domination and subordination existed as was the case in many parts of India.

The present lecture focuses on Gender, Caste and Labour in Hyderabad State: 1900-1951. It is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the inverse relationship between the Caste and Occupations in the feudal social structure of the Hyderabad State. The second section deals with the labour force in the state, agriculture labour and industrial labour and finally, the third section analyses women and work as it prevailed in Telangana society. The relationship between caste and labour has not been a prominent part of history. Many academic works of historiography overlooked the caste dimension. In the present talk I am going to discuss Caste, Labour and Gender in Telangana during Nizam's rule. The sources I have referred to are a variety of documents ranging from census reports of the period, administrative records of the Nizam Government Paper of mining and minerals and the Labour Census reports of 1935 and 1940 brought out by Mazar Hussain, Director of Statistics and census.

I

CASTE COMPOSITION OF OCCUPATIONS

Caste has been an important dimension for the occupations as well as the economic status in Telangana and worked as a factor for socio-political mobilizations. A brief look at the census of India gives us an idea about the distribution of different castes in the Telangana region. Brahmins comprised 3.1 percent of the population and were ritually placed at the top of the caste pyramids and historically dominated

socio-cultural and economic life. The opportunity provided by the colonial modernism was the catalytic factor as the mobility of new jobs in education and administration. Vaisyas (Komatis) comprised 2.7 percent, Reddy's comprised 15.2 percent and Velamas 3 percent. Reddys and Velamas were the two economically and politically dominant castes, holding larger tracts of lands. They executed virtual authority in villages. The Backward castes numbers was 46.1% and the Malas and Madigas put together were 17 percent and the other groups— tribals and minorities only 1 percent.

Among Dalit or Scheduled castes there were 59 sub-castes among them Malas and Madigas were the two major subcastes. Malas are more in number in Coastal Andhra. Whereas Madigas were predominant in Telangana and Rayalaseema. The term Mala renders services as grave digging, acting as messengers, agricultural labour, in some cases weaving and working in mines. Madigas farm the most ostracized sections of the Dalits. They originally belonged to the artisan group (Warangal Edurupalli Inscription- No. 87) degraded later to untouchables. Their prime occupation was curing, tanning of hides and making leather articles required for agriculture.

In the traditional agrarian system of Telangana landed property was concentrated in certain castes, while others were excluded. An examination of the hierarchy of caste system and occupational structure indicates that some castes were obliged to work as cultivators and agriculture became their main occupation. Hence, they were known as the peasant caste; for instance, Reddy, Kapu, Velama, Munnuru, Telaga, Mutrasi etc. From the available sources it is also clear that caste-specific and caste-determined occupation was a norm in Telangana society. The artisan and service communities who performed caste definitive occupations were not directly connected to the land and with agriculture as cultivators. Since a majority (i.e., more than 75 per cent) of them were engaged in their traditional occupation, their overall economic position was not very strong. They were employed by the dominant upper caste landlords, village officers and substantial peasants and were dependent on them for their livelihood. Some of them held *Inam or Manyam* lands which were granted by the Deshmukhs or

Jagirdars etc. The grant of such service inams compelled the lower castes to perform certain specified services to them. The relations between the upper caste landlords and artisan and service castes were mainly customary, in that the latter were obliged to provide services to the former whenever needed or demanded. Traditionally, the artisan and service castes were also bound to the landlords in terms of certain caste obligations: carpenters and Blacksmiths (Valla/Kammari) prepared and repaired agricultural implements, the shepherds (Gollas) supplement sheeps and goats on festival and other ceremonial occasions; the washer men (Chakali) worked as messengers, the Mangalis acted as Barbers, the toddy tappers (Goundla) supplied toddy, the Madigas provided leather goods etc. The Malas and Madigas worked as agricultural labourers. All such services were not paid and performed as a matter of customary practices. Since most of the artisan and service caste workers could not earn sufficient income to make both ends meet by sticking on to their traditional occupations, almost all of these castes had taken to agriculture; and to augment their economic resources they worked as cultivators, tenants and agricultural labourers. S.Kesava lyengar in his survey Report mentioned about landless families. "The families without lands, either their own or held at tenants, constitute about 30% of total families. In all the villages visited, a fair proportion was weavers and exclusive of their caste many of them were entirely dependent on wages they earn as unskilled labourers. Most of them belong to untouchable community so that the social custom their economic disadvantages and helps them to make the improvement of their condition difficult.³

Bhagelas, who are surfs, were maintained by every big landholder in Telangana. Creditors offered their land as security for debts. *Bhagelas'* services as agricultural farm labourers were chiefly utilized in the northern and central part of Warangal and other Telangana districts by rich cultivating landlords. They are known as *Jeetagadu* and functioned very much like bonded labourers. When a man marries, incurring expenses, he becomes a *Bhagela* and his wife works as agriculture labourer and supports them both. The wages would be deducted as repayments for loan.⁴

The *Bhagela* system used to continue for generations because of family needs. Fresh loans were taken from the same master, adding to the accumulated debt, thus making the *Bhagela* a permanent thing⁵. The poverty and illiteracy of these semi-serfs, coupled with lack of alternative sources of credit and means of livelihood, lack of legal sanction behind the measure, the implementation responsibility being put on the Tahsildars and Taluqdars who were more amicable towards the landlords than *Bhagelas* had all been significant factors which contributed to the perpetuation of the system. The Labour Census Report of 1940 mentions that Government measures did not have much impact and this system continued for generations.

The *Vetti* is another form of serfdom. The Begari or Vetti is not only a forced labour but is mostly unpaid or very nominally paid.⁶ Even non-Inam holders such as Weavers, Washermen etc. were also made to render Vetti, wherever it suited the official interests. Though Nizam-made Sarbarahi (supply) rules in 1926-27 enjoining the government officials that went on tour to pay to the extra or additional services that they received in carrying out official business. In practice, these rules were least observed.

The second type of Vetti was exacted by the feudal elements from almost all the sections of the communities, ranging from small and middle peasants down to craftsman and depressed classes such as Dheds, Chamars, Madigas, Malas etc. Their daily job consists of household work in the house of Patel, Patwari, Mali-patel or Deshmukh, to carry reports to police station, taluk office (tehsil) – keep watch on the Chavadi and the poundage. They used to collect wood for fuel from the forests and carry the post also. This system was known as *Kosuku Veesum* (1/16th rupee for 2 ½ mile).

The Madigas, carried out the work of tanning of leather and stitching shoes or preparing leather accessories. These Madigas unlike their counterparts in the coastal area and other areas, had no share in the cultivation and they used to depend on the 'Dora', and whatever he gave. They were forced to carry out agricultural operations, and supply implements for drawing water from wells or yoke belts for plough cattle, or bullocks, to the landlords free of

cost while the rest of the peasants used to pay them fixed annuities in grain and other agricultural produce. The Vetti madigas were attached to the Deshmukh families.

The agricultural labourers had to work in the fields of landlords and then only allowed to do other peasants work. The Vetti received annual Nazaranas (gift) at the time of special occasions like birth, marriage and death at the Dora's family. The worst of all these feudal exactions was the prevalence of keeping girls as Dasis or Slaves in landlords' houses. When landlords gave their daughters in marriage, they presented these slave girls and sent them along with the newly wed girl to serve them in their in laws' place. These girls were used by the landlords as concubines and were subjected to sexual exploitation by them and their relatives was a common practice. S.Kesava Iyengar reports, "These two institutions of *Bhagela* and Vetti denote a very backward rural economy. The poor physique of the lower classes in the villages is mainly due to these two institutions which authorize the stronger to sweat the worker". He observes that "the health of poorer classes in Warangal District is not satisfactory, and an unchecked continuation of *Bhagela* and Vetti systems would lead to further deterioration of the population."⁷

Due to this horrible day Vetti, the weavers of Telangana left their homes and migrated to the Bombay Presidency. It is against Vetti that several contemporary newspapers like *Golconda Patrika*, by SuravaramPratap Reddy and *Rayyat* by Mardamala Narsing Rao took up the cause and published articles, and news items on Vetti. The noted contemporary poet and writer Dasharathi RangaCharya wrote about Vetti in Telangana *Porata Patalu* (heroic songs of Telangana Struggle).

Vetti ChakiriVidhanamoRaitanna
 EntaCheppinaTeeravoKulanna
 Madiganna, Mallanna, Chakalanna,
 Vadranganna, Vadderanna,
 VasimalinaBegaranna,
 Kummaranna, Kulanna, Raitanna,
 AniPanuluVeelathoDoralandaruCheyench
 ukonedi.....

(O dear peasant brother, Vetti is so horrible. There is no end to this. From brother of madiga, mala, washerman, mason, barber, potter, labourer, peasant. All the works these Doras forcibly extract). Failure to oblige or faltering in service is met with brutal punishments which sometimes resulted in loss of life.

The last ruler of Hyderabad State Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam the VII through a *Farman* imposed a total and immediate ban on begar (forced labour) which was causing untold misery to the people. He also announced that he who violates his orders would be liable to punishment.⁸ As the *Farman* did not specify clear and detailed instructions, he was requested to issue necessary directions on this issue. The Nizam issued another *Farman* dated 26th April 1926 A.D. ordering the constitution of a committee to suggest appropriate rules.⁹

In compliance of the *Farman* a committee of senior officials was formed. The committee after holding several deliberations finally approved the draft which was placed before the cabinet. The Cabinet submitted the draft with its recommendation for the approval of the Nizam. The Nizam issued the *Farman* approving the rules to ban forced labour in the State.¹⁰ The rules provided that no labourer can be forced to do the work without fixed payment. In unavoidable circumstances an unwilling labourer could be forced to carry out the work on full payment of the prescribed wages. However, no woman could be forced to do the labour against her will. Wages were to be paid according to agreed rates. No labourer could be made to carry a weight exceeding the following limits.¹¹

Male - 12 seers (approx. 9. 600 Kg)

Woman - 10 seers (approx. 6. 400 Kg)

Child below the age of 14 years 6 seers (approx. 4. 800 Kg)

The law provided that no child below the age of 10 years should ever be engaged for labour. According to the rules a *Tahsildar* or Divisional Officer would investigate complaints of violation of labour laws and bring offenders to book. Complaints regarding non-payment of prescribed wages or use of force could be lodged with *Tahsildar* or Divisional Officer or *Taluqdar* (Collector) within one month. The new rules were enforced in the State with effect from 27th

February, 1927 AD repealing all previous regulations governing the practice of forced labour. In spite of the Government edicts about its removal, this much hated institution existed right until 1949-50. The gravity of these two systems of oppressive serfdom of the labouring classes and castes made the organizations such as Andhra Mahasabha, Hyderabad State Congress and of late the Communist Party and other educated elite and the press, wage a fierce battle against it. Finally Vetti & *Bhagela* were abolished after the armed struggle in the year 1950.

II

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIAL LABOUR

The labour force is divided into four Broad categories. Agricultural labour, skilled labour, factory labour, cooly or unskilled labour each class having its own sub-divisions. Unskilled and agricultural labour, the villages continue to be regarded as reservoirs of cheap labour which can be drawn in any number and can be withdrawn. In rural areas it consists mainly of agricultural labourers and unskilled labourers. With the absence of scientific farming, the broader line between these two is faint in case of agriculture. Most of the villages, as unskilled operations such as ploughs, harrowers, sowing and reaping. Special skill required for certain crops as fruits & vegetables and they are not common in every village. In the year 1931 as per labour census of 1935 the total number of cultivators are 3,393,420 whereas agricultural labours were 1,478,662. Out of the 7 lakhs were men and 7.8 lakhs are women. The numbers started decreasing with the fragmentation and subdivision of holdings, and the cultivators started cultivating for themselves. As the agriculture season does not extend to 365 days a year. The agriculture labour are obliged to find supportive income from source other than agriculture, probably in the industries nearby or migrate during off season.

Skilled labourers or artisans

One significant characteristic of Indian village is very self-sufficiency. Practically all the requirements of the village are obtained within its own boundary. Every village has its own

blacksmith, carpenter, masan & other artisans like chamans, mochis, weaver, potters, tailors etc.

Carpenter: The total number of Carpenters in Nizam state as per census 1931 was 30,688. Many young people in city undergone a course in Osmania technical institute and found their profession lucrative. In villages then turn wooden ploughs hoses in their number is 24,689 furniture in 1931 census.

Blacksmith: Unlike rural areas the urban blacksmith slightly progressed in ideas and techniques. For their services in rural areas they were given growth of rent free land and grain at the time of harvest & festivals.

Goldsmith: Goldsmith is the one makes gold & silver goods – Kamsali.

There were tailors who stitch clothes called Meras, Barber. The Mangali also involves in shaving and washerman Chakali washes clothes.

The Chamars: Mochis are Madigas the one are making of leather goods. They cure and tan the hides of dead animals and manufacture leather articles. The scientific knowledge of converting dead skin into fine leather is passed from one generation to another. They stitch sandals for ryots make leather belts for bulls and necessary items for agriculture. They clean streets and undertake decounts work in villages & towns patcha torana garland of green mango leaves. For all the services, they used after paid meager and negligence remuneration. Often in kind which usually consists of grains.

Masons: Masons enjoyed the boom – Buildings private and Government were greatly increased in cities and the supply of artisan have increased per demand.

Domestic servants: Employment of a servant is a custom in most of aristocratic families in urban areas and rich doers in new areas. They include the cooks, maids and the grounds.

Sweepers: In urban areas sweepers were employed in offices, municipal and local fund establishments as well by the well to do individuals and they are monthly paid servants.

Malees & Malas: Malees & Malas in the gardens are employees on monthly wage system

in large towns. In urban areas, like sweepers, they are also employed in public and private gardens, parks in office compounds, local and municipal establishments.

Factory labour: The labour engaged in factories both as skilled and unskilled come under this. They are the labour in textile, leather, metal industry.

In the year 1935, the number of large Industrial establishments were 1074. Of these 91 were Government and Local Fund Factors and remaining 983 were owned by private individuals.

A.AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Agriculture labourers formed the most numerical segment in the population of Hyderabad state next to cultivators. These agricultural labourers who were principally drawn from the depressed classes, such as Dhers, Maharas, Chamaras, Mochis and Mongs. They experienced, a life of misery, during the period, besides the social ignominy of living in the outskirts of the villages, away from the higher sections of the community.¹² According to the 1931 population census, the agricultural labourers numbered 1,319,430, (619,109 males and 700,321 womans,) In spite of the great importance of farming industries in these Dominions, the number of agricultural workers is two to each cultivator. Subdivision of the land into small holdings having tended to the development of a type of farm requiring little hired labour. At the same time, it may be said that there is a considerable body of agricultural proletariat in these Dominions. Indebtedness to the landholder has given the lender a strong hold upon the borrower to exact family service; in many cases the period of service extends to several generations. Except for this class of labourers, other farm servants, being seasonal workers, are mobile forces and seldom stay on any one farm or holding for long. Seasonal labour is in greater demand in Telangana than in Marathwada on account of the extent of double cropped areas there. Labourers of one taluk move to another during seasons. Some seasonal migration movements also occur across the frontiers. Seasonal workers are, in some cases, small holders who look for other works in order to increase their income.¹³

In the beginning of this century, the agricultural labourers had become a numerically increasing category in Hyderabad state due to the disintegration of village communities of the 19th century. In addition, in the light of the Land Revenue Act of 1317 Fasli Hyderabad state, changes had occurred in landholdings in the village communities. The decline of domestic industries, severe agricultural depression and growing indebtedness of agricultural classes led to the emergence of a class of landless labourers in Hyderabad State. The census of 1911 reported that there was a large increase, of 172 per cent, of farm servants and field labourers compared to 1891.¹⁴ The 1921 census report shows that the heaviest fall in population had occurred in the case of farm servants and field labourers. The decrease amounted to 36 percent due to epidemics and famines. Such unfavourable conditions during the intervening decade naturally accounted for the enormous decrease, noticed among them.¹⁵ But the 1931 census report reveals that agricultural labourers had increased by 28 percent during the decade.¹⁶ In the same way the census report of 1941 shows that agricultural labourers had increased by 29 per cent since 1931.¹⁷

WAGES

The Imperial Gazetteer of India (Hyderabad State) reports that no official returns of the prevailing rates of wages were available prior to 1939.¹⁸ It further reports that the *Bhagelas* were paid between Rs.30/- and Rs. 36/- per annum besides one meal a day, a blanket and a pair of sandals every year.¹⁹ Wages were paid partly in cash and partly in kind, but in case of *dhal*, *chillies* and *grain* which were every day necessities, the labourers got a certain proportion of the quantity picked up as wage at the work spot. Village artisans who played their part in the course of agricultural activities were usually paid in kind and in a few instances were paid partly in cash and also partly in grain. Temporary agricultural labourers were engaged for daily wages during the season. They were paid in cash. At harvest time, a quantity of grain was given as part of payment, the value of both not exceeding six or eight *annas* per male, three to four *annas* per woman, and two *annas* per child. In the non-agricultural season this class of labour was engaged in odd jobs as cart drivers, messengers, watchmen, graziers, metal workers

and quarries and occasionally for road constructions. The rates of wages ranged between six to ten *annas* a day. Graziers were paid at two *annas* a cow and four *annas* per buffalo per month. It was observed that there was a decrease in the labour population due to migration and some infectious diseases, yet labour was sufficient.²⁰

Wages in kind are most common, males in the rice-growing tracts getting 3 to 4 seers (6 to 8 lbs.) of paddy and in the jawar-growing areas 2 to 4 seers (4 to 8 lbs.) of jawar; Women getting 1 1/2 to 3 seers of paddy or 1 to 2 seers of jawar. The worst paid tract is the Raichur and the Bidar districts in Marathwada and the Karimnagar district in Telangana. In the harvesting and the picking of the produce such as Cotton, Groundnut, Chillies, etc. contract system is in force, i.e., the labourers get a portion of the produce as wages in proportion to their harvest; hence the period of hours depends upon themselves. Other agricultural labourers are engaged for daily wages during the season. They are paid in cash, except at harvest time when a quantity of grain is given in part payment, the value of both not exceeding six to eight *annas* per male, three to four *annas* per woman and two *annas* per child. In the non-agricultural season this class of labour is engaged in odd jobs as cart drivers, messengers, watchmen, graziers, metal workers, quarries and also under road contractors, the rate of wages being six to ten *annas* a day.²¹

The wages of agricultural labours were on the decline during 1927-28 in which year the last wage enumeration in the state was done covering the period 1914-35. The rate of daily wages of men and women of the Subah of Warangal which stood at 5 and 1.7 respectively ranked the lowest in the state. The highest is hardly 4.3 for men in Gulbarga Suba and 2.2 for women in Aurangabad Suba both being in Marathwada region and the state average being 4.0 & 1.9 respectively. The inability of *Bhagelas* to get freed from the hereditary debt burden that they owed invariably to their masters and the weak bargaining power of rural proletariat due to their poverty and ignorance to fight against the unilateral fixing of wage rates by landlords, had accounted very much for the low agricultural wage rates in Telangana.

Wage rates in Telangana during the next years from 1914-35 to 1939-40 showed a further decline. Agricultural production and the prices did not yet make full recovery from the depression effect, the trend of low wages continued. With the phenomenal rise in commodity price and demand during the next decade of World War and the post-war period there was a remarkable increase in wages. Labourers in Telangana were paid low wages which led them to greater misery. The commercialisation of agriculture did not lead to better living conditions for agricultural workers. The reasons for this are more than obvious. No development can help the poor in a feudal social set-up. Added to this, it was the low wage structure that contributed to the misery of the working classes which led to the agrarian struggle.

B.THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR

Hyderabad, the largest of the Indian states, was rich in industrial raw materials. It also possessed extensive tracts of black cotton soil. Of these industries in the Hyderabad State were divided into ten broad groups. Except in the case of infrastructural industries, the classification is based on the input base of the industry.²² The first group, infrastructural industries, includes railways, road and other transport, power and communications. Initially, the railways were managed by the British-owned Great Indian Peninsular Railway (GIPR). Later an autonomous company, in which the Hyderabad government held a controlling interest, the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company Ltd. (NGSRC) owned and operated the railways. Eventually in 1930, the company became a completely state-owned enterprise. The second group consists of minerals. Coal was the major mineral of the state with deposits in the Gondwana series of geological strata towards the eastern parts of the state in the Godavari and Pranahita river valleys.

By the end of the 19th century and beginning of 20th century, with the introduction of market economy, the commercial crops like new varieties of cotton were introduced in Hyderabad State. Cotton was first introduced in Marathwara tract and from there it was adopted in other parts of Telangana and Karnataka.²³ Up to 1898 there were only three spinning and

weaving mills in Hyderabad State. These mills were (1) Hyderabad (Deccan) Spinning and Weaving Mills (MSKM) near Hyderabad (2) The MahaboobShahiKulbarga Mills (MSKM) at Gulbarga (1886) and (3) The Aurangabad Mills (AM) at Aurangabad (1897)²⁴. Out of above, the MSKM was the biggest one with 975 looms. The MahaboobShahiKulbarga Mills Gulbarga was started in 1885. The Hyderabad Spinning and Weaving Mills were founded in 1877.²⁵ The Aurangabad Mills commenced production in 1889.²⁶ The AzamJahi Mill was established in the year 1922 and was considered to be a well-managed textile producer in Hyderabad State.²⁷ The Nizam's Government provided 202 acres of land for the construction of Mills.²⁸ The DiwanBahadurRamgopal Mills stated working in 1921 and commercial production stated in 1922. The number of spindles was 16,376 and that of looms was 303.²⁹

Any analysis of labour unlike that of capital and output is beset with the problem of bias. This bias is part of an ideology of development in which there is hardly any account of the labour force outside the organised industry, except census data. The bias is Political to the extent that organised struggles of labour were left out of the available records and also patriarchal in that there was a consistent underplaying of the role of woman labour in industrial development. Our analysis of the industrial labour force in Hyderabad is limited by this bias of the data base.³⁰ Census data on industrial labour as an indicator of changes in the structure of the industrial labour force is inadequate, but it is the only source that includes, on a systematic basis, the labour force in artisan industry. Hence we shall first consider the data on occupational structure given in the census. In 1901, the total population engaged in industry, minerals and infrastructure in Hyderabad was about 1.43 million but declined to about 1.18 million by 1941.³¹ This was a decline of about 18 per cent was in sharp contrast with the increase.

The decline in the total labour force was largely a repeating of the decline in artisan industry, but in organised industry, the labour force increased. According to the census reports, the labour force in large industrial establishments was about 24,000 in 1911, 35,000 in 1921, and 64,500 in 1931 and was about 100,000 in 1941.³² Similarly, the labour force employed in

factories covered by the Factories Act increased from about 25,500 in 1930 when the Act came into force to almost 60,000 in 1947 towards the end of the regime.³³ The definition of a large industrial establishment changed in that initially it included all units which engaged an average daily labour force of ten or more but later, in 1945 those establishments with an average daily labour of less than twenty were occluded. Yet the labour force engaged in large industrial establishments increased from about 29,000 in 1930 & 76,500 in 1945.³⁴ Excluding the units in prisons and schools, the labour force in manufacturing industry proper rose from 22,780 to 65,000 in the same period.³⁵ Thus all sources show that the labour force in organised industry grew by almost 200 per cent.³⁶

The results of our statistical analysis of annual increases in the industrial labour force show some significant changes in the structure of the industrial labour force. The annual increase in the labour force, in 1930-45, was substantially higher in Chemicals and metal and Engineering industries, followed by Agro-based and forest-based industries. The annual increase in the labour force engaged in manufacturing industry was considerably higher than that in the grand total of mining and infrastructure industry. The most significant conclusion that emerges from out regression analysis is that the labour force in modern industries increased at a higher rate than in others, in tune with the structural changes in industry referred to earlier. It must, however, be noted that despite these changes, the major characteristics of the industrial labour force remained as they were. Firstly, the proportion of labour within organised industry remained limited, never having been more than seven per cent secondly, agro-based industries, despite some decline, retained their primacy. Even at the end of World War-II, the labour force in these industries was about 54 per cent of the total industrial labour force.³⁷

In organised industry, units that engaged labour on a seasonal basis were preponderant. They included agro-processing industries, beedi manufacture in Forest-based industries, brick-making and quarry work in ceramics, aerated water in chemicals and other such seasonal factories the implication of this kind of industrialisation for the composition of the industrial labour force was that it was pre-

dominantly seasonal in nature. Invariably it was composed of small peasants and agricultural labour that were attracted to these factories during the lean season. The wages in these factories it appears were higher than the prevailing wage-rates in agriculture. the prevalence of seasonal labour can also be noted in the mining sector. Reporting almost half a century after mining started, the 1931 census observed that a significant section of miners were 'usually small cultivators or agricultural labourers resorting to the mines during slack agricultural season.'³⁸

The labour force, both skilled and unskilled, included what in Hyderabad was described as *gairmulki* labour, i.e., persons from outside. According to the industrial census; the proportion of outsiders in managerial, clerical and skilled jobs was about 70 per cent in 1911 and 30 per cent in 1921. Among unskilled labour, the proportion was 10 and seven respectively.³⁹ Emigration caused by famines, the increasing demand for labour in the adjoining districts of Bombay Presidency and the unwillingness of local labour to engage in new industrial activity were some of the factors that explain the presence of outside labour in the initial years. Later their proportion seems to have declined, except in some stray instances.⁴⁰

So working conditions remained as oppressive as was common during the early phase of industrialisation. The system of recruiting labour through contractors was prevalent in coal mines and to some extent, in the railways. In one instance, it was noted that the contractor's commission was five *annas* per head while labourers received seven *annas* per head. In some cases the contractors were also moneylenders to whom the labourers were bonded. Wages, as indicated by the Rege Committee appointed shortly after the fall of the regime, seem to have been very low in a large number of industries. Out of the seventeen industries or factories the committee investigated, only five were paying more than a rupee a day, only nine were paying Dearness Allowance and only five paid bonus in that year. The few non-official accounts available also confirm the abysmally low level of wages.⁴¹

The changes in the structure of the labour force in organised industry. The labour force

engaged in the manufacturing industry increased from 53 per cent to 63 per cent during this period evidently as a result of higher growth rates in the labour force that were analysed earlier. Within manufacturing industry, a structural change in agro-based industries, declined from 68 per cent to 45 per cent. Although labour in the second group of agro-based industries increased, the increase was only marginal. By the end of World War II, the labour force in metal and engineering, chemicals, ceramics and forest-based industries together constituted almost 43 per cent of the total. But the agro-based industries still retained their supremacy.

NIZAM STATE INITIATIVES FOR IMPROVING THE LABOUR CONDITION

The Government of Hyderabad have published the report of the Labour Committees which was appointed by it to enquire into and examine conditions of factory labour with particular reference to basic wage rates and scales of dearness allowance. The report along with its recommendations gives its reader an impression that so far as Hyderabad State is concerned, the immediate task of every department of the State Government is to fill in the gap and complete the process of levelling up so as to bring the administration of Hyderabad on a level with those of other states in India.⁴²

Recommendations of the Committee on labour legislation are pointers in this direction. During the war an attempt was made by the then Government of the Hyderabad State to copy some of the legislations of the British Indian Government, especially those on factory regulations, payment of wages, Workmen's Compensation, Maternity Benefit and regulation of trade disputes. Haphazard and ill-considered adoption of the British Indian Government's legislation followed by a loose and inefficient administration has done little to help the working class in the State to come up to the standard of working class in the surrounding provinces.⁴³ The Government of Hyderabad, however, in its note to the report, has demurred that there is a need to hurry, as new labour bills are under the consideration of the Government of British India and the Indian Parliament is likely to extend the labour legislation in force in Part A States to Part B States, including Hyderabad. Nizam

Government send some representatives from Hyderabad to the labour conference held at Delhi on 30th & 31st January, 1942. Based on the recommendation in the conference suitable measures were taken on labour welfare.

As the report states, there are 765 factories in the State. Out of them 617 are working. Of these, 486 are perennial and the remaining 131 are seasonal factories. Though bigger than Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, Hyderabad lags behind them all in industrialisation, though it has one feature in common with them in that the State Government has sponsored a number of industries by taking the initiative, giving direct financial help or other assistance.⁴⁴ The Department of Industry and Commerce, which came into existence by 1920, took up the promotion of Textile, Cement, Cigar, Tea, Button making and other industries. However, these infant industries could not cope with the demand of solving economic ills. It is interesting to note here that the industrial progress in British India was conspicuously more advanced when compared to Hyderabad State. The amelioration in the unhappy conditions of the people was practically insignificant, in spite of the change in the economic system.⁴⁵

WAGES

In a majority of works, labour or time workers get their daily wages per hour of work. In a few cases piece workers are engaged. The cotton pickers were paid as per the amount of cotton gathered. For part-time workers it was 11 hours, for women 10 hour, 6 hours for children and 60 hours a week. The cotton textile and mines worked uniformly for 9 hours per day and 45 hour per week. Skilled labours and artisans worked for 6 hours a day. Railways and Mines worked in 2 to 3 shifts a day. The weekly holiday was given on market day-'Santa'. The large industries used to care for the health and welfare of workers. In small and minor industries it was about housing. For permanent labour Hyderabad State made some temporary arrangements for labour. In case of temporary labour make shift-huts were made. The housing facilities were so bad that in the 1917 Royal Commission enquiry, all the sub-committees recorded their opinion that insufficient and bad housing was one of the factors responsible for their unrest (Labour Census 1940).The state did not take up any

special drive towards education; some schools were started by the big industries such as the coal mining industry. The census also points out that the evil of drinking intoxicating substances was the most common evil among labouring classes. In Telangana Toddy is most common stimulant consumed by most labourers on their way home after a day's work. It also pointed out that there were no regular welfare organizations of labour in Hyderabad State and Cooperative Societies for the benefit of their workmen. The industrial labour was paid in cash. The wages were not uniform but varied from unit to unit. But the Census Reports observed that 80% of the two lakh industrial workers in the state received low wages, which was less than Rs. 18 per month or 8 *annas* per day. Women and children were accustomed to get miserable wages like Rs. 5 per month and two to 4 *Annas* per day. The rising prices added to their misery due to the low wages in Telangana compared to their counterparts in Marathwada hence a large numbers of labourers migrated to Bombay.

TRADE UNIONS

The working conditions in Telangana remained as oppressive as was common during the early phase of industrialisation. It was the struggle over wages that served as the immediate cause of strikes in the state. The first recorded strike took place in Aurangabad Textile Mill in 1904. Later strikes were reported in textile mills in Aurangabad 1919 and Gulbarga 1940, Railway 1927 and other industries. Officially, 25 strikes were reported during 1931-1945. But, official replies never mentioned about the primary factor that facilitated the struggle of worker and also the development of the Trade Unions. The first major trade union formed in Hyderabad State was the calendar workers union in 1927. In the same year, a strike in Lalaguda railway workshop led to the formation of the Railway Workers Union. Significantly, both these unions were located in Secunderabad area which was the British administered pocket, where British Indian laws were applicable. A Trade Union Act came into force in British India in 1926⁴⁶ whereas in Hyderabad it came only in 1945. In both these unions the leader was Varahagiri Venkata Giri Congress Trade Union who later became the President of India. In Telangana except N.S. Railway Employees Union, which had an All India Character, the

3000 workers of AzamJahi Mills of Warangal had the distinction of forming the first workers' union in Telangana on 8th August 1943,⁴⁷ before the passing of the Trade Union Act in Telangana. During World War-II trade unions emerged in almost all the units which had a permanent labour force. These included all the Textile Mills, Vazir Sultan Tobacco, Allwyn, Button Factories, Cement & Sugar Metal Factories & Singareni Collieries.

It is interesting to note that the two organizations. Ittenad UI Musleem⁴⁸ and Andhra Mahasabha⁴⁹ combined their efforts in the family workers war in 1943. Mr. Samad Razvi as General Secretary and Mr. S. Ramanadhamas in Joint Secretary.⁵⁰ A notable strike took place in AzamJahi Mills in 1943. The demands of Singareni strike of 1921⁵¹ & AzamJahi Mill⁵² in 1943 were 12 ½% increase in night allowance or 50% war time allowance on par with Bombay. But the demands of the labourers were suppressed by Managements with the help of strong police. During this period, Singareni Collieries Workers' Union, Mahubia Match Factory Workers' Union, the Sirpur Paper Mills Workers' Union had been formed. Aurangabad became the venue of the first State Level Trade Union Conference in 1930. Later State Congress organized the first State Conference of its MazdoorSevakSangh in Aurangabad in 1946. In 1947 the Communist led All Hyderabad Trade Union Congress held its first conference. The Communist Trade Unions with a reported affiliation of 200 units and 50,000 workers were strong in Hyderabad city, Warangal, Gulbarga, Shahabad and Nanded.⁵³ The number of registered Unions in the State rose from 7 at the end of 1948 to 123 by September 1950.⁵⁴

The membership in registered trade unions increased from 12,000 in 1947 to 63,000 in 1949. The period indicated after the fall of Nizam regime and witnessed the greatest number of strikes organized by communists in aid of peasant movements in parts of Telangana. Immediately after the Police Action in 1948, the Miners in Bellampally raided *gadis* of Hindu Muslim landlords and merchants. The military entered the houses of workers and brutally beat up the 9000 workers who went on strike, for withdrawal of police in their area. The Kothagudem Mine workers went on strike in November 1948 and in May 1949 demanding

proper implementation of bonus and restoration of civil liberties. However the Communist Movement failed to link the organized struggles of workers in mines with the peasant movement which ultimately weakened the movement.

III

WOMEN AND WORK IN HYDERABAD STATE

The economic status of women in a society is intimately connected with her economic-position, which depends on rights, roles and opportunities for participation in economic activities. However, patterns of women's activity are greatly affected by social attitudes and institutions which stem from the existing social ideology and prevailing customs. In the agriculture sectors and factories, the social and legal subjection of women was neglected. It was expressed in conditions such as low wages and the absence of special legislations and protection for woman labour.

According to 1901 census, 46 percent of the people in the state were dependent on agriculture for their livelihood.⁵⁵ The oppressive land systems that prevailed in the state caused misery to agricultural labourers, both men and women. Women were employed in large numbers as agricultural labourers. According to 1931 census, in cultivation, there were sixty eight women for every hundred men, but as agricultural labourers they outnumbered men, being seven for every six males. Women also took a large share in market, gardening, flower and fruit growing.⁵⁶ With the development of local industries, women started taking up employment. A large number of women were unskilled. The breakdown of the peasant economy and the burden of social and economic oppression under the feudal system led to some of the village women taking up employment in the industries. It was expressed in conditions such as low wages and the absence of special legislations and protections for women labour. The following data give details of women's participation in various sectors in the Hyderabad State.

Occupation of womans to 1000 males

Sub-class	Description	No. of woman workers No. per 1,000 male workers
I	Exploitation of animals and vegetation	679
II	Extraction of minerals	436
III	Industry	581
IV	Transport	461
V	Trade	737
VI	Public force	364
VII	Public administration	303
VIII	Professions	265
IX	Living on their income	546
X	Domestic Service	662
XI	Unspecified	1,054
XII	Unproductive	805

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXI, Hyderabad Deccan, 1923, P.277

According to the above table, woman workers were predominantly larger in the "unspecified" occupations.⁵⁷ This may be due to the negligence of census enumerators to include various petty occupations carried on by women. The next highest proportion of women was occupied in the 'unproductive' sub-class. The class which shows the lowest proportion of womans was, naturally, the professions. The state of their education and the social attitude of Indians, which is opposed to the association of women with males, was the reason for these. The following table shows the occupations where women preponderate over men.

Occupation of womans to 1000 males
Occupations No. of womans per 1,000 males

- I. Fish dealers - 7,203
- II. Manufacturers of tobacco, etc. - 5,174
- III. Grain purchasers - 4,932
- IV. Rice pounders, de-huskers, etc. - 3,194
- V. Fruit, flower, vegetable, growers - 1,506

- VI. Cotton spinning - 1,429
- VII. Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, etc. - 1,373
- VIII. Agricultural field labourers - 1,357
- IX. Cardamom, Betel leaf, etc. - 1,250
- X. Farm servants - 1,234
- XI. Silk weavers - 1,154
- XII. Vendors of aerated waters, ice, etc. - 1,133

Source: census of India 1921, Vol. XXI, Hyderabad Deccan, 1923, P.277

It is observed that most of the occupations in the above table were recognized as 'Women's occupations' by custom and tradition. On the whole, it may be noted that, after cultivation, the principal occupations which offered women a livelihood were food industries and building constructions. These occupations absorb over 70 percent of the woman workers in the state. More than 38 per cent of the remaining come under the head "Insufficiently described occupations". Rice pounding, de-husking, flour grinding and grain parching were primarily the occupations of the women and therefore women engaged in them were two to four times as many as men. Women also monopolized the poultry and farm produce trade⁵⁸ An examination of each of these occupations in detail may indicate the direction in which women's work tends to develop.

As per 1931 census the total no of agricultural labour 7 lakhs were males and 7.8 lakhs were women. The oppressive land systems that prevailed in the state caused misery for agricultural labourers, both men and women. Women were employed in large numbers as agricultural labourers. According to 1931 census, in cultivation, there were 68 women for every hundred men, but as agricultural labourers they outnumbered men, being seven for every six males. Women also took large share in market – gardening, flower and fruit growing.

Agriculture Labour in Telangana and Marathawada

Agriculture Labour	Telangana	Marathawada
Males	304903	400083
Woman	349032	338662

Source: Hyderabad Labour Census Report 1935 page 22

Agriculture labour is the poorest paid in Hyderabad state and in Marathwada wages were higher than the Telangana region. The reason being the nature of agricultural operations are not identical. Women's agricultural labour is more in Hyderabad compared to Marathwada. Dry cultivation in Marathwada required hard labour suited to men while in Telangana weeding and transplanting in rice cultivation are suited to women. There exist greater possibilities of employment of women and children in Telangana than in Marathwada.

There is a vast difference in wages among men and women in Hyderabad State. In agriculture men get 4 *annas* while women get $1\frac{1}{2}$ *annas* per day. The unskilled labourer (man) gets 6 *annas* where as women get 3 *annas* among the coolies in Telangana a man gets 5 *annas* and women get 2 *annas*. The sweepers and malis were paid monthly wages: men mali get 6 *annas* per month and women get 4 *annas* per month. Sometimes the labour were paid in kind such as grains which is far more oppressive than the wages. Haimendorf gives the details of

the wage rates of labourers who are employed in collieries "Unskilled labourers employed in workshops get as 7 or 6 *annas* for an 8 hours shift, and women as 4, plus a dearness allowance of $\frac{1}{8}$ of their wages. Gang-leaders receive *annas* 12 per shift. Work in the pits is mainly done by piece-work and thereby men can earn up to Rs.1 and women up to *annas* 12 per day; but this is a maximum and not generally attained.

WOMEN WORKERS IN INDUSTRIES

The breakdown of peasant economy and the burden of social and economic oppression under the feudal system, led to the village women seeking employment in industries. The Ajam Jahi mills provided large avenues of employment for women workers. As per the census of 1921, 90% women are unskilled workers. Women were cheaply employed in collieries, in textile industries such spinning and weaving mills, cotton, silk and handloom factories and quarries and also food industries, Beedi factories and oil mills. For every thousand women employed in industries 461 were found in mines and 273 were in textile industries.

The following table gives the proportion of women labour in each group of industries.

Women labour in industry: 1901-1921

S.No.	Industries	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
1.	Agro based industries	35.9	38.00	36.79	30.61	35.74
2.	Agro based industries – 2	32.69	35.66	41.53	33.28	26.48
3.	Metal and engineering industries	26.01	24.25	22.22	25.84	21.11
4.	Forest based industries	26.54	25.62	28.59	24.91	33.58
5.	Ceramics	28.97	30.87	44.24	30.66	30.08
6.	Chemicals based industries	10.16	17.95	11.12	27.77	23.28
7.	Animal based industries	24.31	28.90	20.88	17.70	18.44
8.	Others Manufacturing industries	16.50	12.29	28.37	18.72	8.97
9.	Minerals	47.46	22.22	30.38	18.01	35.58
10.	Railways & other transport	14.00	12.90	32.06	24.87	20.38
11.	Power & Communications	0.01	0.05	3.90	0.53	2.70
12.	Grand total & Minerals infrastructure & Manufacturing	12.51	4.49	5.03	3.97	4.45

Sources: Census Report of 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, & 1941

Both in manufacturing industry and in the grand total of industry including minerals and infrastructure, the proportion of women labour declined sharply during these periods in industries. However, in agro-based, forest and chemical industries, the proportion increased. The decline was sharp in metal and engineering industries – animal based industries and minerals. Wherever the degree of change in technology for e.g.: metal and engineering industries or in nature of product such as shoes and sandals was more, the proportion of decline in women labour was sharper, where the extent of such changes were less extensive, as in case of agro-based industries the decline was less. Similar increase can be seen in basket weaving, quarry work. Overall, the proportion of women labour among industrial sector declined sharply from 12 percent in 1901 to five percent in 1941. The decline in women labour force was determined to a larger extent by the degree of technological change in industries. The decline

is also because of some structural changes such as Factories and Mines Acts. According to the Annual Reports of Factories and Boilers Inspection Department, the number of women labour are 37 percent in 1930-31, 32 percent in 1935-36, 29 percent in 1940-41 and fallen to 22 percent in 1947-48.

WOMEN LABOUR

The Census Reports provides a detailed account of woman labour in each occupational category. Cotton cleaning, spinning and weaving, garment and toiletry industries, manufacturing and refining of vegetable oils and food industries in agro-based industries, beedi and basket making in forest based industries, quarrying work and potteries in ceramics and tanneries and mining and minerals were some of the industries and areas where traditionally women labour force was engaged in high proportions in Hyderabad State.

Distribution of male and woman employment in Hyderabad State

	Total	Male	Woman
Direction, Supervision and Clerical staff	1,491	1,491	-
Skilled workmen	8,103	7,403	700
Unskilled workmen	23,263	17,006	6,257
Total	32,857	25,900	6,957

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXI, Hyderabad Deccan, 1923, P.288

A glance at this table shows that form 79 percent of the total number of persons employed and women, 21 percent. Women were conspicuous by their absence in supervision and clerical work. However about 90 percent of women were found in the unskilled category. Women were chiefly employed in collieries, in textile industries such as spinning and weaving mills, cotton, silk and handloom factories and in quarries and also food industries, beedi factories and oil mills.⁵⁹ A further classification of women workers gives the clear picture of their employment. Out of every 1000 adult women employed in industries, 461 were found in mines and 273 in Textile Industries. Quarries show a proportion of 215 women in industries of earthenware, chemical products and transport, while the remaining industries completely avoided women.

Comparative Statement of Men and Women in factory Statistics of Hyderabad, Madras, Bombay and C.P. and Berar 1938.

Provinces	Total no	No. Of persons of factories	Men	Women	Children
Hyderabad	1098	36814	18521	1238	56573
Madras	1818	128796 Ch 5097	50974	Ad 9468	19433
Bombay	2495	402449 Ch 9434	71591	Ad 4120	429103
C.P	737 Ch 187	41631	19641	Ad 515	61974

Source: Report on Labour Census 1940 by Mazhar Hussain, Director Statistics and Census Commissioner Hyderabad Deccan 1943, page 103.

With the development of local industries, women started taking up employment. A large number of women were unskilled. The breakdown of the peasant economy and the burden of social and economic oppression under the feudal system led to some of the village women taking up employment in the industries.

In India the number of women employed in mines was high. By the mid 1920s more than 1/3 of mine workers were women working above and below ground. In the year 1920 questions were raised about the employment of women below ground. There were 6 Women for every 10 Men in the colonies. The 1923 Mines Act put regulations on women working underground. The Regulations of 1929 prevented women from working underground. All India Women's Congress and other organizations agitated against women working in underground mines. In 1939 the government used Second World War as an excuse to lift ban on women's employment underground. Women willingly returned to underground work.

The status of women among the industrial labour force shows some particular features specific to their gender. The proportion of woman labour among industrial labour declined sharply from 12 per cent in 1901 to five per cent in 1941. The degree of decline seems to have been determined by the degree of change in the technological base and product mix. Even in the organised industry, where the labour force otherwise increased, the proportion of women declined. Among labour covered by the Factories Act, for instance, the proportion of the Women declined from 37 per cent in 1930 to 22 per cent in 1947. In other words, both the general decline in the total industrial labour force and the specific increase of the labour force in organised industry, by its very nature, had adversely affected women.⁶⁰

The restrictions imposed on the factory owners regarding the duration and timing of working hours for women labour under the Acts possibly contributed to the drastic fall in the women labour. This was because in the absence of facilities for employment of women labour. Usually at lower wages, the owners would opt for their retrenchment altogether. The demand for the skilled labour also accounted for decline in women labour. The decline of artisan industry

and the effects of migration followed by the decline are also the possible causes for the lower numbers. However, it was the men who migrated most, and this impact is not much.

In the others category it covered mostly the women labour who were working as domestic servants. This domestic service can be seen mostly in urban areas, where the aristocrat families employ a number of servants. A woman constitutes the most in the aristocrat families *Mama* maid servant; the *Booas* the in-charge of kitchens; *Malis*, who works in gardens; the woman guards etc. Besides this a number of girls were brought for sweeping and other cleaning works.

CASTE COMPOSITION OF WOMEN LABOUR

The Census Reports also give the details of the caste compositions of the women labour. As per one survey conducted by the Census enumerators of 1951, it was found that a few Hindu castes and Muslim sects did not permit women to work as labourers in the field. These castes were Brahmins, Komti (Vaishya), Lingayat, Lohar, Panchal, Rajput, Satane and Sutar among Hindus and Mughal, Pathan and Sayyed among Muslims. However, the Brahmins and Sayyed had no objection to their women to be the cultivators because agriculture has always looked upon as a noble occupation. The women of Lingayats, the Maratha and Wanjari castes preferred to work as rent collectors.

Given the considerations of high social and ritual status, purity and pollution, the women labour recruited from Dwija castes were negligible. The less participation of women workers from the upper castes like Reddys, Motati's Pakanatis and Racha Velamas was observed, the reason being the practice of *Gosha* (*Purdas*). But on the other hand, Kapu, Telaga women were actively engaged in field labour and other related activities.⁶¹ The untouchable nomadic and semi nomadic castes like Malas, Madigas were largely engaged in cultivation, mining and farm labour.⁶² The development of modern industry has reversed the situation by increasing the participation of upper castes among women in various skill oriented sectors relegating lower caste women to menial works rather than more labour intensive jobs.⁶³

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, an attempt has been made in this lecture to provide certain insights into the relationship between caste with occupations and it also attempted to offer a perspective to study the multidimensionality of caste and labour. Certain aspects of land control by few dominant castes relegated the condition of the labourers to a pathetic situation. The transformation of the agrarian society of Hyderabad State into the industrial society further deteriorated the condition of the lower caste labourers. It is also observed that the conditional of agricultural and industrial labourers who, next peasantry formed a sizeable segment of the state population was in such a miserable state that it contributed neither for agriculture nor for industrial advancement. The wages of both the categories during this period remained lowest which made the workers move to the neighbouring provinces such as Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces were higher wages prevailed.

Another aspect which was dealt in this presentation was the relationship between the Caste and Gender. In Hyderabad state it is observed that most of the occupations were

labelled as women's occupation by custom and tradition. Half of the women work forces in the state were into 'insufficiently described occupations' in rural areas.

With the onset of rapid industrialisation during the last phase of Nizam's rule the new industries required the skilled labour. This resulted in the gradual decline of the women labour, as they were not allowed to acquire skills. Apart from this the decline of artisan industry and the development of organised industry adversely affected women's labour. The commercialisation of the crop and the rapid industrialisation during the last phase of Nizam's rule hardly improved the conditions of the dalits and women. Added to this, it was the low wage structure that contributed to the misery of the working classes which led to the agrarian struggle. The inverse relationship between caste position and women's work participation is also observed that the lower castes in the caste hierarchy had higher work participation, whereas among higher castes, work participation was low in Hyderabad State.

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DALITS IN NEO-LIBERAL ECONOMY: A DISCUSSION ON MOST MARGINAL COMMUNITIES

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This paper analyses the Dalit interface with neo-liberal economy. It traces the implication of neo-liberal economy on the livelihood of the Dalits with further examining the impact of neo-liberal economy on their elements of Dalit resistance, needed to accelerate their struggle for better future.

In India, the caste system was closed stratified structure, where a particular caste follows its traditional occupation most of the times, which was followed by that particular caste from generations, with transfer of indigenous knowledge and skills from one generation to the other. This system gradually turns an occupation, as a caste occupation or we may say hereditary occupation. In the case of Dalit artisanal communities these indigenous knowledge and

skills become a matter of pride for community like the traditional skill to identify medicinal plants by Sahariya and snake charmers skill to trap snakes, Baheliya skill to trap birds. Most of such skill was manual skills without any space for technological intervention. These skills were known for its perfection and excellence that adds pride to community. But globalization is adversely impacting their traditional occupations. Their livelihood and specialized skills is losing its space and glory in global capitalistic market. Bulk production of goods with latest technology at cheap prices has proved a big challenge for the skills and products of all marginal communities. Neo liberal economy has opened the door for Global market that has directly hit the traditional occupations of dalits, and made them more vulnerable than before. Dalits neither have the

capacity to compete with these productions nor do they have capacity to negotiate for an alternative to earn their livelihood. Their traditional artisan skills and indigenous knowledge is on the verge of ruin. Many scholars have argued that the link between caste and occupation is eroding because of economic liberalization (e.g., Panini 1996: 60). He has argued that economic liberalization will enhance economic competition and employers will give importance to efficiency and skill while recruiting a worker rather than their caste identity. Such studies claim remarkable betterment of life conditions of Dalits in the new liberal economy setting. Chandra Bhan Prasad, an eminent Dalit thinker, in an interview to *The New York Times* opined, "This is a golden period for Dalits... Because of the new market economy, material markers are replacing social markers. Dalits can buy rank in the market economy. India is moving from a caste-based to a class-based society, where if you have all the goodies in life and your bank account is booming, you are acceptable." On the contrary, recent research on the formal urban labour market has demonstrated how even highly-qualified Dalits and Muslims face discrimination (Thorat and Newman 2010: 23)¹ The question is not of positive or negative impact of neoliberal economy on Dalits only but we have to understand the impact of neo liberal economy on the life of Dalit artisanal communities, who are facing serious crisis on their traditional livelihood and not able to shift to new livelihood options for themselves due to their inability to interact with global market. In fact Globalization has further led to marginalization of already marginal section of society who was unable to access education, health facilities and was deprived of jobs. (Jogdand: 2002,² Chandrasekhar CP and Ghosh Jayati: 2002,³ Omvelt Gail: 2005,⁴ Mungerkar: 2001,⁵). These communities are unable to interact with the neo-liberal market and become more vulnerable, most marginal communities. This paper mostly derives observations from my fieldwork in Uttar Pradesh.

Uttar Pradesh (UP), lying in the Hindi heartland in north India, is one of the largest land areas of the country, is also the most populated state. The area of UP is 240,928 sq. km. Its population is 199,581,477 (2011 Census). The percentage of S.C. population to total population in Uttar Pradesh is 21.1%. The state spreads from the north-west to the south-east expanse of

the heartland of India. Physically it can be divided into two parts - the Gangetic Plain and the Vindhyan Hills. The Gangetic Plain is divided into two major portions in UP. These are the Upper Ganges and the Middle Ganges plains. The Upper Ganges plain lies mainly in UP while part of the Middle Ganges Plain lies in this state, the rest lying in Bihar. The Upper Ganges Plain can be roughly divided into two parts at the confluence of Yamuna-Ganga in Allahabad, the point which divides the entire state into two parts - eastern UP and western UP.

In total there are 75 districts in this state, which differ widely from each other in terms of socioeconomic development. Uttar Pradesh has witnessed a visible assertion of Dalits, still, there are many small Dalit groups who have not yet developed the capacity to aspire. I am trying to concentrate on few as :

Basor/ Bansphor

The word 'Basor' means 'Bamboo workers'. Basor caste traces its origin from Raja Benu or Venu who ruled at Singorgarh in Damoh region. History says that the king was so religious that he raised no taxes from his subjects; instead he earned his livelihood by making and selling different kinds of bamboo fans. Venu is a Sanskrit term that means Bamboo. Another legend relates that in the past there were no bamboos, and the first Basor took the snake which was worn by Lord Shiva round his neck and planted it with its head in the ground. Immediately, bamboo sprang up on the spot and from this the Basor made the first fan. They make numerous kinds of baskets, among which may be mentioned the chujika, a very small one, The Tokni, a basket of middle size, and the iokna, a very large one. The Dauri is a special basket with a lining of matting for washing rice in a stream. The Jhdnpi is a round basket with a cover for holding clothes; The Tipanna a small one in which girls keep dolls; and The Bilahra a still smaller one for holding betel-leaf. Other articles made from bamboo-bark are the chalni or sieve, the khunkhwia or rattle, the Bdnsuri or wooden flute, the Bijna or fan, and the Supa or winnowing-fan. Bansphors are mostly distributed in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and in the districts of Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Ballia, Varanasi, Allahabad, etc. Their total population in Uttar Pradesh, according to the 1981 census, is 18,530. They are predominantly distributed in

rural areas. **Risely (1891)⁶** The community is divided into sub castes such as the Purania (the oldest), the Juthia (who eat leftover food of others) and the Deshwari (who reside in the desh). Bamboo basket making their traditional occupations, their main profession keeps them closely involved with the daily market economy. They sell their crafts on cash terms in the local market.

Musahar:

The Musahar are also known as Banmanus, arya and Banjara. In the list of scheduled castes of U.P. the 'Musahar' and 'Banmanus' have been listed separately, to a Musahar, Banmanus is a mere synonym. In Sultanpur and Varansi, they are known as 'Musahar'. In Rai bareli, they are also known as 'Gonr' whereas in faizabad they are called as

'Banjara'. Regarding the etymology, the people are of the belief that since they were rat eaters, hence the name Musahars. The origin of musahar is shrouded in mystery but according to a legend prevalent in the community, Parmeshwar created the first man of each caste, and then he gave each a horse to ride on tool to work with. The others took their tools and mounted their horses but the Musahar began to dig a pair of holes in the belly of his horse to fix his feet as he rode. Parmeshwar saw his folly and ordered that his descendants should live on rats, which they should dig out of the earth. When Parmeshwar had finished eating, the Musahar began to lick his bar platters. Seeing this, the Parmeshwar said, 'these are low people. They shall always lick the platter, and they have been degraded ever since' (Crooke, 1896: iv, 12-37). The Musahar are settled in the central and eastern U.P. According to 1971 census, the total population of Musahar in U.P. is 104725. The language spoken by these people is hindi and the dialect spoken is Awadhi. Among the Musahar, sects like Bhagat, sakatiya/saket and Turkahia exist.

Baheliya

The Bahelias are a scheduled caste in U.P. The Bahelia were described as a hunting, game keeping and bird catching group. They indulged in bird-catching, extracting honey from beehives, catching animals and picking peacock feathers to make fans. They ascribe their lowly

position in hindu society to these occupations. The chirimar or fowler, the nearest kin of the Baheliya, is a welcome visitor in the village market or in towns, who catches birds by trapping or shooting and sells the game to people. The total strength of the Baheliya in U.P. is enumerated to be 41,454 according to 1971 census records. They are mainly distributed in the central and western part of U.P. The main social groupings among the Bahelias are Sisodia, Gahlot, Karaul, Aheria. (K.S. Singh: 2005, 112)

Nat

The Nat are described as a community of the so-called gypsy dancers, acrobats and prostitutes. They wander about with their families, settling for a few days or weeks at a time in the vicinity of villages, making make-shift instruments of Sirki (reed), and for this reason all such people are referred to as Sirkibands. They are professional in animal Husbandry and gymnasium. Community is distributed in the districts of Uttar Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh, their major concentration may be seen in the western areas. In this state, they are included in the list of scheduled castes and denotified communities. Their total population according to the 1971 census figures is 1233. The Nat are divided into five sub-groups viz., Bajania Nat or Karnat, Kalabaz, Kabutar Nat, Chamar Nat and Muslim Nat.

Kuchbandhiyanjanar:

According to their traditions, they are descended from a Manu Guru and his wife NathiyaKanjarin. Some of them claim descent from kush. Besides, they associate themselves with the dynasty of which Maharana pratap. They are believed to have emigrated from Rajasthan to various part of country to escape conversion to Islam. On their migration, they were rendered homeless, so they look refuge in the jungles and consequently resorted to hunting and looting. Their total population in uttar Pradesh, according to the 1981 census, is 50,752. The traditional occupation of the Kuchbandhiya was hunting, they still depend on the forest, extracting roots of the Khas grass, and collecting reeds from banks of the rivers. From the stalks of the Munji grass and from the roots of the Palas tree, they make ropes which they sell in villages. The community is also involved in tanning of skins out of which drums are made and sold.

Sapera

The sapera a community of snake charmers. The Kalbelia of Rajasthan and Pamalu of Andra Pradesh are also snake charmers by profession. Any historical account relating to their place of origin is not known. The distribution of the Sapera is fairly widespread as they move from place to place performing snake shows, but would come back to their permanent settlement. In Shankargarh tehsil/ village of Allahabad district. They have large in number.

Sansi

The term 'Sansi' is derived from the Sanskrit word swasa meaning 'breath'. The sansi, a scheduled caste in U.P. with total population of 5626 persons as per 1971 census, are also called as Saunsis, Sainsis, Sahnsia, Bhatu or Bhanus, but the more prevalent term is sansi. They derive their name from the Rajput ancestor named Raja sansmal who had two sons named Mahla and Beehdoo. Behdoo had 12 sons and Mahla had 11 sons, and these 23 sons are the founders of the 23 gotra of the sansi. They claim to have been Bhatti Rajput who was expelled from Rajasthan by Muslim invaders. They migrated to different parts of northern India and took up pastoral and predatory activities. They further relate that their ancestors came from Gajini, Bhatna and Chittaurgarh, etc. in Uttar Pradesh; they are distributed mainly in the districts of Meerut, Moradabad and Muzaffarnagar.

Older Skills and New Challenges:

There are many caste groups amongst marginalized communities whose traditional skills have no place in the new system. Market forces are turning them as labourers but they do not wish to work as labour because they are skilled. When after 1990 the era of liberalism came in the country and the market was opened for global world free from clutches of socialist boundation, some of us welcomed it and others opposed it. Many termed it this as 'the era of market'. This market will prove 'Mina Bazar'⁷ for some, while 'Maya Bazar'⁸ for others. On the one hand, this market gives prosperity to few, on the other; it makes others realize that they are deprived. To control this contradiction, the image of nation-state was formed. Now we are approaching 30 years of completion of neo-liberal economy in India. But the question that whether this

relationship of state and market would increase equality and will lessen the discrimination in society is still unanswered. The idea of a global market strengthening all is yet to be fulfilled. While the numbers of service providing institutions and civil societies are working to make the relationship of state and market less conflicting, but they are struggling to make qualitative interference in this, is yet to be accomplished. Many of these civil society NGOs are either not understanding the relationship of market and marginal communities and critical social structure of discrimination or they are ignoring these issues for various reasons despite understanding structural problems.

Here I would like to see the relations of Dalit groups of India with relations of market in a special context. For a section of Dalits, those who have acquired the strength to dream for a better life and achieve it, market has provided the way for upward mobility. They have added happiness and comfort through trade in liberal economy. Such Dalit groups have equipped themselves with education and desire to establish an ambitious society for themselves. Whereas a larger population of Dalits is still standing on the door of market, confused and fragile. Such groups can be called 'communities in confusion'. They are unable to join themselves with new projects for different social groups of government like skill development projects, 'entrepreneurship'. Basor, Saheriya, Sapera, Baheliya, Hari, Begar, Musahar, Nat, Sarvan are such smaller Dalit communities who have not been able to join the 'microfinance' projects running in the villages, in visible capacity quantitatively or qualitatively. The reach of self-help groups of microfinance has been limited to visible Dalit communities living on the margins of society and backward farming communities. 'Power to save money' has not been developed in smaller Dalit communities. They have to dig the well and drink it daily. Earn daily and Eat daily. Their everyday earnings are sometimes not enough to feed twice a day. Such communities have generally been Dalit artisanal communities. These communities were considered artists in earlier systems. In the system of new market and modernism, their 'skills' became worthless. In the new system, arising out of economical liberalism there is no other option left for them, other than to be labourers in the expansion of market, real estate, infrastructural projects. They don't want to become labourers. They believe that they are 'skilled community' and have proud of their skills. As a result, they can't establish themselves in

an expanding market. They are feeling uncomfortable in such market system. (Narayan : 2017)⁹ Bansfor (Basore) living in different states of Northern India is such a Dalit community. In the traditional system they earned their livelihood by cutting bamboo and making products of it. (Singh: 1998)¹⁰ These people used to make and sell Mauni (basket) SOOP (a plate to clean cereals) for livelihood. Now, the presence of bamboo has decreased, there is an indirect restriction on cutting bamboo as well, their access to forest produce is now under question, so they have no other option than to become labourers at construction sites or other infrastructure projects. 'Sarvan' is a community which has worked as ear cleaners.¹¹ (Singh: 2005) They used to make medicines for this from herbs and shrubs growing in villages for fungal infections. But now their skill is becoming useless. Doctors are everywhere now. There are English medicines to clean and disinfect the ear. Due to this their livelihood has become challenging. What should they do now? They consider themselves as 'skilled community' therefore they cannot accept them as petty labourers or their transformation in labourer community.

While the livelihoods of social communities like washer-man and barbers are trying to 'adjust' in the market with new technology, many social communities who are unable to make their skill technologically proficient, who know only traditional way of earning livelihoods are feeling helpless and troubled at the gates of market. (Mandal Report:1980)¹² Such is the story of Sapera community. This community is spread in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and many states of South India. This community used to catch snakes, take their teeth out, make them dance, make medicines and antidotes of different kinds from their poison. (Singh: 1993)¹³ Now in modern social structure, under wild life protection laws and deforestation, their livelihood is almost on the verge of extinction. Thus this whole community is deprived of their traditional livelihood. Now they have no other option than to be labourers at construction projects or brick clans. Kuchbandhiya¹⁴ is such a dalit community which lives in different districts of Uttar Pradesh. (Crock: 1896) They are mostly in Bundelkhand. This community used to make ropes of rural products like mooj, sarpat, and use to weave the beds.

With the arrival of plastic rope even their livelihood is in danger. They have reservations in being transformed as labourers or shift in the structure of smart city. Thus, how state and its new market effect lives of Dalit communities, and whether state, power and market manage to create a 'dignified livelihood' for them is yet to be explored.

Lacking the capacity to save

In fact, to understanding their vulnerability in neo liberal market, we have to dig deep their presence or capability in state schemes. State led governance in recent times which is largely influenced by liberal economy proposes not big earnings but saving too, as means of survival strategy. It claims for making innovative efforts to develop entrepreneurship among marginals and Dalits. In this process micro finance strategies have emerged in India as an effective means to build 'capacity to aspire' for the poor and marginals who are leading measurable life due to lack of sufficient economic resources. The practice of micro-finance is expanding in the form of swayamsaha yatasamooch. (self help groups) in various parts of India. The growing network of microfinance through Self Help Groups (SHGs) is producing social as well as economic strengthening for the marginals. This mechanism got State support through various schemes like NABARD and other banks, which gave life line to the backwards and marginals of our society. Many NGOs, Foundations and Micro finance companies came forward to support these activities for small entrepreneurs in the various parts of country. Micro finance activities are achieving remarkable success among women, who are feeling empowered due to these programs and are simultaneously acquiring capacities to resolve their bigger issues in the life such as serious illness, children education, marriage of daughters etc. While resolving these problems, in the process, many of them are emerging as rural small entrepreneurs with their savings. Sometimes they are supporting their husbands financially to establish them as an entrepreneur. Rajiv Gandhi mahilavikaspariyojana (RGMVP) is doing remarkable works among women of central and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Many micro finance companies and NGOs have also entered in this fray. Rashtriya Swayam Sewaksangh(RSS) has also established its affiliating organization RashtriyaSewa Bharati and launched a micro finance

campaign called 'Vaibhavshree'. Among all these initiatives, Rajiv Gandhi Mahilavikasparijojana made its effective presence in the central and eastern Uttar Pradesh. What I have observed during my fieldwork that these initiatives has developed a sense of new community identity among women. This sense of new community identities is creating space for sharing and demolishing feudal and patriarchal dominance in rural society. It is also carving out an alternative space for them where they can interact about their sukh-duk, they may feel sense of pride, their emerging new identity and respect (izzat) within their family and village. One women of RGMVP swaysahayatasamooch located in a village near Sultanpur shared her happiness. She asserted 'now in our family we are getting izzat (respect) and they consider us wise (buddhiman)'. When we asked that who is opinion maker in their family is, they said off course 'we' as a bread earner.

It is true that due to their own small savings supported by few banks, it has been possible for them to move slowly and positively towards the eradication of social inequality at the grassroot level. During my fieldwork I have encountered their economic, social and political empowerment in a very impressive mode. But if someone analyzes deeply the functioning of microfinance activities in the interiors of our society, one may find that these initiatives are mostly centered on women of socially visible caste and communities of Backwards and Dalits. During our interaction with various self help groups in central Uttar Pradesh and Eastern Uttar Pradesh, we find that women involved in SHGs are mostly from Patel, Yadav, Vaisya, Maurya and Chaurasia castes. Even it is not easy to find women of MBCs communities in these Self Help Groups. We observed that even among Dalit communities of these districts, these initiatives have yet to reach to the lower fringes and till now it is concentrated among women of only few visible and bigger Dalit communities like Chamar, Pasi, Dhobi, Kori only.

In Uttar Pradesh, we have around 66 Dalit castes under SC category¹⁵. During our survey we found that women of only four or five visible and numerically bigger Dalit castes. Near about 60 SC castes are still waiting to acquire capacity to enter in the domain of swyam sahayatasamooch. The question that ponders us is why it happened? In fact when NGOs start working

to form SHG they pickup women mostly from the communities which are easily visible or who already have acquired capacities to speak and interact with the external agencies, who came forward to mobilize them. Many of smaller Dalit communities such as Mushars, Nats, Sapera, Kuchbadhiya, Bansfor and many MBCs such as Bhujawa have not yet acquired that kind of visibility or unable to show their confidence to become part of such initiatives.

We need to deepen the reach of such initiatives to infiltrate them to the most marginalized among those Dalit communities, who have not achieved visibility yet and also lack capacity to organize them and assert. Still they are unable to understood properly meaning of such formations or potential of these collectives in the economic realm. We discussed this issue with the activists of the organizations that why we could not find any women from the communities such as Mushhar, Nat, Kanjar, Dharikar and other such groups from more than 60 communities of Uttar Pradesh. They replied "it is not easy to find them". It is true that these communities are small in numbers and mostly are on the peripheries of villages and towns. Sometimes they are as nomads or semi-nomads without permanent address. Musahars are traditionally a rat pickers community, who are small in numbers in districts like Amethi and Raibareli but they are in a big number in various district of central Uttar Pradesh, Eastern UP and Bundelkhand. Now after diversification of their occupation as agricultural labourer and brick clin labourers, their Population of around 10 lacks, is now scattered in 24 districts of UP. They are mostly concentrated in district like Sultanpur, Ambedkarnagar, Azamgarh, MaharajGanj, Kushinagar, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Chandauli, Sonbhadra, Mirzapur et al.

Usually their bastis does not come under conventional boundaries of villages. They live in mostly in separate and isolated bastis of their own castes on the fringes of main village. Similarly other Dalit communities have also their peripheral presence. They lack the capacity to aspire for such socio-economic activities. The groups working in this sector need to take efforts for the inclusion of such excluded communities very sensitively, in the sphere of SHGs. It is true that they are numerically smaller communities and of course number matters in democracy but democratic

morality is expected from us. We should feel a moral obligation to provide space for smaller and most marginal Dalit communities.

It is not only the case of the Uttar Pradesh; one may find similar situations in other states of India also. Those who are visible and have acquired capacity to assert easily comes on the board of SHGs but those who are still most marginal communities, invisible and are lacking the capacity to speak, they are not yet included even in the domain of micro finance. Entry in SHGs may provide them capacity to aspire, which may slowly turn into the capacity to acquire. This will strengthen them and prepare them to develop their own politics and capacity to speak for their due share in democracy.

It is true that these smaller and marginal Dalit communities have not yet got proper space and visibilities even in BSP led government in Uttar Pradesh. In BSP frame of politics which belives on—

'Jiskijatanisankhyabhari, uskiutni hissedari' (numerical strength in democracy) they don't matter a lot. But these 60 castes together may change the face of our democracy. (Narayan: 2015)¹⁶ The question is 'if these micro finance activities will not enhance their capacity to evolve as small entrepreneur, then is there any other medium to evolve them as Dalit entrepreneur? How they will emerge as claimant of startup schemes which Narendra Modi led government is aspiring for. So microfinance should be focus on base activities to develop capacities among Dalits on fringes especially their women to evolve them as an entrepreneur.

New Liberal Conditions and resistance

New liberal economy produced market on the one hand, not able to sustain respectfully dignified and community knowledge and skill based livelihood for the marginals; on the other hand this condition is not even able to evolve capacities among many marginal communities to small saving which may help to sustain them. It also diminishing resistance and dissent capacities of many poor and subaltern marginal groups which can help them to develop pressure on the state to think for their share in state led democracy. New liberal economy

produced market in working closely with state, its advertisement strategies for selling the products is helping in the emergence of aspirational community which prefer cooption in the given opportunities rather struggle for opportunity expansion for all those who are in need.

Resistance works as a tool for the marginals and deprived social communities in society, for better social position. It is indeed essential for social dialectics. It paves the way for the synthesis though a churning of thesis and anti-thesis. In the contemporary market oriented consumerist societies, the element of resistance is either weakening or on the verge of dying. The fragmented, fractured and dispersed elements of resistance in social domain may form resistance movement together, which may be further oriented towards change of the present and in the hope and desire of the future.

In the recent past we constantly perceive the weakening of social movements. Now a days resistance movements in all over the world are appearing like diffused cells of bomb. They are losing their vigor, and their transformative impact to challenge the structures of dominance, State and Power. These are just reducing their resistance into silence, or everyday forms of resistance, as observed by eminent anthropologist James Scott¹⁷. Sometimes it comes out as a civil society movement in the form of shortterm resistance. The resistance movement in contemporary times failed to sustain themselves as a transformative movement rather they are being accommodated, co-opted and adjusted with state or other dominant modes against which they have evolved initially. This may be true for Dalit, Tribal, Labour and other movements in South Asian societies and even in the other societies of the world.

The major crisis of many resistance movements is that after a certain period of time, they start to adopt values of the dominants against which they emerged. The merits, demerits, tone and tenures of dominant slowly percolate in the resistance movements and consequently change their characters. One may easily observe how leaders of subaltern groups adopted political culture and gesture of mainstream political

parties and leaders. Most of the labor movements in Mumbai or Kolkata faded away in recent past, as their union leaders adopted merits and demerits of their sahibs and management. Over stress on economism in labour mobilizations weakened them slowly. Some of the tribal leaders slowly submerged in dominant political parties and could not maintain their culture of difference that was their strength.

In most of the cases resistance movements articulate an alternative political culture and language and claim for their identity, rights and values. But slowly, under the influence of mainstream politics they accept those dominant traditions explicitly or implicitly against which they have started their subversion. When Kanshiram started Bahujan movement in Uttar Pradesh, it was an assertion for an alternative subversive political culture. But slowly their leaders started behaving in similar manner like of other dominant political parties. Opportunism, corruption, self interest crept in the everyday life of leaders of his party. This affected the second levels of its political leaders and some of its cadres who were back bone of the mission. In the beginning, it started as a movement and mission but slowly transformed as a political party with all faults.

AamAadmi Party (AAP) also emerged from the womb of the mass movement led by eminent social activist Anna Hazare but further took on various weaknesses produced by contemporary political culture proposed and followed by dominant political parties. Most of these movements failed to develop an alternative language to communicate with their followers and started speaking the mainstream language.

Sometimes resistance movements produce potential political leaders and political parties but in most of the cases these parties failed to develop their own independent politics. In the case of Dalit movement, Kanshiram diagnosed this problem as 'chamacha age' (the Era of Stooges). In his famous book 'Chamacha age' he remarked that most of the Dalit leaders of our time could not developed alternative Dalit politics in India but worked as stooges (chamacha) of dominant political parties. He analyzed the politics of post Ambedker RPI through this perspective and Dalit leaders

working in coordination with Congress in post independent era.

Another crisis we may observe in various resistance movements was mobility of the subaltern groups in middle class, as a product of growing consumerism culture among their grassroots cadres and workers. However middle class also has a positive impact on the resistance movement and played progressive role in various revolutions. But this new middle class is also taking these movements towards some compromise, negotiations and adjustments. Though the middle class showed a positive mobility in History with its progressive impact but at the same time, consumerist middle classness is eroding our resilience and elements of resistance from our socio-psychological personality. Marx, Lenin and Ambedker, at some point of their life criticized the self-centeredness and leisure seeking attitudes of our middle class. The State in close coordination with market is applying all techniques to control resistance movements and not allowing to sustain for it for longer time. We have forgotten suggestions of eminent historian Eric Hobsbawm that 'capitalism is question not answer'. We have stopped searching answers and happy with whatever is being proposed by the state and market. One option is left for us as suggested by Milan Kundera in 'The Festival of Insignificance' that its only one possible resistance is 'not take it seriously.' We should understand the deep meaning lies in this satire.

Conclusion

I do not deny that new liberal economy has open up new options for those who have acquired capacity to respond this very new economic situation. But I have tried to expose the threats for resistance in this neoliberal economy. Besides, it has also created a situation of crisis for the most marginal section of Dalit artisanal community for their livelihood, which will ruin the possibility of any emergence of their resistance politics. The claim of evolving new skills and entrepreneurship among Dalits may be true for a section of Dalit community but it is not true for the many invisible Dalit communalities of Uttar Pradesh. It has converted many artisanal Dalit communities in community in confusion in

terms of their livelihood options proposed by neoliberal economy based state and market. Many smaller Dalit communities are not even in condition to assemble, or to take part in microfinance circle, or to assert for their space. They have not yet acquired even capacity to do smaller saving. New liberal economy evolved a

life condition in which element of resistance among marginals is eroding day by day. New liberal market in collision with state is constantly producing aspiration which kills element of protest and resistance among marginals and paving the way for consumerism led dreams and desires.

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Dr.T. Venkatappaiah, T.Ramachary	:	ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF VISWAKARMA COMMUNITY IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRADESA
K. Vijay Kumar	:	THE RICH MATERIAL CULTURE IN TELANGNA IN MEDIEVAL PERIOD: A STUDY
Vijaya Amirtharaj. B	:	LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF THE PALMYRA CLIMBERS IN KAVAKULAM VILLAGE-A STUDY
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Vishnu Ramavath	:	TRIBAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE (A Case Study of Nalgonda District in Telangana State)
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SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

(Registered at Madurai Under Societies Act XXI of 1860)

South Indian History Congress was founded at a conclave of historians at the school of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai-625021 on 2 December 1978 with Prof. K.K.Pillay as first President and Prof.K.Rajayyan as founder General Secretary. It was registered under the Societies Act at Madurai in 1979 with Reg.No. 32/1979. The Central office of the congress is established at School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai in February 1980. Thereafter 36 annual sessions of the Congress were held at different universities and colleges of South India.

List of Institutions where Annual Sessions Held

Session	Year	Name of Institution
I	1980	Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai
II	1981	University of Kerala, Trivandrum
III	1982	Sri.Vasavi College, Erode
IV	1984	Sri.Venkateshwara University, Tirupati
V	1985	University of Mysore, Mysore
VI	1986	Osmania University, Hyderabad
VII	1987	University of Madras, Chennai
VIII	1988	Sri. Narayana Samskarika Samithi, Quilon
IX	1989	Poona University, Poona
X	1990	Rajapalyam Raju's College, Rajapalyam
XI	February 1991	University of Calicut, Calicut
XII	November 1991	Karnatak University, Dharawad
XIII	1993	Government Arts College, Coimbatore
XIV	1994	Sri.Venkateshwara Arts College, Tirupati
XV	1995	Berhampur University, Berhampur
XVI	1996	Gulbarga University, Gulbarga
XVII	1997	Waltair University, Waltair
XVIII	1998	Sree Sankaracharya Sanskrit University, Kalady, Kerala
XIX	1999	Layola College, Chennai

XX	2000	Kakatiya University, Warangal
XXI	2001	Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai
XXII	2002	University of Kerala, Trivandrum
XXIII	2003	St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirapalli
XXIV	2004	University of Calicut, Calicut
XXV	2005	Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai
XXVI	2006	Bangalore University, Bangalore
XXVII	2007	Rajapalyam Raju's College, Rajapalyam
XXVIII	2008	Sree Krishna Devaraya University, Ananthapur, A.P.
XXIX	2009	Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli
XXX	2010	Co-operative Arts and Science College, Kannur
XXXI	2011	Yogi Vemana University, Cudappa, A.P.
XXXII	2012	University of Madras, Chennai
XXXIII	2013	University of Kerala, Tiruvananthapuram
XXXIV	2014	AVMM Sri Pushpam College, Poondi, Thanjavur
XXXV	2015	Kakatiya University, Warangal
XXXV	2016	Tagore Arts Collage, Puducherry
XXXVI	2017	Periyar University, Salem
XXXVII	2018	University of Calicut, Calicut
XXXVIII	2019	Osmania University, Hyderabad

RULES AND BYE-LAWS

(as adopted in 1979 and amended in 1994, 1997 and 2006)

- 1. Name:** The Association shall be a national organization for historical studies on South India and shall be called South Indian History Congress. It shall steer clear of ideologies and ideology-oriented associations for purposes of affiliation and shall maintain its individuality.
- 2. Office:** The Central Office of the said Congress shall be located at School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai. The working hours of the office are from 10a.m. to 4 p.m. on all working days.

3. Objectives:

- a) to promote historical studies on South India,
- b) to co-ordinate research on historical trends in South India with sister organizations,
- c) to serve as forum for exchange of views through annual sessions and special conferences,
- d) to help in the preservation of historical monuments, relics and records,
- e) to honour historians, who made substantial contributions to scholarship on South India.
- f) to receive and administer funds for the implementation of the above said objectives

4. Membership and Subscription:

- a) As a national forum, the Congress admits as members those who are interested in historical studies on South India, irrespective of any regional consideration. Members of the following categories are admitted:
- b) **Annual Member**, paying Rs.500/- as annual subscription.
- c) **Life Member**, paying a subscription of Rs.4000/-
- d) **Representative Institution**, paying a subscription of Rs.5000/-
- e) **Donor**, paying a subscription of Rs.10000/-
- f) **Patron**, paying a subscription of Rs.10000/- or more. Year is reckoned with the calendar year, i.e. January to December.
- g) Persons seeking membership are to apply in writing or in prescribed form to the Treasurer and send the subscription to him, subject to approval of admission by the Secretary.

5. Privileges of Members

- a) Members are entitled to attend the academic session of the Congress, present papers and participate in discussions. They are eligible to receive printed copies of the proceedings of the Congress at the annual conference on availability.
- b) The following members shall be entitled to vote/contest in the elections for the Executive Committee / Consultative Committee, except otherwise provided i) Patrons and Donors, ii) Representative Institutions, iii) Life Members who have attended at least one session (excluding the current session).
- c) The list of Life Members, eligible to vote/contest in the election shall be displayed at the Secretary's office on the first day of the annual session.

- 6. Academic Session :** The Congress shall meet for its academic session usually in January every year. There shall be a general session presided over by the President or in his absence the senior Vice-President. This will be followed by sectional meetings, organized on thematic basis and each presided over by the Sectional President. The papers that are presented for discussion and accepted by the Sectional President will be considered for publication in the proceedings of the Congress.
- 7. General Body and Business Session**
- a) The General Body is the Supreme authority on policy decisions. It shall consist of members who are eligible to vote as per Article 5 (b). However, members not having the voting right, are eligible to attend the meeting of the General Body and participate in the discussion, unless otherwise decided by the Executive Committee.
 - b) The members shall be given notice of 21 days in advance about the meeting of the General Body. This will be held during the annual session of the Congress. One-tenth of the members present shall form the quorum. Resolutions duly seconded may be moved with atleast one day's notice and with the permission of the chair.
 - c) General Body shall be the competent authority to take decisions on policy matters. It shall elect members of the Executive Committee and Office-bearers and Convener and Members of the Consultative Committee of the Congress. It shall have the authority to remove any member/ any Office-bearer from respective positions, provided it is by a two-thirds majority of the members present.
 - d) It may approve the annual report and the annual budget and ratify the decisions of the Executive Committee / Consultative Committee.
- 8. Executive Committee**
- a) Executive Committee shall be responsible for implementing the policies, programmes and directives of the General Body. It shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, (two elected and one nominated), a Secretary, two Joint Secretaries, a Treasurer, an Editor and fifteen members. All the office-bearers and members, except the President and one Vice-President shall be elected by the General Body.
 - b) The President and Sectional Presidents shall be nominated by the Executive Committee.
 - c) The out-going President shall be nominated as one of the Vice-Presidents by the Executive Committee.
 - d) The Convener and members of the Consultative Committee shall be Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.
 - e) The President shall hold office for one year. The two elected Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Joint Secretaries, Treasurer and the Editor and members of Editorial Committee and 15 elected members of the Executive Committee shall hold office for two years; but are not eligible for seeking election for the same office beyond two consecutive terms. The Editor and members of the Editorial Committee shall be nominated by the Executive Committee.

9. Elections : The elections will be conducted during the annual conference of the Association, when members of the General Body will be present. The Secretary shall appoint the Returning Officer with the approval of the Executive Committee to conduct the election by single, direct and secret vote. The newly elected Executive Committee shall take charge from the day after the election results are announced and shall be in office until the next Executive Committee is elected. Any interim vacancy in the Executive Committee shall be filled in by nomination by the Secretary in consultation with the President/ Convener.

10. Office-bearers and their Responsibilities

A) President: The President shall have the overall administrative control of the Congress. He shall give his presidential address at the academic session and preside over the meetings of the General Body and Executive Committee. In case of a tie in the voting process, he shall have the casting vote.

B) Vice-Presidents: The Vice-Presidents shall assist the President. One of the Vice-Presidents i.e. the senior among them, shall act for the President in his absence. They shall be in-charge of the enrolment of members in areas assigned by the President and assisted by members of the Executive Committee and report to the General Body.

C) General Secretary:

- a) The General Secretary shall hold charge of the Central Office. He shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the General Body and the Executive Committee.
- b) The Secretary shall maintain the records of the Congress and attend the correspondence. It shall be his responsibility to convene meetings of the Congress and record its minutes. He is to report the activities of the Congress to the General Body. Also he is to represent the Congress in legal and official transactions.

D) Treasurer

- a) Treasurer shall be in charge of the finance of the Congress.
- b) He shall raise contributions, collect membership fees, issue receipts and maintain accounts.
- c) He shall deposit the funds in the name of South Indian History Congress in the State Bank of India or any other bank, as decided by the Executive Committee and to be operated jointly by the General Secretary and Treasurer. The Treasurer shall submit audited report and annual budget to the General Body.
- d) He shall have an imprest amount of not more than Rs.500/- at a time, to be recouped periodically. He shall release funds for purpose authorized by the Executive Committee or in case of the emergency with the approval of the President / Convener and report the same to the Executive Committee.

E) Joint Secretaries

There shall be two Joint Secretaries-one to be elected by the General Body and the other to be nominated by the General Secretary in his local area to assist/ act for him.

F) Editor

The Editor shall be in-charge of publications of the Congress. He is to collect from the Secretary the papers that are presented at the academic sessions, edit, print and publish them in the proceedings in the name of General Secretary as its publisher. The Editor and members of the Editorial Committee are to be nominated by the Executive Committee.

11. Auditor:

The General Body shall appoint a qualified auditor at its annual meeting to audit the accounts of the Congress for the year ending 31st December.

12. Local Secretary:

The Local Secretary is the representative of the institution, hosting the annual session. He is to raise contributions and obtain grants from funding agencies. The local secretary is to submit details of audited statement of accounts to the funding agencies and the General Secretary Treasurer within six months after the session is over. The host Institution / Local Secretary is to exempt all office-bearers and members of Executive Committee from the payment of conference delegate fee.

13. Consultative Committee

- (a) There shall be a Consultative Committee. It shall consist of a Convener and two Members elected by the General Body from among senior members of the Congress to hold office for Three years and three ex-officio members - President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Congress.
- (b) In case of any possibility of constitutional breakdown, caused by any act of commission or omission on part of any functionary or otherwise, the Convener is authorized to take necessary steps as warranted by the situation in consultation with the Members of Committee, so as to ensure the smooth working of the Congress. He shall report such instances to the Executive Committee / General Body.

14. Amendment to Bye-Laws:

Any amendment to the rules and bye-laws shall be done by specially convened meeting of the General Body with 21 days prior notice and with the approval of two thirds of the members present.

15. Dissolution:

The Congress shall not be dissolved except by a motion passed by three-fourths majority of members